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Brazilian University English Professors' Translingual Orientations to Language:
Complexities of a Developing Paradigm Shift

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Abstract

Brazilian University English Professors' Translingual Orientations to Language: Complexities
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In this ethnographic research project, I explore beliefs of two Brazilian university English professors about language variation and language learning in response to developments in the digital age. Primarily through informal joint interviews (Coffee Breaks at the Café), classroom observations, and e-mail exchanges, I found that while both participants express the idea that their students are learning English in order to communicate with others who learned English as an additional language, one expresses the idea that she grounds her teaching approach in an idealized standard, while the other attempts to help his students develop communicative competence beyond such a standard. However, in their practice, I observed both position themselves empathetically to students' learning process including: openness to code shifting,

activities that encouraged negotiation of meaning, and emphasis on students' developing their critical thinking skills and ideas over grammar norms. In my analysis, I frame my discussion through the lens of the translingual turn in Applied Linguistics and discuss my understanding of how any inconsistencies between their beliefs and actions may be related to the dominance of monolingual ideologies in Brazilian society and a history of language policies that elevate and materialize a prescriptivist approach, despite federal legislation that explains language as a social tool that is variable and creative.

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DEDICATION

To my children, Alex and Sam, and my wife, Adiane. They are the people who have been closest to me through the writing of this dissertation, from start to finish. I hope we are all the better for it.

Chapter 1. INTRODUCTION

Language is not an abstract construction of the learned, or of dictionary makers, but is something arising out of the work, needs, ties, joys, affections, tastes, of long generations of humanity, and has its bases broad and low, close to the ground.

Walt Whitman, *Slang in America*

In this project, I explore two Brazilian English professors' professional identities in relation to a translingual orientation to language. I was compelled to embark on this journey of discovery because of the potential that current theoretical developments in the field of Applied Linguistics, especially the translingual turn, have in an era of transnational movement and transcultural communication among people on an unprecedented level. As technology potentializes our ability to share ideas and solve problems, which is further potentialized by translinguistic proficiency, it is crucial that communication occurs with a disposition towards strategies for negotiating meaning rather than judgment. Language teachers, especially English teachers, in this digital age are a nexus of influence in our global society, and the participants in this study are teaching the next generation of *Englishers* at one of Brazil's flagship institutions of higher education. By exploring their shifting values, beliefs, practices, and professional needs in response to the changing incomes of their students, we can gain insights into the nature of contemporary language teaching in one of the world's most economically, socially, culturally, and linguistically dynamic countries. My intention is to offer portraits of the participants, (pseudonyms Renata and Thales) that English teachers in a variety of contexts will be able to reflect on and by doing so expand their understandings of possibilities of their profession and professional lives. I present my findings as elements of Renata's and Thales's identity

development because I believe that who we are and what we do is not fixed, but constantly changing and performed in response to new lived experiences in an ever-changing society. In this introductory chapter, I will briefly relate my own background before I explore some of the foundational assumptions upon which this project is grounded.

I initially recognized the potential for personal growth through learning languages as a Spanish student in high school. My fifteen-year-old self was gaining new appreciations for the natural beauty of my surroundings in rural Northwest Washington, and the documentaries of different countries that we watched in 2nd-year Spanish class fed my curiosity about the world and the possibilities that learning the language well would present for me as I matured. As an undergraduate, this interest was cultivated while experiencing moments of both success and failure as I *language*d in novel ways as a Spanish major. Throughout this dissertation, I will use language as both a noun and a verb, the latter emphasizes the creative nature I associate with language learning and use. I also practice this convention with language names to emphasize that we each influence and contribute to a language by the way we use it, thus the use of *Englisher* in the paragraph above. I could mention several key events that contributed to developing my sense of a career path at Western Washington University, but one that particularly stands out was discovering sociolinguistics in a syntax class, which I took as part of an academic minor in English. My professor, and author of our textbook, Anne Lobeck, introduced me to the perils of linguistic discrimination and the power of our judgments of the way others speak or write, especially in relation to how such judgments by people in a position of authority can either generate or block opportunities for others to realize their goals. The high value I place on language learning as a source of personal growth (social, cultural, intellectual, professional, etc.), my sensitivity to linguistic discrimination, and my commitment to

undermining it, have influenced my academic path, which culminates in this study. My objectives reflect Hawkins and Norton's (2009) assertion that education can be the site of creating a "social world in which all people, regardless of language, ethnicity, color, or class, have equal voices, access, and possibilities" (p. 37).

One way I contend this dissertation project might contribute to readers' appreciation of linguistic diversity and their sense of empathy towards language teachers and learners is by highlighting an understanding of the nature of language as complex: the combination of individual physical, cognitive, and social factors, which all change over the course of one's lifetime. This orientation offers an alternative to monolingual views of language as fixed and discrete: a series of proper structures and norms to be learned. During the process of inquiry, what emerged for me was the need to gain further understandings of the nature of language, language change, and the history and role of language standards. In the coming paragraphs, I will briefly review literature that explores these issues in turn.

THE INDIVIDUALITY OF LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE CHANGE

Language is a city to the building of which every human being brought a stone.

Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Letters and Social Aims*

A teacher's awareness that each human has a unique way of *linguaging* potentially influences their approach to their profession. Just as each of us has unique physical traits in our vocal apparatus, so too are our brains unique, which means no two people produce the exact same sounds nor conceptualize the ideas these sound symbols represent in the same way.

Additionally, our ideas are constantly in a state of flux as we have new experiences and reach

new understandings. As far back as 1891, Strong et al. described this crucial social element in the process of language development:

[T]he body of ideas which may at any time be called up by a word is *never the same* in the case of any two speakers. The ideas will resemble each other less as the speakers are members of social communities more widely separated from each other, or more in proportion as the persons using the words possess similar degrees of cultivation or life-experience. (p. 51)

The result is that over a long period of time, sounds, grammar, and vocabulary all change not only on the individual level but collectively in different speech communities. As Pyles and Agleo (1982) explain,

Change is the normal state of language. Every language is constantly turning into something different, and when we hear a new word or a new pronunciation of an old word or a novel use of a word, we may be catching the early stages of a change. Change is natural because a language system is culturally transmitted. Like other conventional matters—such as fashion of clothing, cooking, entertainment, means of livelihood, and government—language is undergoing revision constantly; with language such revision is slower than with some other cultural activities, but it is happening nonetheless. (p. 14)

The authors point out that the way we use language is influenced by a variety of social factors including where we live, what cultural groups we are a part of, our gender, our age, our education, and a host of contextual factors that determine the level of formality. Because the human capacity to language is an open system, we constantly create novel utterances and are able to communicate about new ideas, discoveries and inventions. Robbins (1997) asserts,

The capacity for language is an essential part of the human mind; otherwise language could not have originated just environmentally; and by the nature of this capacity language can be changed and adapted as circumstances require, and only so can the central fact (and mystery!) of language be explained: that speakers can make infinite use of the finite linguistic resources available to them at any time.

Language is as vast and dynamic as the objects in the universe (*multiverse?*).

The individuality of language use generates language change, including word meaning (Trudgill, 1998), but *language users* overcome potential confusion both through awareness of the context and communication strategies such as clarification requests. Trudgill suggests,

The fact is that none of us can unilaterally decide what a word means. Meanings of words are shared between people – they are a kind of social contract we all agree to – otherwise communication would not be possible. [...] In any case, it is clear that even if the worriers regard [a] change as undesirable, there is nothing they can do about it.

Words do not mean what we as individuals might wish them to mean, but what speakers of the language in general want them to mean. These meanings can and do change as they are modified and negotiated in millions of everyday exchanges over the years between one speaker and another. [...] Languages are self-regulating systems which can be left to take care of themselves. They are self-regulating because their speakers want to understand each other and be understood. If there is any danger of misunderstanding, speakers and writers will appreciate this possibility and guard against it by avoiding synonyms, or by giving extra context. (pp. 7- 8)

This is an important explanation of the complex nature of an individual capacity to *language* in relation to a mutable social system of communication.

Pyles and Algeo (1982) add that as we develop our language faculty we learn the sound patterns that can be used to symbolize our thoughts, and, interestingly, our language simultaneously expresses our thoughts and serves as a vehicle for them, which means much of our ability to think is grounded in language. Our capacity to *language* and our capacity to think are essential to our humanness and the boundaries between what we understand as discrete languages are actually fluid. Because languages are essentially a tool for communication, speakers across idiolects are in a perpetual process of negotiating meaning. When a person says or writes “tree” we do not all need to have an equivalent image in our thoughts to be able to communicate successfully. From this perspective, it is as if we are all constantly translating each other’s *linguaging* into our own. Bakhtin (1981) suggests,

Language—like the living concrete environment in which the consciousness of the verbal artist lives—is never unitary. It is unitary only as an abstract grammatical system of normative forms, taken in isolation from the concrete, ideological conceptualizations that fill it, and in isolation from the uninterrupted process of historical becoming that is a characteristic of all living language. Actual social life and historical becoming create within an abstractly unitary national language a multitude of concrete worlds, a multitude of bounded verbal-ideological and social belief systems; within these various systems (identical in the abstract) are elements of language filled with various semantic axiological content and each with its own different sound. (p. 288)

Strong et al. (1891) suggest that while writing can slow down the process of language change as authors attempt to communicate their ideas across contexts, “in order to live and be effectual, [it] must change with the changing times [. . .] and each individual who employs it introduces into it some of his own peculiarities of idiom” (pp. 399-400).

These are some of the elements that make language so dynamic, the implication of which is that even as teachers attempt to teach a standard, they are destined to be focused on their own peculiar interpretation of that standard. In the next section, I describe how language standards developed and their role in our contemporary, globalized society. The implications of this for language teachers and learners is the need to develop a high degree of mental flexibility, empathy, and even generosity as we avoid judgments of manifestations of language that do not conform to our expectations when they do not impede communication, which is an idea that I will reinforce throughout this study.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF STANDARD ENGLISH

Despite the evidence of the individuality, constant state of change and inherent fluidity of language, contemporary discourses generally adhere to monolingual norms that orient to language as fixed and discrete; in turn, these discourses are materialized in dictionaries, grammar guides, standardized tests, textbooks, and a host of other forms. In this section, I briefly present elements of the development and role of standard language norms, which I will later relate to participants' professional identities.

Ostler (2005) describes how the invention of the printing press contributed to the development of the idealized language standards we use today. Among the many variations that existed at the time, early publishers, such as William Caxton, decided on spelling, punctuation, grammar and vocabulary conventions by using the speech and judgments of royal consultants. Milroy (1998) explains that, later, eighteenth century grammarians and dictionary editors, such as Samuel Johnson, in codifying the English language, embodied a marked "intolerance of the range of choices which speakers and writers had hitherto taken for granted" (p. 95), and even the

most sophisticated authors produced the types of “errors” that the self-proclaimed language authorities decried as undermining civil society. The characterization as “intolerant” seems fitting when considering the prevailing prejudiced treatment of others during a period in history when several European national powers were colonizing other parts of the world, a legacy that continues through the present, and that this dissertation project aims to undermine.

The decisions of a small group of individuals from one era, in one place, from a particular social class, with their particular understanding of language have influenced people’s notions of correctness around the world. *Languagers* are left engaging in various degrees of struggle between conforming to abstract conservative written norms and the individual creativity and variation I described in the previous section. The fact that the first and most widely printed book by Caxton and future publishers was the Bible potentially influenced many people over the centuries to associate this model of language use with piety; standards understood to be inspired by a supernatural force can generate a high degree of attachment to such norms and a tendency to pass moral judgment on those who do not adhere to them (Pyles & Algeo, 1982). For the past 200-300 years, the education system has in most cases rewarded those who dedicate themselves and are successful at linguistic conformity, and avoids critical discussions of the nature of language, awareness of which might make the deep-rooted attachment to what Bou Ayash (2016) refers to as a monolingual ideology difficult to sustain.

Meanwhile, *Englishing* mutated throughout the centuries as British colonizers expanded their political and economic empire around the world. Later, the United States became an economic and technological locus, which generated unprecedented prestige for the language and expanded its use further. While Ostler (2005) argues for the precarity of any empire, the current presence and use of English around the world is no doubt shaping the language as people from

diverse linguistic, geographic, and socio-economic backgrounds make it their own (Canagarajah, 1999). As I mentioned, even in the early period of printing, the written language loosely represented the patterns of a very limited portion of the population, and today there continues to be much diversity in spoken and written forms of English, whatever the context of use may be (Ostler, 2005).

Still, many would argue that our individualized notions of an idealized standard, even if it is not discrete or fixed, is worth striving for because in our attempts to achieve it, we maximize our potential for communicative success across space and time (Crystal, 2010). It is not intrinsically superior to other varieties in terms of logic, consistency, expressivity, complexity, or systematicity, but it is understood by many to be a useful tool (Pyles & Algeo, 1982). With this in mind, people in positions of power, especially educators and employers impose their standard when teaching and hiring, respectively (Preston, 1998). Many people take for granted that if we want to participate in particular institutions, we must adopt the linguistic register associated with them (Wolfram, 1998). Crystal (2010) further articulates this by emphasizing the importance he places on conforming to the expected norms of different contexts to avoid being the target of negative judgments. As Crystal asserts,

For over 200 years, English-speaking society has lived with the notion that some ways of speaking and writing are ‘good’ and some are ‘bad’. The same point applies to other kinds of behavior, such as table manners. [...] Why is it ‘good’ to eat your soup one way and not another? It’s just the way things are. Sometime in the dim and distant past it became the fashion, among the most powerful people in society, and it stayed that way. And if we don’t want to be criticized, that’s how we have to behave. (p. 67)

What concerns me about this orientation to standards, is that it is undemocratic. In other words, it advantages and privileges a small minority of English speakers globally. In assuming these positions, one takes for granted power structures and hierarchies that benefit certain groups and the people who are born into them. Our linguistic identities are intertwined into every other aspect of our lives, so the drawback of enforcing an idealized linguistic standard is that it erases and silences most identities and perspectives. Awareness of this potentially changes the way teachers position themselves in the classroom and engage students. Meanwhile, Crystal (2010) himself admits that even in written norms there is room for variation as different publishers and printers spell some words differently, and published writers vary in terms of their punctuation styles, and even syntax is mutable. Canagarajah (2013) suggests that “communities and communication have always been heterogeneous” (p. 8). Strong et al. (1891) emphasize that even though many people imagine that there is a common standard of use among educated people, in fact it is imperfect as we not only have individual peculiarities, but also develop unique speech patterns and conventions within a field of study and profession (such as the APA style guide holding sway here). Still, developments of our understanding of the nature of language continue to be restricted and hundreds of millions of English teachers and learners around the world, the textbooks they use, the grammar guides they follow, the institutions in which they study, and the standardized tests they take reflect varying degrees of a monolingual ideology. Those who engage with the translingual turn in Applied Linguistics are making a concerted effort to revolutionize not just the field, but also the way mainstream society orients itself to language.

THE NATIVE SPEAKER MYTH

Throughout my language teaching career, people around me in my professional life (e.g., students, colleagues, administrators) have expressed a bias towards so-called native speaking teachers. From my language teaching experiences in a variety of contexts in Brazil, Mexico, Spain, and the U.S. as an English, Spanish, and Portuguese teacher, I can corroborate Holliday's (2005) assessment that the field of language teaching is "permeated" by the ideology of native-speakerism. In the past decade, many professionals and researchers in the TESOL field have raised their awareness of this issue. The translingual turn in Applied Linguistics is in many ways the culmination of these efforts and it destabilizes the very concept of the native speaker. What follows is a brief discussion of the academic conversation surrounding the native speaker ideology in Applied Linguistics.

Davies (1991) asserts there are two possible goals of language learners: proficiency and nativeness. In discussing how these goals should be complementary, he explains the difficulty in defining nativeness. For example, the common-sense definition of a native language is that it is your first language or a language you learn during childhood, but if this is the case, how do we treat childhood bilinguals or children who have moved from one linguistic environment to another? Furthermore, how does this definition account for adults who have shifted dominance from one language to another (or have different dominances in different registers)? Davies argues for the necessity of the native speaker goal because he believes the native speaker can inform our understanding of universal grammar and is useful for creating content for teaching materials and language tests. He asserts that learners can achieve nativeness and it is up to the individual to decide for her or himself if she or he is a native speaker or not.

In recent work, several authors have explored the deficiencies of explaining the native speaker label in terms of first language. For example, in a precursor to the translingual turn, Takato (2009) suggests that our competence in any language we speak is in flux and multilayered. Similarly, Baker (2009) points out that a language is not a discrete unit to be quantified, which makes it impossible to precisely determine our first language. Thus, the labels of either *native* or *non-native* are descriptively inadequate; they tell us little about a person's linguistic background or skill.

Despite the deficiencies of the native speaker label, native speaker intuitions are paramount for formal linguists as they are used to investigate the notion of universal grammar. Yet, Pennycook (2007) argues that such intuitions are rarely consistent. In those terms, Paikeday (1985) asserts that the so-called native speaker is nothing more than “a figment of the linguist's imagination and a mere adjunct to his theorizing” (p. 62), a sheltered monolingual who has only been exposed to a single register of a single language. Often formal linguists' dependence on the native speaker construct is transferred to applied linguists' exaltation of an idealized native speaker, which Braine (2010) describes as counter-productive “because it sets up abstract grammatical models of language that all learners of the language need to use as the target of acquisition” (p. 3). This is problematic because of the vast fluidity in linguistic identity (Kramsch, 1998); most English speakers on a global scale learned English as an additional language and mostly interact with each other (McKay, 2006).

If native speaker status is neither a linguistic nor a biological phenomenon, what is it? Train (2009) states that, “Nativity is constructed through complex, historically contingent practices and ideologies embedded in shifting social, linguistic, cultural, and affective contexts” (p. 47-48). For Pennycook (1998), the legacy of the colonialist epistemology that divides the

world up neatly into “us and them” dichotomies is implicated in the construction of the native speaker construct and the discourses that contribute to it.

The native speaker construct has profound implications for both language learners and teachers. For example, Medgyes (1994) perpetuates a hierarchy within the profession when he expresses the idea that so called “non-native” English speaking teachers have a “linguistic handicap” as perpetual learners. His stance draws on the work of Selinker’s (1972) notions of “interlanguage” and “fossilization,” which reinforces the idealized native speaker as the standard towards which learners are working but can never achieve. In another step towards the translingual turn, Cook (2007) counters that argument and encourages us to replace the idea of non-native language teachers as learners with legitimate language users. With hundreds of millions (possibly billions) of people learning to use English around the world (Crystal, 2008), most English speakers and teachers (Braine, 2010) are not from so-called Inner Circle countries. Kachru and Nelson (2001) refer to our dependence on the native speaker construct in language teaching as an “oppressive and divisive” linguistic caste system because it is founded on birth rather than merit (p. 20). Motha (2006) describes the native/non-native labels as a false dichotomy. Furthermore, reminiscent of Davies (1995), Widdowson (1994) has problematized the ownership of English suggesting that because of its unique international role the language belongs to all who choose to make it their own.

Phillipson’s (1992) influential work, *Linguistic Imperialism*, represents a cornerstone in the ideological shift away from the “native speaker fallacy.” He suggests that the qualities of a good ESL/EFL teacher can be learned by anyone; they are not dependent upon linguistic background. Moreover, Widdowson (1994, p. 387) argues that it is a mistake to think of native speakers as the “arbiters of proper pedagogy” because it takes didactic training and skill to be a

competent English teacher, not just fluency in the language. In other words, it is much more productive and empowering for stakeholders to value pedagogical competence and linguistic flexibility over native speaker status.

One of my primary concerns is the connection between the linguistic discrimination of the native speaker fallacy and racial discrimination. Racialization is a part of English language teaching and learning (Motha, 2006) as is the “hegemonic reproduction of a series of social privileges (e.g., native-speaker privilege, White privilege, middle-class privilege, and American privilege)” (Grant & Lee, 2009, p. 51). This is related to our tendency to group people dichotomously as either Self or Other, which is one of the lasting legacies of colonialism and imperial ideology (Pennycook, 2007), and which Kubota and Lin (2009) describe as a racist epistemology. As Lippi-Green (2011) points out, standard English is not a neutral variety; it is the language of a particular social group and is determined less by what it is than by who speaks it. What’s more, Shuck (2006) explores the ways in which the so-called non-native speaker of English is racialized in public discourse through a process of iconicity (e.g., associating a certain type of accent with a certain race). Doerr (2009, p. 18) describes this as an ideological process that “involves indexing certain groups within a society (here, speakers of ‘standard’ or official language of the nation-state) or activities (here, speaking such a language) as iconic representations of the whole society.”

Doerr and Kumagai (2009) assert that the native speaker construct has been used to legitimize unequal power relations between so-called native and nonnative speakers. They argue that any discussion of communicative competence as a goal in language teaching needs to accommodate communication between multilinguals and propose that one way of doing so is through emphasizing communities of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991), where idealized standard

varieties are of little or no consequence. They describe how by encouraging students to participate in a variety of communities of practice, we can focus on the diversity among native speakers, move away from reproducing the hierarchical relations between standard and non-standard, and relativize the distinction between native and non-native speakers. Meanwhile, Doerr and Kumagai highlight the necessity to question hierarchies of linguistic varieties and suggest that one of the positive effects of such participation and questioning is increased confidence. Additionally, in a precursor to the translingual turn, they recommend working with texts from diverse linguistic practices and engaging students in discussions of how these texts reveal issues of linguistic power politics. In support of this approach is Canagarajah's (2000) suggestion that English has long become heteroglossic and pluralized, and that throughout this process people have acquired and used the language "in their own terms" using "creative communicative strategies" (pp. 130-131). Also, Canagarajah's (1999) resistance perspective "provides for the possibility that, in everyday life, the powerless in post-colonial communities may find ways to negotiate, alter and oppose political structures, and reconstruct their languages, cultures and identities to their advantage" (p. 2). In this way, the objective is not to reject teaching and learning English, but to reconstitute it in ways that make it more inclusive, ethical, and democratic.

As Thomas (1999) notes, "changing your language variety and conforming to the norms of another social group means changing the badge of your identity" (p 157). This is a form of cultural violence (Bourdieu & Thompson, 1991). Ammon (2000) calls for non-native speakers' "right to linguistic peculiarities" and argues against native speaker varieties as "the standard by which our fluency and accuracy should be measured" (p. 116). Additionally, Canagarajah (1999) asserts that the global use of English makes it important for English teachers to prepare

their students to communicate in English in the global context. Thus, a strong model for English learners are speakers who are linguistically dexterous in terms of adjusting their speech patterns to facilitate communication when interacting in English with people from a variety of linguistic backgrounds. I discuss the possibilities for such a practice in language teaching in the following section.

THE TRANSLINGUAL TURN IN APPLIED LINGUISTICS

In the previous sections, I discussed ways in which monolingual orientations offer a limited understanding of the nature of language that have detrimental effects on human well-being. The recent translingual turn in Applied Linguistics is the culmination of many of the studies cited above and others and offers a more pluralistic orientation to language that focuses on how *languagers* in contact negotiate meaning and influence each other's use of language. It emphasizes practice over form or function (Canagarajah, 2013).

While monolingual ideologies attempt to keep languages separate, there is much evidence that languages coexist in individuals and speech communities. According to Pei (1965), as we interact and cooperate in our vast forms of activity, our language evolves, and we get much mixing. He offers a long list of languages with a plethora of borrowings from a variety of other sources, which is highlighted by English and its history of influences from numerous other languages. Pei further demonstrates how even grammatical forms mix and match and we have hybrids of Greek prefixes on Latin roots. So too, increased transnational communication and movement increase opportunities for language growth and change.

Often for nationalistic reasons, in the name of preserving the social order, and improving prospects for employment, people focus on teaching and learning and idealized standard, but this

seems to contradict the very nature of our language faculty. Canagarajah (2013) views the labeling of languages, which are less discrete than we commonly try to make them, as an ideological act that should be problematized rather than taken for granted. In other words, when we create a label for a language and create a standard for that language we artificially unify speakers who are within a spectrum of *linguaging* practices and then rein them in under one idealized model. Attempts to limit and mold our language use to conform to specific expectations limit our human potential. Unfortunately, as Pyles and Algeo (1982) point out,

Modern linguistic studies have made very little headway in convincing those who have not made a special study of language that language is a living thing, our possession and servant rather than an ideal toward which we should all hopelessly aspire. (p. 211)

Canagarajah (2013) asserts,

While modernity and colonization promoted ideologies intended to suppress translingual practices, earlier communities treated languages as mobile semiotic resources and freely appropriated them for their contact purposes. Even after colonization, the dominant codes and literacies imposed on peripheral communities have been appropriated locally. The imposed codes and literacies became part of local translingual practice. (p. 13)

Canagarajah (2013) submits what is, in fact, a mutual influence, works across language communities even within a single national language as,

Those who are considered monolingual are typically proficient in multiple registers, dialects, and discourses of a given language. Even when they speak or write in a single ‘language,’ they still have to communicate in relation to diverse other codes in the environment. That very ‘language’ is constituted by resources from diverse places. (p. 8)

For Canagarajah, we all engage in translingual practice, an idea that further makes the native versus non-native binary irrelevant and misleading. He asserts, “These binaries treat certain languages as owned by and natural to certain communities, when languages are in fact open to being adopted by diverse communities for their own purposes” (p. 8). For some of us the scope of communicative tools at our disposal incorporates dialects and registers within a single national language, but for others, it includes many.

One may ask where that leaves us in relation to all of the thousands of languages around the world, to which Canagarajah offers the following explanation:

The translingual orientation posits that while language resources are mobile, they acquire labels and identities through situated uses in particular contexts and get reified through language ideologies. Therefore, labeled languages and language varieties have reality for social groups. More significantly, they are an important form of identity for these groups. Rather than treating these labels as false consciousness then, I hold such labels and identities as having an empowering and affirmative function for social groups. The main difference is that I don’t treat these labeled languages and varieties as having an ontological status. They don’t have an objective reality out there. They are constructs that are always open to reconstitution and relabeling. (pp. 15-16)

He goes on to explain that while language practices become sedimented through repeated use they are constantly reconstructed to be meaningful, and such an orientation, which acknowledges that these norms and products are always changing, has consequences for learners and teachers.

Canagarajah (2013), rather than take a prescriptive approach to language, explores how language actually works in this era of intense transcultural contact and language diversity and finds that people are using digital technologies to express themselves in creative ways to

represent their unique voice and the contemporary human experience. In other words, we appropriate languages as tools for our own unique purposes. The term *multilingual* does not account for this dynamic, creative process, and is limited and reductive because it associates discrete languages with separate cognitive compartments, but there is evidence that *linguaging* no matter what its form is carried out in the same part of the brain. Canagarajah suggests, “The semiotic resources in one’s repertoire or in society interact more closely, become part of an integrated resource, and enhance each other. The languages mesh in transformative ways, generating new meanings and grammars” (p. 8). Rather than focus our energy as language teachers and learners into attempting to keep languages separate and discrete, he encourages us to focus on developing strategies for negotiating meaning and dispositions towards flexible repertoires. In other words, he encourages a shift from product (standard English) to process (communicative strategies and negotiation). In his view, “Patterns and norms have to be situated (or ‘relocalized’—Pennycook, 2010) in every ecological context of use to be meaningful” (p. 7), and this is possible because of the open nature of language that I discussed in a previous section of this introduction. What has profound implications for my study and its context is Canagarajah’s assumption that:

Translingual practice is not incapable of generating products that approximate socially sanctioned norms in some contexts for strategic reasons. The translingual orientation enables one to develop repertoires and practices that allow shuttling between different norms. (p. 13)

He further posits that we can do so while representing and performing multiple identities, which can contribute to “the development of the language proficiencies needed for global citizenship” (p 12).

In this research project, I explore possibilities for translingual practice in the context of English teaching in Brazil. I come to this after a long history of dissatisfaction with mainstream monolingual understandings of language. I learned Spanish and then Portuguese as political actions, knowing that I would be able to better communicate with people from markedly different life experiences than my own, many of whom did not enjoy the same privileges that I did. Learning new ways to *language* embodies empathy for me.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In order to deeply engage these concerns, I explore micro-level issues with participants such as their values, beliefs, and notions of effective teaching in relation to linguistic variation. And as Canagarajah (2013) points out, “the pedagogical domain is itself a site of complex translingual practices and generates useful insights into communicative practices” (p. 12). Thus, this context is ripe for exploring how teachers orient to and implement translingual practice. I found it especially timely to engage this issue because Brazil was preparing to welcome citizens from around the globe to the World Cup and the Olympics. Moreover, I will explore macro-level issues such as the sociopolitical context in which these teachers carry out their profession. To do so, the following questions guide my inquiry:

1. How do Renata and Thales express a translingual orientation to language when talking or writing about their teaching experience?
2. How do they demonstrate a translingual orientation to language when teaching?
3. How are the happenings in this specific context related to the larger national and international context of the translingual turn in Applied Linguistics and English teaching in the digital age?

ORGANIZATION OF DISSERTATION

In Chapter 2, I relate my theoretical background for this study, especially drawing from Bakhtin's insights into language, and the generation of knowledge and identity. Chapter 3 describes the methodology I used to carry out this project. In Chapter four, I describe the context of English teaching in Brazil, which has become an international protagonist in language teaching and learning policy. Chapter 5 focuses on the portrait of Renata as a professor of English and her grounding in an idealized standard as a source of confidence. Chapter 6 is a portrait of Thales and his attempts at teaching authentic language use over what he calls bookish forms. Finally, I conclude this dissertation in Chapter 7, followed by a list of references and appendices.

These professional portraits of a pair of university English professors in Brazil potentially contribute to new understandings of the broader issue of teacher identity in the TESOL field and the role of English teachers in our contemporary globalizing society during the digital age. As I explore examples of Renata's and Thales's beliefs and teaching practices, the aim is not to draw generalizations from them; instead, in the mold of Kirsch and Sarmiento (2016), I understand their professional identity as situated in a particular context that can help both themselves and others make teaching decisions and expand their teaching repertoires after ample reflection. In line with this approach, my intention is not to reveal a hidden truth about participants' teaching lives that once discovered will allow us to apply universal solutions, but instead to inspire contextualized reflection on the topic that might lead to specific actions in the short, medium, and long-term, including students and teachers positioning themselves differently in relation to language. In this sense, with this study I hope to contribute to formal, theoretical, and practical knowledge of English language teachers (Scarino, 2005). I attempt even-handedness as I explore

participants' teaching lives, and while my values permeate this dissertation, I do not intend to criticize participants' beliefs or actions when they differ from my own.

Chapter 2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Schools are contexts teeming with identity work, and the stakes for those negotiating identities in these spaces are consequential.

Reeves in Vargese, Motha, Park, Reeves, and Trent, 2016, p. 547

As mentioned in the introduction, I am interested in learning more about the professional lives of English teachers and how they position themselves in relation to the idea of language as not fixed and discrete, but ever-changing and heterogeneous. For my theoretical framework for this dissertation project, I draw from approaches to inquiry that will allow me to explore my research questions in ways that consider the complex, contradictory, and ever-changing nature of teacher knowledge and identity development in a socio-political context. Bakhtin's theories of heteroglossia and dialogism offer insight into our ways of knowing and acting on them. Linn and Erickson (1990) explain how these understandings might be used to investigate language classrooms through what they call interpretive classroom research. Lave and Wenger's (1991) ideas about communities of practice offer ways to engage varying subject positionalities that participants perform in different contexts. Additionally, explorations of teachers' beliefs and their role in identity construction help explain this variability. Meanwhile, Kubota's (2004) discussion of Critical Multiculturalism in education encourages research that undermines various forms of discrimination. Finally, I include Scarino's (2005) notion of ethical knowing. This theoretical framework shapes not only the research methods of this dissertation project but also the analysis.

THE SOCIAL NATURE OF DISCOURSE AND KNOWING

My orientation to knowledge, actions, and the nature of language itself is heavily influenced by the philosophical and literary writings of Mikhail Bakhtin. Throughout his work, he is especially concerned with ways in which context contributes to meaning as much as, or more than, the form of the text itself as discourse is an essentially social phenomenon. Bakhtin (1981) suggests that the meaning of any utterance is negotiated and mediated by the specific time, place, and previous experience of the speaker and the hearer. He suggests that we modify the way we speak, and the way we hear, to meet the demands of a specific context, a “hetero- as well as polyglot consciousness” (p. 274). A standard, or unitary, language is an attempt to overcome this aspect of discourse, but standardization entails the imposition of a relative ideal of correctness, which is perpetually under pressure from the forces of individuality and the socio-historical context of the *languager*. He submits that “no living word relates to its object in a *singular* way” (p. 276). For Bakhtin, this nonequivalence is liberating and imbues language with vitality. We never fully understand each other, and this generates further dialogue, further exploration, further negotiation, and further discovery.

Bakhtin is concerned that much of our study of language is dedicated to attempting to reify and unify around a central understanding of language in projects permeated by ideology that do not account for this. In a particularly powerful passage, he writes,

The victory of one reigning language (dialect) over the others, the supplanting of languages, their enslavement, the process of illuminating them with the True Word, the incorporation of barbarians and lower social strata into a unitary language of culture and truth, the canonization of ideological systems, philology with its methods of studying and teaching dead languages, languages that were by that very fact “unities,” Indo-European

linguistics with its focus of attention, directed away from language plurality to a single proto-language—all this determined the content and power of the category of “unitary language” in linguistic and stylistic thought, and determined its creative, style-shaping role in the majority of the poetic genres that coalesced in the channel formed by those same centripetal forces of verbal-ideological life. (p. 271)

The result is that utterances are “contradiction-ridden” and “tension-filled” unities (p. 272) as speakers engage the idealized, abstract standard and the many elements of what he calls heteroglossia, or the multiplicity of glossing the meanings of symbols. These long-standing and destructive attempts at linguistic levelling nurture my concern for linguistic discrimination and influence my approach to Applied Linguistics research.

In relation to knowledge, Bakhtin suggests that “every extra-artistic prose discourse—in any of its forms, quotidian, rhetorical, scholarly—cannot fail to be oriented toward the ‘already uttered,’ the ‘already known,’ the ‘common opinion’ and so forth” (1981, p. 279), which makes our understandings socially situated. In *Problems of Dostoevsky’s Poetics* he expresses admiration for how the author portrays “consciousness [as] never gravitat[ing] toward itself but . . . always found in intense relationship with another consciousness” (1984, p. 32). How we come to be, how we think, how we act are all socially influenced. In another especially germane passage, he writes,

Internally persuasive discourse—as opposed to one that is externally authoritative—is, as it is affirmed through assimilation, tightly interwoven with “one’s own word.” In the everyday rounds of our consciousness, the internally persuasive word is half-ours and half-someone else’s. Its creativity and productiveness consist precisely in the fact that such a word awakens new and independent words, that it organizes masses of our words

from within, and does not remain in an isolated and static condition. It is not so much interpreted by us as it is further, that is, freely, developed, applied to new material, new conditions; it enters into interanimating relationships with new contexts. More than that, it enters into an intense interaction, a *struggle* with other internally persuasive discourses. Our ideological development is just such an intense struggle within us for hegemony among various available verbal and ideological points of view, approaches, directions and values. The semantic structure of an internally persuasive discourse is *not finite*, it is *open*; in each of the new contexts that dialogize it, this discourse is able to reveal ever newer *ways to mean*. (pp. 345-6).

Bakhtin (1984) suggests that an idea cannot live in an isolated individual consciousness and that “the idea begins to live, that is, to take shape, to develop, to find and renew its verbal expression, to give birth to new ideas, only when it enters into genuine dialogic relationships with other ideas, with the ideas of *others*” (p. 88). He warns against the pitfalls of developing convictions that tend towards the monologic. In relation to a specific aspect of my research methods, Bakhtin’s approach to meaning-making inspired me to carry out collective rather than individual interviews with participants. I assume that as we interact, we are all generating new understandings together. Our many composite voices, views of the world, and positions constitute our interactions. Bakhtin’s (1984) advice that we cannot define, essentialize, or know another human being is central to my approach to this research project. We should not be reified or objectified. As long as we are alive, we are changing. For this reason, as I report the results, I am careful to frame them as what I observed and what participants said or wrote in a certain context.

Bakhtin (1993) also discusses how our understanding translates to action because a thought is an act in itself and life is the performance of our thoughts. Additionally, he argues

that understanding of ourselves as others see us is one of the primary influences on our sense of identity. For this study, Bakhtin's understanding of our inescapable interconnectedness with our experience and contact with others, including our interactions is central.

INTERPRETIVE CLASSROOM RESEARCH

Linn and Erickson (1990) offer guidance in approaches to classroom research that incorporates several of Bakhtin's ideas. Their interpretive research views uniformity and causation in social life as a social construction, an illusion. People create meaningful interpretations of the objects that surround them and take action toward them with the idea that our interpretations are real, that the objects possess the qualities we perceive them to have, but surface similarities in culturally forged interpretations hide underlying diversity of meanings between individuals. The authors make a distinction between behavior, which is the physical act, and action, which is the behavior imbued with meaning interpretations by the actor and those involved in the interaction. In relation to explanations for cause and effect in society, they assert:

[We] impute symbolic meaning to others' actions and take our own actions in accord with the meaning interpretations we have made. Thus, the nature of cause in human society becomes very different from the nature of cause in the physical and biological world, and so does the nature of uniformity in repeated social actions. Because such actions are grounded in choices of meaning interpretation, they are always open to the possibility of reinterpretation and change. (p. 98)

As such, the object of interpretive classroom research is action and social ecology in order to engage with how students and teachers co-create the local learning environment. The authors assert that our task then is to explore how non-static local and non-local forms of social

organization influence the activities of participants, even in moments of paradox and contradiction.

Linn and Erickson (1990) go on to suggest that learning is part of the fabric of humanity so students (and teachers) are constantly growing during the educational experience as we adapt from moment to moment in reaction to novel circumstances that arise. They state,

The core issues in teacher and student effectiveness concern meaningfulness—the grounds for legitimacy and mutual assent—rather than causation in a mechanical sense. The inquiry involves a search for interpretive understanding of the ways in which particular individuals engage in constructing patterns of action and meaning by which they enable one another to accomplish desired (or undesired) ends. (p. 132)

The authors offer a model for how to approach the classroom as a place of social interactions. Additionally, as I have asserted throughout this report so far, the context of the study is paramount, and I attempt to establish links between the participants' professional identities and the wider world.

Building on Bakhtin (1981, 1984, 1993) and Linn and Erickson's (1990) approach to qualitative classroom research, the dissertation will take up various theoretical lenses described briefly below.

COMMUNITIES OF PRACTICE

Lave and Wenger's (1991) concept of communities of practice can help researchers understand how teachers develop their identities in light of Bakhtin's theories. Wenger (1998) explains that "[Members of a community of practice] do things together, negotiate new meanings, and learn from each other" (p. 102). In other words, their identities develop in context and "learning is not

seen strictly as internalization but as an evolving form of membership” (Lave & Wenger, 1991: 53). The community of practice is “an activity system about which participants share understandings concerning what they are doing and what that means in their lives and for their communities” (Lave & Wenger, 1991: 98). Within Lave and Wenger’s model, Singh and Richards (2009) suggest that

There is [. . .] an intricate relation between teacher identity and teacher knowledge. In a course room, teacher-learners negotiate their identity through the unfolding social interaction of a particular situated community in relation to its specific activities and relationships. (p. 203)

Furthermore, Hedgcock (2009) describes this mediated interaction as a way of enabling

“experts and novices to collaborate in the (re)construction of knowledge, practices, codes, and patterns of conduct. In doing so, participants adopt, shape, and reshape oral and written discursive forms commonly transacted within communities of [language teaching] professionals” (p. 145).

What is especially relevant for the project at hand is that in different communities of practice, participants might perform contradictory subject positions as part of the process of their professional identity construction. In other words, they might express a certain belief or value when participating in collective interviews or in e-mail exchanges, but then not demonstrate them through their teaching practice.

LANGUAGE TEACHER IDENTITY

Bakhtin’s writings have been taken up by researchers in the field of education to explore the role of who teachers are in how and what they teach (Vargese, Motha, Park, Reeves, & Trent, 2016).

As is the case throughout the study at hand, language teacher identity studies often emphasize identity construction as a process of internal and external negotiations as educators “work to make sense of themselves and their work” (p. 548). In line with Bakhtin, this analytical lens does not try to explain teacher behavior in cause-and-effect terms, but instead as part of a broader complex social process that is context dependent. This framework “treats teachers as whole persons in and across social contexts who continually reconstruct their views of themselves in relation to others, workplace characteristics, professional purposes, and cultures of teaching” (Olsen, 2008). Vargese et al. (2016) explain the importance of researching language teacher identity aptly,

Exploring our language teacher identities means understanding our lived and living history. It is to understand and unravel the complexities that are at the core of who we are on all levels—for instance, as multilinguals, scholars, children, teachers, parents, community members, language users, and activists and their intersectionality, all of which shape our classroom practices and pedagogy, which in turn fuel and circle back to shape our language teacher identities. (p. 566)

Among the contributors to the field of language teacher identity, Ellis (2016) avoids framing her results in terms of social identity categories (race, gender, sexuality, etc.), which is a common approach, and chooses instead to discuss them in relation to what she refers to as participants’ *language lives*: their linguistic biographies. By doing so, she is able to engage the complexities of their plurilingual identity, repertoires of experience, and the beliefs that contribute to their practice. In the study at hand, I too emphasize and value Renata’s and Thales’s *language lives* rather than any particular identity category (e.g., native or non-native English-speaking teachers).

Another theoretical aspect of language teacher identity that is pertinent to this dissertation project is the role of emotion in contributing to participants' professional identities. Song (2016) explores the emotions of confidence and vulnerability in language teachers as they perform their teaching lives in specific social and institutional contexts. Also, Motha and Lin (2014) have investigated how desire for professional legitimacy can be produced "within a complicated network of economic interests, media representations, and sociohistorically contextualized relationships" (cited in Vargese et al. (2016)). Such feelings can lead to both internal and external negotiation, which might encourage self-transformation.

In the coming chapters, I intend to heed the call by Vargese et al. (2016) to explore the ways Renata and Thales perform their professional and linguistic identities with fluidity and dexterity in response to contemporary changes in society related to digital communication and media and the global flows of people and information—phenomena that portend structural changes in the TESOL field.

BELIEFS AND LANGUAGE TEACHER IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT

As explored in an earlier section of this chapter, I am compelled by Bakhtin's understanding that beliefs are cultivated through a complex process of enculturation and social construction and are central to the lens through which we observe our reality. Since the mid-1980s there has been much research focused on the role of beliefs in language learning and teaching (Barcelos & Kalaja, 2011). In this section I engage how beliefs may contribute to one's professional identity and actions as they are appropriated and negotiated within a specific context. For example, from my interest in Bakhtin's approach to language and knowledge, in this study I understand beliefs as fluctuating, meaning the same person can express different even contradictory beliefs about the

same issue as the context changes, especially during periods of transition (e.g., between high school and college or at a new place of employment) (Peng, 2011). Additionally, the complex relationship of positioning, identity, and agency is central to the development of our beliefs as we discursively construct them through negotiation with the social actors that surround us (De Costa, 2011). Even our self-concepts, which are related to emotions and affective constructs, can change depending on the situation, develop over time, and, like all other beliefs, can be contradictory (Mercer, 2011).

In this study I explore not only participants' beliefs, but also their actions, the relationship between which I understand to be complex. It is not one of cause and effect, but mediated by affordances and interpretations, as well as the aforementioned emotions, self-concepts, and socio-historical context (Barcelos & Kalaja, 2011). The concept of affordances is especially noteworthy for this study, and in the case of the classroom, they can include teacher support, meaning-focused activities, teaching methods, and the inclusion of familiar topics (Peng, 2011). Beliefs can be understood as emergent and mediators of action, as we reflect on our actions, they further influence our beliefs (Navarro & Thornton, 2011).

In summary, the interplay of our beliefs, actions, predispositions, and experience contribute to our complex sense of self that can be at times consistent, at others contradictory. I find compelling the above cited authors' suggestion that our beliefs fluctuate as we perform our agency in micro- and macro-political contexts and discourses.

IDENTITY AND CRITICAL MULTICULTURALISM

Many contemporary researchers in the TESOL field explore identity as a vehicle for understanding the sociocultural contexts of teaching and learning, teachers and learners, pedagogy, language ideologies, and the role of discourse in marginalizing and/or empowering

people (Miller, 2009). Miller proposes that research on identity allows for more nuanced and critical perspectives in a context of the internationalization and globalization of education. My project engages not only individual identity construction, but also the political context in which that construction takes place. Kubota (2004) warns against what she describes as a liberal multiculturalist tendency to exoticize and essentialize the Other by celebrating cultural difference as an end in itself; instead, she encourages critical multiculturalism, which focuses on the everyday life of people and their “political struggle to define cultural identity” (p. 35). Rather than obscure issues of power and privilege, critical multiculturalists explicitly engage racism and other kinds of injustice at the collective level, especially in education. Kubota asserts that “In critical multicultural education, teachers and students need to critically reevaluate the taken-for-granted conceptions about cultural groups, Self or Other, and understand how these conceptions are produced and perpetuated” (p. 45). For the project at hand, critical multiculturalism offers a framework for reflection on attitudes towards language variation and how it is addressed in the field of English language teaching.

ETHICAL KNOWING

Beyond the theoretical stakes that frame this study a further primary concern while conducting this research project is incorporating values and ethics into what I do. Scarino (2005) synthesizes much of the research discussed above and imbues the argument with the ethical element,

the ever-evolving act of knowing, that is, constructing, using reflecting on knowledge and its responsible use is inseparable on the one hand from the values and beliefs that comprise the ethical system that individuals develop through their ongoing processes of enculturation and on the other hand from its linguistic representation. (p. 33)

For me, engaging with ethical knowing is an approach to life and the world in a way that embraces being responsible, active members of society that work towards increased social justice. Part of this is becoming aware of researchers' own and others' "formal, theoretical, and practical orientations, their internal and often implicit frameworks of knowledge, values, and ethical dispositions and to be able to explain and justify the interpretive stances, actions, and judgments they make constantly in their work" (p. 35). This reminds me back to the ideas I developed in the Introduction in relation to my understanding of the diversity of language and the importance of undermining linguistic discrimination. Scarino describes how ethical knowing can incorporate notions of situated learning and communities of practice as it involves the construction of knowledge in interaction with others and artifacts. Furthermore, "The principle of ethical knowing is that it involves developing and using language and other forms of symbolic representations of ideas, events, actions, concepts, and procedures" (p. 49), which for me means the careful use of terms when portraying my interactions with participants and analysis of these. For the current project, I will try to ensure that ethical knowing is paramount by making it a priority to encourage a collaborative and dialogic relationship with participants in which I approach them as experts from whom I learn. This is especially germane because I am very sensitive to the fact that in my position I will be tracing the colonial footsteps described by Pennycook (1998).

Chapter 3. METHODOLOGY

In order to explore Brazilian university English professors' professional identities in relation to a translingual orientation to language, I use an ethnographic case study (Denzin & Lincoln 2005) and generate portraits of the two participants. This approach is conducive to my goal of reaching understandings of participants' knowledge, beliefs, values, attitudes, and classroom actions within a specific social context. I attempt to generate a combination of close analysis of fine details of behavior and meaning within an analysis of the wider society. Linn and Erickson (1990) describe such interpretive, qualitative research as an approach to investigating an issue empirically, through rigorous and systematic methods as required of an academic research project, without being positivist and assuming objectivity or simple cause and effect relationships. In all, I spent a full year in the field developing this study as a participant observer; the details of the methodological process are described at length below.

My contact with Renata and Thales included observing each of their classes seven times during a semester and meeting with them once every two months for joint interviews over the period of one year. Modeled to some extent after Motha's (2009) Afternoon Tea at Su's, we termed the latter Coffee Breaks at the Café. Furthermore, I eventually came to share space in their professional lives as a colleague, and in their personal lives as a friend. Such a progression came about because eighteen months after our initial contact, I was hired as an Assistant Professor at the university in which I carried out the study. This degree of access to the field context made it possible for me to generate descriptive data about their identities as I engaged with the complexities of their experience. I did so on both a broad level (i.e., how their practices

reflect international academic discussions of translingual teacher identity), as well as in relation to particularities on the local level, an approach that remits back to Bakhtin (1981, 1984, 1993). Furthermore, in treating both participants' actions and their ideas about their actions, I aim to make sense of the phenomena I encountered in terms of both the meanings that the participants bring to them and my own (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). The methodological limitations of inferring meaning from observed behavior, led me to also collect data in the form of written and spoken narratives, which enabled me to further engage with locally distinctive patterns of performed social identity (Linn & Erickson, 1990). Specifically, the documentary evidence I collected includes field notes, audio recordings and their transcripts, e-mail exchanges and teaching materials, as well as field notes from my professional notebook (described below), in which I recorded observations and insights as they occurred to me. I use these documents as a source of analytic reflection and report on them using detailed descriptions, narrative vignettes, direct quotes, and paraphrases of excerpts of participants' narratives.

As I articulated in the Introduction, I intend with this study to investigate how participants engage with language diversity and language change in the classroom in order to prepare their students for global communication in the digital age and what factors might contribute to or detract from that practice. These guiding questions and the systematic documentation of their answers allows us to make visible and problematize the everyday, commonplace, taken-for-granted activities involved in teaching English (Linn & Erickson, 1990). Moreover, through this approach to inquiry we might consider the local meanings for global phenomena, knowing that what the professors in question do at the classroom level is influenced by the context of their social spheres and cultural patterning, which, as seasoned English professors, include transnational influences. In so doing, I intend for English teaching

professionals to broaden our sense of possibilities for organizing teaching and learning additional languages.

While analyzing the data, I explore participants' beliefs and classroom practice as they relate to elements of a translingual orientation to language, such as an embrace of language variation, a focus on meaning over form, offering opportunities for students to negotiate meaning, encouraging creative use of language, and an emphasis on process over product. In line with my understanding of approaches to research inspired by Bakhtin's philosophy (1981, 1984, 1993) and the sociocultural strategy described in Linn and Erickson (1990), I explore the social, cultural, and political contexts of language teaching/learning at the university with the pseudonym University of Mid-Western Brazil (UMWB). Moreover, I treat the context of English teaching/learning at this institution as a space in which language teachers negotiate their relationships with themselves and the students in their classes (Gao, 2008). As I do so, I engage the role of English in Brazilian society, the dominant monolingual orientation to language and language teaching in Brazil, and the growing access to technology that connects Brazilians to each other and people around the world. Throughout this report, I incorporate findings from published research as well as my personal understandings as an additional language teacher in a variety of settings to give an account of the sociocultural context relevant to the participants' language teaching identities, and my own. With that in mind, I now turn to a description of how I gained site entry, possible risks of participating in the study, the data collection process, my approach to data analysis, and the writing process.

SITE ENTRY

Renata and Thales are both English professors at one of Brazil's largest, most well-known and competitive research universities. I met Renata when she joined a working group at the Brazilian Federal Ministry of Education, where I was working as a pedagogical advisor for the Languages without Borders Program, a nascent federally funded initiative aimed to improve the quantity and quality of English teaching at Brazil's universities. I was there as a U.S. State Department-sponsored Senior English Language Fellow. After meeting Renata and establishing a positive relationship, I explained my dissertation project to her. She expressed interest in participating in the study and introduced it to her twelve colleagues in the English Department at UMWB, and with their consent, she shared their e-mail addresses with me. I sent them all a message to further describe the project and invite them to participate (see Appendix A for original and Appendix B for translation). Besides Renata, Thales was the only other member of the faculty to respond to my invitation and formally agree to take part in the study. I sent a follow-up message to the others to guarantee that all of those interested had responded, still only Renata and Thales confirmed. The two of them expressed eagerness in relation to the project and even said they viewed this sort of activity as a fundamental aspect of academic life at the university. During the data collection period, and beyond it, I was able to establish not only a high level of trust and rapport with both of them, but as mentioned above, even friendship on a personal level.

POSSIBLE RISKS

There was very little risk involved in participating in the study beyond the two professors exposing their teaching practices to an outsider. Perhaps some of Renata and Thales' colleagues did not respond to my e-mails because of this. However, the two in question did not reveal themselves to be threatened by my presence; in fact, they were eager to discuss my observations

and encouraged me to give them feedback. I will describe participants' high level of confidence in their professional competence at length in coming chapters. In any case, as I explained to Renata and Thales, for any future publications that develop from this dissertation study, besides maintaining their pseudonyms, I will not include specific information about their institution; I will describe it only as one of 63 Brazilian federal public universities, which will help ensure their anonymity and further reduce any sensation of risk.

DATA COLLECTION

I collected data from multiple sources including classroom observations with audio and video recordings, collective interviews, field notes from informal conversations with Renata and Thales, analysis of teaching documents, and a professional notebook I kept during the project. Each is described in detail below.

Classroom observations and audio/video recordings.

During the second semester of 2013, I observed seven of Thales' and Renata's classes. In all of them, I took hand-written field notes in a notebook, in five of each I made digital voice recordings, and in three of each I also made video recordings. These data allowed me to explore how the two professors put their knowledge, attitudes, values, and beliefs into practice. As instructed by Linn and Erickson (1990), I would take advantage of the days in between observations to type up the field notes in order to stimulate my recall and add information when necessary. The combination of participant observation with the recordings allowed me to revisit the texts as needed as well as learn in the setting and have access to contextual information beyond the frame of the recording, as the authors recommend.

Joint interviews (Coffee Breaks at the Café).

Once every-other month, I met with the two participants at the university coffee shop to conduct collective semi-structured interviews about their teaching lives. We called these meetings Coffee Breaks at the Café, emulating Motha's (2009) "afternoon teas" (i.e., regularly scheduled, informal meetings). These allowed participants to generate knowledge collaboratively, relate their experiences to each other's, and talk about how other aspects of their lives related to their profession. A primary element of this process was that participants were active in the construction and (re)presentation of their professional identities.

I hoped this sharing and collaboration would be mutually beneficial as it might both contribute to my understandings of their identities and be a space for them to extend their own insights about themselves as teachers and as individual members of a larger community. In this small community of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991), participants might develop theories about teaching and learning languages (Wong & Motha, 2006). In this context, together we explored their personal histories and philosophies as well as a variety of teacher decision-making issues, for example, teacher characteristics, perceptions of the instructional context, perceptions of the instructional task, planning decisions, and participation structure decisions (Smith, 1999). As they constructed and reconstructed their "personal practical knowledge" (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 188), through story, image, and metaphor, they made sense of their classrooms; expressed their knowledge and understanding of teaching; and reflected on particular teaching events, students, beliefs and understandings. I specifically asked questions about biographical elements with a focus on their strategic learning efforts in order to explore participants' approaches to language learning and their relationship to sociocultural contexts (Block, 1998; Johnson & Golombek, 2002). This approach focused on the participants' voices and enhancing

my understanding of their teaching realities, especially in a context in which they have a high degree of autonomy to define their role as teachers (Linn & Erickson, 1990).

This source of data was collected during five sessions, which took place from October 2013 to July 2014. In part, the schedule extended over this ten-month period because of the difficulty in finding meeting times when all three of us were available, but this extended period also allowed me to see development of teaching perspectives over time. The conversations lasted between 45 and 90 minutes and were conducted mostly in English with occasional code-shifting and use of Portuguese by all parties. I both recorded the talks using a DVR and took written field notes during and after the interviews. The audio recordings of these meetings embody a retrievable data base that allowed me to transcribe them and generate a written text for analysis and to cite issues of interest both in future meetings and follow-up e-mails. The questions that I used as a starting point for these conversations can be found in Appendix C, D, E, and F).

The written texts generated from our conversations and follow up e-mail exchanges made it possible for me to explore Renata's and Thales's professional identities through narrative inquiry. In analyzing their stories, both written and spoken, I was able to deeply engage with their experiences and make further sense of them by relating them to my own (Denzin, 1997). I was especially focused on their "epiphanies, rituals, routines, metaphors, everyday actions, and complexities" (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p.xxiv). Furthermore, I was aware that as Renata and Thales told their stories, they were simultaneously making sense of themselves and contributing to the continued creation of their identities (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006). In contrast to the cause and effect approach of traditional, positivist methods, I used narrative inquiry not to make generalizations about a situation, but to collect experiential artifacts with the intention of

encouraging growth and transformation for me, the participants, and readers of this report (Clandinin & Connelly, 1994). While doing so, I kept in mind that life is messy and ambiguous and does not fit neatly into a traditional narrative structure of events, and if we force it into that mold, we are falsifying events (Emerson et al., 1995).

Another element of narrative inquiry that I value is that it allows for collaboration between researcher and participants if both parties share and reflect upon their stories in a meaning-making experience (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). Moreover, I am aware that what participants said and wrote for me may not represent what they think or would choose to say in another context so the data I present is a co-construction (Block, 2010). As Block asserts, we “are not only studying representational accounts of events and the views of individuals; [we] are also confronting what is intelligible and plausible to say in a given discourse community and how members of that community use shared resources to construct a position in an interview” (2010, p. 762). Blommaert (2005) suggests that “[narrative] has often been overlooked as a format of knowledge production and reproduction because of its deep context-embeddedness, its often ‘irrational’ or emotive key, and its connection to non-generalisable individual experience” (p. 84). Yet, I am drawn to narrative inquiry because of the possibility of relationship building, the way it encourages mutual reflection for all parties involved, and how such reflection can lead to discovery and growth. Narrative inquiry is also conducive to critical and postmodern theoretical approaches as it allows us to explore voices that mainstream research suppresses (Zamudio et al., 2011). For example, if we combine narrative inquiry and critical multiculturalism, we can offer “competing claims to long-standing ideologies (such as colorblindness, meritocracy, liberalism, cultural deficiency, etc.)” (p. 118).

Field notes of informal conversations.

Because the participants and I had become colleagues and friends, throughout this study we interacted on a nearly weekly basis. Often, they expressed their teaching identities in ways that were relevant to this study. When this happened, I recorded the theme in the memo function of my cellular phone in order to come back to it in my professional notebook and at times a follow-up e-mail or individual interview.

Analysis of teaching documents.

I also reviewed the written artifacts that the two professor participants used in their classes. I reviewed their syllabuses, classroom handouts, and assignments to explore if and how these documents demonstrated elements of a translingual orientation to language.

Professional notebook.

During my time in the field, at times when I could not sit down to formally write, I kept a running professional notebook in which I recorded a variety of data including sources of information that I wanted to come back to for closer study, observations, epiphanies, and analyses. Once recorded, I could come back to these ideas to include in my dissertation.

DATA ANALYSIS

As stated earlier, in order to carry out analysis of the recorded oral texts, I transcribed them all and typed all of my field notes. Also, I attained digital copies of the two participants' teaching materials. As I read these written texts, I looked for themes and then grouped examples of them in a separate document. My analysis was inductive; rather than begin with a thesis to be tested, I identified themes and patterns from the data that represent teachers' engagement with elements

of a translingual orientation to language, and in doing so showcased for reader reflection possible pedagogical strategies, even possibilities of different pedagogical realities (Denzin, 2009). I approached the data in an iterative fashion, repeatedly returning to the texts to extend meanings through analysis (Freeman, 1996). From this process of examining traces of evidence, I pieced them together into thematic mosaic representations: analytic narrative vignettes, quotes from the field notes, quotes from classroom observation transcripts, quotes from collective interview transcripts, quotes from e-mails, interpretive commentary, theoretical discussion, and reports of the natural history of inquiry (detailing my preconceived notions and commitments and the ways in which these changed over time), which, taken together, allowed me to generate and explore empirical assertions (Linn & Erickson, 1990). Analysis began with the first classroom observation and continued throughout the data collection process in order to identify themes and patterns of behavior that emerged from each component of data. This also ensured that I gathered sufficient and appropriately focused information before I completed the fieldwork (Smith, 1999).

In line with the theoretical framework I presented in the previous chapter, it is germane to note that I do not consider my notes and transcripts as representations of a singular, knowable truth, but as examples of self-presentation. I acknowledge the complexity of the social context in which this study was carried out, and as such do not attempt to *capture* and *re-present* reality on the basis of my observations, field notes, recordings, transcriptions, and analysis of these texts (Denzin, 1997). An understanding of our limited ability to (re)present reality is aptly portrayed by Goodall (2000) and in Madison (2005), who says, “Objectivity is an illusion—an illusion smuggled in the comforting blanket of positivism—that the world is ultimately knowable and secure” (p. 122). Beyond just the limitations of (re)presenting reality, I agree with Denzin

(1997) that there is a danger in objectively trying to *capture* and reproduce reality in descriptions of a society because in doing so we portray our fellow human beings as objects and grant ourselves power over them, which Gergen and Gergen (2008) warn is a form of degradation and exploitation. These criticisms of traditional ethnographies (and research in general) have profoundly changed my understanding of academic endeavors and possibilities for ways to develop research that is collaborative, reciprocal, trusting, and non-oppressive (see my discussion of ethical knowing in the previous chapter). Instead of establishing neat “us and them” dichotomies, I “attempt to connect mobile, moving, shifting minds (and their representations) to a shifting, external world” (Denzin, 1997, pp. 31-32). The text I created is explicitly self-reflexive because I assume that we can never really understand other people; we can only attempt to understand ourselves and the lens through which we observe (and participate in) our surroundings (Geertz, 1973). What we write, even when mediated and negotiated by members’ points of view, will always be our version of events and through our choices, we actively create realities and meanings (Emerson et al., 1995), thus I refer to the data analysis chapters as portraits instead of case studies. Recognizing the objective limitations of our inquiry allows us to remove the aim of achieving the authority of cause-and-effects, and we are liberated to explore other aspects of the human experience (Wolcott, 2005) through a variety of methods and techniques from a variety of bodies of knowledge (i.e., an *antidisciplinary* knowledge (Pennycook, 2001)).

This paradigmatic shift in research has consequences in relation to our concept of validity. In this research project, my intent is to demonstrate plausibility, as opposed to causal relationships. As Linn and Erickson (1990) explain, “The aim is to persuade the audience that an adequate evidentiary warrant exists for the assertions made, that patterns of generalization within

the data set are indeed as the researcher claims they are” (p. 159). As the inquiry progressed, I tried to remain prepared to reframe my assertions should I encounter disconfirming evidence, and this approach allowed me to make key linkages among various items of data and from them identify both patterns of generalization and exceptions that illustrated the complexities, manifestations of both instabilities and contradictions, of participants’ identities and their social context (Morgan, 2007). In other words, while Linn and Erickson express the view that it is important to reflect on arguments that depend on the interpretive analysis of rare events because these can undermine the validity of conclusions, I view these as central to our understandings and not necessarily disconfirming. Through a reiterative process of questioning and comparison, I revised the initial coding categories and searched for explanatory relationships among the categories and statements within the same categories (Patton, 1990; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Furthermore, replicability, which in traditional approaches to research was the primary means for achieving validity, is not a goal of mine because, as I expressed in the previous chapter, I understand that nothing that happens in our lives is ever an exact repetition (Wolcott, 2005). With my goal of further understanding linguistic discrimination in our contemporary global society, one measure of validity for my project is its potential to contribute to social and political change (Pennycook, 2001).

One more way that I attempt to establish the validity of my findings is by including various genres of texts (oral narratives, written narratives, e-mails, field notes, etc.), which allows me to explore the English teaching context I encountered in Brazil from various perspectives and versions of truth (Denzin, 1997). This hybrid, kaleidoscopic view “erodes confidence in any single story (or grand narrative)” (Locke, 2004, p. 34) and can evoke an emotional response in the reader, which Denzin (2009) considers a measure of verisimilitude. In

this sense, another goal of my research is to potentially produce a therapeutic experience for the reader and writer that helps achieve narrative discovery and self-revelation. Instead of presenting neat and clean data, contemporary qualitative researchers can keep our stories complicated and demonstrate inconsistencies and irregularities in what we see, hear, touch, and feel (Saldaña, 2009). Again, this allows us to move away from positivism and its colonial epistemological legacy towards one that is less hierarchical and more constructive for both researcher, researched, and reader by blurring the lines between the three.

As I mentioned in the Introduction and Theoretical Framework chapter, a further research goal of mine is to contribute to increased equity. I acknowledge the challenges of overcoming completely the exploitative nature of ethnographic research because when we work with people, to some degree we are always appropriating their cultures, performances, and life histories in order to advance our academic careers (Goodall, 2000). While postmodern research methods may be more polyphonic, pluralistic, interpretive, and open-ended, they are still hierarchical arrangements of discourses (Clifford, 1986). Clifford suggests, “Even the best ethnographic texts—serious, true fictions—are systems, or economies, of truth. Power and history work through them, in ways their authors cannot fully control” (p. 7). However, I believe we can minimize exploitation by collaborating with participants, honoring them, and by thoroughly scrutinizing ourselves in the same way we do them during the writing process (Goodall, 2000).

WRITING THE REPORT

While writing the report of my research findings, I included several of the elements set out in Linn and Erickson (1990) that I mentioned in the previous section, including analytic narrative vignettes, quotes from field notes, quotes from classroom observation transcripts, quotes from

collective interview transcripts, quotes from e-mails, interpretive commentary, theoretical discussion, and report on the natural history of inquiry in the study. To paraphrase these authors, I attempted to incorporate all of these in order to offer ample evidence and explanations for my assertions.

Analytic narrative vignettes.

By reporting instances of social action in narrative vignettes, I attempted to create vivid portrayals of events of everyday life, in which the sights and sounds of what was being said and done were described in the natural sequence of their occurrence in real time. My goal for this moment-to moment style of description was to create for the reader the sense of *being there* in the scene. According to Linn and Erickson (1990), this is a persuasive technique because the concrete particulars of the events reported instantiate the general analytic concepts. Another contribution of this sort of storytelling is that once we bring these reports to awareness, we can reflect on them critically.

Quotes from field notes.

I include specific quotes of instances of social action from my own field notes in order to report on my reactions to events at the time of witnessing them.

Quotes from interviews.

I quote instances of interview comments from their transcriptions throughout my interpretive commentary and analytic narrative so that readers are exposed to the ideas of participants in the way that they produced them.

Quotes from classroom observations.

I cite specific examples of participants' translingual practice and engagement with linguistic diversity and change during their classroom activities from the corresponding transcriptions.

Interpretive commentary.

I included interpretive commentary preceding and following a description of a particular instance in order to frame it and indicate to the reader the analytic type of the concrete token in question. This practice points the reader to the details that are salient to me, and to my own meaning-interpretations. Furthermore, it helped me develop reflective awareness and enabled me to become an analyst as well as reporter (Linn & Erickson, 1990). I also reported and framed general descriptive data in order to show the reader the typicality or atypicality of particular instances. As Linn and Erickson point out, demonstrating the validity of an assertion about the significance of an instance can only be done by citing analogous instances. Thus, they encourage us to report linked instances and show in summary fashion the overall distribution of instances in the data corpus.

Theoretical discussion.

The data I present in this study generates a variety of theoretical implications in terms of English language teacher identities in the context of a Brazilian academic community that continues to increase its communication on a global scale, especially through the use of digital technology, as well as programs like the Brazilian Scientific Mobility Program and Languages without Borders, both of which I will describe in the next chapter.

Report of the natural history of inquiry in the study.

As part of the autobiographical nature of this study, I report how key concepts in the analysis evolved. Besides retracing my steps as an exercise in reflection, this also enhances the plausibility of my final interpretations by showing the reader that both my understandings of participants' translingual practice and my understandings of the concept itself changed during the course of study (Linn & Erickson, 1990). I reveal how I was open to perceiving, recording, and reflecting on evidence that would disconfirm my preconceived notions and commitments and the ways in which these changes took place. According to the authors cited, this approach deepens the reader's engagement with the setting as they reflect on the process of developing key assertions and analytic constructs in the role of co-analyst of the case reported and judge of the validity of the author's interpretation.

Particular and general description.

According to Linn and Erickson (1990), particular description is the essential core of a report of fieldwork research and this is in turn supported by general description in order to encourage the reader to make connections between the details that are being reported.

Literature review.

Reading and rereading model studies and methodological guides during all phases of the research generated reflection on the fieldwork and contributed to my report. Also, participation in academic events such as the Associação de Linguística Aplicada do Brasil (ALAB) Conference, the International Conference of Critical Applied Linguistics (ICCAL), and the International Association for Applied Linguistics (AILA) World Congress generated contact

with new ideas and new possibilities of interpretation of the data presented in this study. In fact, many of the authors I cite throughout this study were present at these events. For example, Suresh Canagarajah was a Key Note speaker at both ALAB and AILA and Alstair Pennycook participated in this same role at ICCAL.

Coding.

As I analyzed the written and oral texts produced during this study with the questions listed in the Introduction chapter above in mind, several categories emerged related to participants' linguistic and professional identities, particularly in relation to their values, beliefs, attitudes, and classroom actions, all of which I understand as central elements in participants' ability to achieve their professional and personal goals. Taken together, I used these categories to interpret their teaching practice in relation to a translingual orientation to language. I discuss my findings in light of these categories in the coming chapters, the first of which explores the context of English teaching in Brazil.

Chapter 4. A PORTRAIT OF ENGLISH TEACHING IN BRAZIL

After a full, ten-hour day of work at the Brazilian Federal Ministry of Education's Languages without Borders Program, I embark on my daily half-mile walk along the Esplanada dos Ministérios (similar to Washington, D.C.'s National Mall). While the wide, Mango-tree-lined sidewalk in front of the Ministries is usually peaceful after the 6-7 p.m. rush, today I walk against the flow of tens of thousands of protestors, who are on their way to the crown of the Esplanada, the Oscar-Niemeyer-designed National Congress, with its side-by-side chambers: the roof of the Senate capped by a dome, the roof of the House of Representatives by a giant bowl. Two 100-meter symmetrical annex towers sit behind them and house the offices of the Senators and Representatives. They mark the landscape as the tallest buildings in Brasília, and by design no skyscrapers can be built to match their height. The Congress sits opposite the Central Station, which is where I am headed to catch the commuter train home. The mile strip of well-mowed grass is lined on either side by thirteen matching Niemeyer-designed nine-story rectangular ministry buildings. This is the political and bureaucratic heart of Brazil.

The river of protestors I walk in the opposite direction of flows to the rhythm of the national anthem and Brazilian battle cry: "Eu sou brasileiro! Com muito orgulho! Com muito amor!" [I am Brazilian! Full of pride! Full of love!]. Some carry the Brazilian flag, others wear it. Most hold signs demanding the federal government improve education, infrastructure, or the national healthcare system. Many have signs decrying corruption. It is June 2013, and Brazil is in the midst of hosting the international soccer Confederation's Cup as a warm up for the World Cup, which will take place the following year. Despite more than a decade of unprecedented economic growth and political stability, there are still deep-rooted

socioeconomic, health, education and political deficiencies that prod the population to protest. Early that morning, I had received warning from my contacts at the U.S. Embassy for U.S. citizens to avoid the Esplanada during the protests because of potential violence and vandalism, yet I arrive unscathed at the Central Station. In fact, even though they are motivated by frustration and anger, the mood of the participants is jovial. They smile, sing, beat drums: a national protest, Brazilian style, organized through Facebook. By 10 p.m., the mood had swayed as protestors defied security forces and attempted to enter the building and were pushed back by force.

To better engage with Thales's and Renata's professional and linguistic identities, in this chapter, I provide a brief overview of the context in which they carry out their teaching lives, especially historical, political, cultural, socioeconomic, and educational elements. My understandings of this process come from fifteen plus years of contact with the Brazilian experience. During this time, I have fulfilled the role of husband to a Brazilian wife, father to transnational children, English teacher in a variety of settings, student, and consultant to the federal Ministry of Education. I have lived in the Amazon region of the North, the semi-arid region of the Northeast, and the savanna of the Mid-west, and visited 23 of the country's 27 states and 34 of its 63 federal universities. That said, I hope readers of both early and late drafts alike will share their response to this (and other) chapters with me, emphasize my blind spots, and call on me to revise points where my reflections and analysis are flawed. My intention is to present these themes not in terms of cause and effect but in terms of exploring complexities, contradictions, and possibilities.

For more than five hundred years, Brazil has been a country of contrasts for its population. Its territory is larger than that of the continental U.S. and borders 10 of the other 12

countries of South America with natural and human resources as vast, vibrant, and diverse as its landscape. It is the only country in the Americas in which Portuguese is the official and predominant language with about 200 million of the world's 210 million speakers; most of the other 10 million are in Portugal, but Portuguese is also widely spoken in Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique, and São Tomé e Príncipe in Africa and East Timor in Asia (Ethnologue: Languages of the World, 2016). Ostler (2005) attributes the prevalence of Portuguese in Brazil to two primary factors, "In brief, Brazil was the only one of its colonies where Portugal found both a significant source of wealth which was attractive to immigrants, and no pre-existing power strong enough to resist its domination" (p. 391). The next largest country in South America has a quarter of the population of Brazil. Throughout its history, Brazil has been marked by significant socioeconomic challenges including exploitation of labor, corruption, poverty, lack of infrastructure, racism, sexism, each of which large portions of contemporary society decry and are working to overcome. What I attempt to do in the following sections is provide a minimal reflection on these issues that might later contribute to my understandings of participants' professional identities.

NATIONAL ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT

It may seem that a description of national origins is beyond the scope of this project; however, I include this section because Brazil's origins have an important linguistic element, and Renata and Thales both mentioned aspects of this process as contributing to Brazilian national identity.

Parts of the territory that is today Brazil have been inhabited by people for at least 10,000 years (Levine & Crocitti, 1999). European colonization (mostly Portuguese, but also French and Dutch) began in 1500. The Portuguese found the territory to be abundant in Brazilwood trees, which were also common in India, and known for the valuable red dye that could be made from

them (Souza, 2001); the name for the tree, and country, comes from the Latin word for ember: *brasa*. In the coming years, the Portuguese accumulated records of more than 2,000 indigenous tribes, with estimates of as many as 8 million people. The diversity of their lifestyles and languages matched the geographical area's varied landscape and ecosystems (Lopes, 2015). In 2010, the number of remaining tribes was 220 (67 of which had not been contacted by outsiders) with roughly 500,000 members, 0.14% of the Brazil's total population (UNESCO, 2010). Despite the decimation, most Brazilians have indigenous ancestry, primarily the result of male Portuguese colonists fathering children with indigenous women. Until 1910, the Catholic Church had exclusive authorization from the government to interact with indigenous tribes, which included a 400-year-long conversion agenda that included forcing them to learn Portuguese (Akkari, 2013).

In the first century of colonization, the Portuguese introduced sugarcane and imported slaves from Africa to harvest it. The economically powerful exploited people in this fashion in the successive waves of the Brazilian export economy, including gold mining in the 18th century and coffee cultivation in the 19th. Brazil was the largest importer of slaves in history and the practice wasn't abolished until 1888 (Brown Library, 2012). For a sense of the scale of slavery in Brazil, and the linguistic results, Ostler (2005) states,

Of the 10 million African slaves shipped to the Americas between 1526 and 1870, 3.6 million went to Brazil alone, at first to provide labour for sugar plantations, later for cotton and tobacco. As in the other slave economies of the Americas, the Africans could not bring their languages with them. They were in contact with too few of their ex-neighbours to speak those languages, for the slave markets distributed them without regard to origin all over the colonies, and they had perforce to learn the language of their

new masters. Often too those very masters would become the fathers of their children; in a very few generations most of the population came to be of mixed blood, but nonetheless speakers just of Portuguese. (p. 391)

Still, the people from Africa brought as slaves did have an impact on the Portuguese spoken in Brazil, with the most obvious evidence of this being in vocabulary. With no comprehensive plan to integrate freed slaves into society, and no established public system of education, after emancipation, most faced extreme poverty as subsistence farmers and laborers (Eulich, 2014). Later in this chapter, I will discuss recent efforts by Brazil to attempt to reconcile this, but despite them, the original lack of a policy to integrate the freed slaves into society and especially the lack of educational infrastructure continues to have a negative impact on Afro-Brazilians' socioeconomic situation.

For the first 300 plus years of Brazilian colonization, Portugal maintained an imperial, primarily extractive, mercantile policy until Prince Dom Pedro I, who was living in Brazil as its Regent, declared independence from the motherland in 1822, after which its political history is quite diverse. The success of sugarcane, mining, and later cattle ranching led to massive immigration and the number of Portuguese speakers increased from less than 150,000 around 1650 to over 1,500,000 in 1770 and forced out most of the many indigenous languages, some, like Tupi-Guarani, had previously been spoken as lingua francas in great numbers across vast areas, including by the Portuguese colonists (Ostler, 2005), so these languages too left their mark on Brazilian Portuguese.

The Brazilian monarchy lasted for 67 years, then the country wavered between short-lived democracies and various forms of dictatorships, including a cold-war-stimulated military coup in 1964, which lasted until 1985. The current democratic system appears to be stable, but

faces formidable challenges, especially in relation to how to loosen the grip that the traditional economic elite holds on positions of power throughout society. Since the earliest European colonization project, there is ample evidence of public servants abusing and exploiting their compatriots while perpetuating their own position of privilege, including contemporary systematic corruption schemes in bids and contracts at every level of government. Furthermore, the Catholic religious philosophy that dominated Brazilian society for hundreds of years, which required people to accept societal hierarchies, including the ostentatious wealth of the church, may have contributed significantly to the history of socioeconomic disparities (Weber, 1930). With corruption in political, business, religious, and military institutions all closely aligned, many Brazilian academics cultivate anti-capitalist ideologies. It is common for those in the academic community to believe that the people of Brazil are the victims of exploitation by successive European and U.S. power brokers in collaboration with local political and economic elites, which contributes to a national ambivalence towards the English language. I will discuss this further in a later section of this chapter.

Brazil's history is not only marked by varying degrees of political instability, but also, in the past century, urbanization, the changing roles of women, high poverty rates, income disparities, and continued racism. In terms of demographics, for example, in 1955, 41% of Brazilians lived in cities, in 2015, the rate was 86% (Brazil Population, 2016). In comparison, the U.S. population was 67% urban in 1955 and 83% in 2016 (U.S. Population, 2016). While in many cases, urbanization has been unplanned and unregulated with precarious infrastructure for vast portions of the population. Yet, the even harsher conditions in rural areas is what has spurred the migration; even in 2014, roughly half of the 36 million who lived in rural areas were in the poorest income bracket (International Fund for Agricultural Development, 2016).

In relation to women's social transition, in 1955, the fertility rate was 6.15 children, in 2015, it had dropped to 1.82 (Gorney, 2011). In the U.S., in those two periods, it was 3.33 and 1.97 respectively (U.S. Population, 2016). Women's experience has significantly shifted from primarily homemaking to professional (Gorney, 2011), and in 2014, 59.9% of those who concluded a college degree were women (INEP, 2015). Even so, women are still significantly underrepresented in the political sphere and other positions of leadership in society, and they earn 62% in relation to their male counterparts with similar credentials, which is the largest disparity among the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries (OECD, 2015). Furthermore, in 2015 rates of violence against women and femicide were fifth highest in the world (Galvão, 2016).

It is difficult to find statistics on unemployment rates for Brazil prior to the end of the military dictatorship, but since 1981, it has fluctuated between 14.11% and 4.85%. For most of the reign of the Worker's Party from 2002 to 2016, unemployment rates were low and poverty rates dropped from 24.7% in 2001 to 7.4% in 2014 (World Bank, 2016), the same year the country was removed from FAO's world map of malnutrition (IFAD, 2016). The federal welfare program called *Bolsa Família* (Family Stipend) contributed greatly to the change (Croix, 2012). This conditional cash transfer tactic started in 2003 and established that mothers of families who earn less than \$77 a month (IPEA, 2014) receive funds as long as their children maintain a school attendance rate of 85% and get regular health examinations, including vaccinations (Brick, 2014a). By 2014, the Brazilian middle class, considered those consumers able to make purchases beyond basic needs, had grown by 50 million people and essentially doubled from 2003 to more than 60% of the population (Arnold & Salles, 2014). Not only did poverty decrease during that period, but like the rest of Latin America, so did income inequality (Roser,

2016); though, rates are still high. In 2014, the wealthiest 10% of Brazilians controlled 3 times more economic resources than the lowest 40% (Lisboa, 2015).

Another prominent challenge for Brazilian nation building is how to overcome continued racial inequality. Those who identify themselves as Afro-Brazilians (53.6% of the population in 2014 (Lisboa, 2015)) have enjoyed economic gains proportionally less than their compatriots who self-declare as “white”; in 2014, Afro-Brazilians continued to be considerably disadvantaged in terms of family stability, housing, education, salary, and safety. For example, in 2012, 38.6% of the Afro-Brazilian population earned up to half the Brazilian national minimum wage, while 19.2% of the Caucasian population did (IPEA, 2014). Illiteracy among Afro-Brazilians (12.9%) and mixed-race (11.6%) Brazilians in 2012 was considerably higher than the national average (8.6%), and when we compare the percentage of those who identify themselves as “black” in the Northeast who are illiterate (20%) to that of those who identify themselves as “white” in the Southeast (3.3%) the discrepancy is even more pronounced (Brick, 2014a). Furthermore, in 2013, while 28.06% of those who identified themselves as “white” had a college degree, only 11.81% of those who identified themselves as “mixed-race” did, and 9.25% of those who identified themselves as “black” (Brick, 2014a). Additionally, there is a staggering difference in the percentage of Afro-Brazilians who suffer violent deaths (often at the hands of the police) and incarceration (Escóssia, 2015). I include a brief discussion of these elements of Brazilian society in this and previous paragraphs in order to document both attempts to improve access to education and undermine inequalities while also highlighting continued racial discrepancies that potentially influence who has access to contemporary digital technology, how they use it, and what language they use to consume it.

THE CONSTITUTION OF 1988 AND EDUCATIONAL RIGHTS

The contemporary Brazilian experience is profoundly influenced by the drafting of the Federal Constitution of 1988, which was the 7th in the country's history. This lengthy legal document includes 250 Articles and 92 Amendments. In response to the dictatorship of the 1960s and 1970s, it not only limits the state's ability to infringe on individual freedoms and punish offenses, but also deals specifically with educational rights, emphasizes cooperation, focuses on the elimination of poverty, and attempts to generate social inclusion (UNESCO, 2010).

Highlights related to education include Article 205, which states that public education is guaranteed for all citizens and has as its underlying philosophy that it contribute to the development of individuals capable of participating positively in society, with the skills needed for a profession (Brasil, 1988). Article 206 not only establishes that public schools be cost free for citizens, but that they include groups historically denied access to education, and the establishment and maintenance of night school and early childhood development classes. It also guarantees the right to learn, teach, and research, and recognizes the plurality of ideas and pedagogical approaches. Furthermore, it establishes a nation-wide minimum wage for public school teachers. In relation to higher education, Article 207 establishes this level of schooling serve society through integrating teaching, research, and outreach activities. When these rights are denied, Brazilian citizens can seek justice through the national Penal Code.

The attention to education in the federal constitution was important because into the 1990s, only 30% of the population had completed high school (Eulich, 2014), and as late as 2001, 85.7% of the country's rural population had not completed primary education (Brick, 2014b). From 2005 to 2012, government spending for primary, secondary, and post-secondary non-tertiary institutions increased by 82% (OECD, 2015). In 2015, the percentage of those aged

25-34 that had completed a secondary degree was more than twice that for those aged 55-64 (Council, 2015) and the overall percentage of Brazilians who had completed high school increased from 24.7% in 2001 to 40.1% in 2012 (Brick, 2014b), compared to a 75% average for OECD countries (Council, 2015). Figure 1 below illustrates the increases in educational attainment by comparing results for individuals at the end of their working lives and those at the beginning.

Table 1, Comparison of educational attainment rates in Brazil by age for 2014 (Council, 2015)

	Percent of population with high school diploma in 2014	Percent of population with college diploma in 2014
55 to 64 year olds	26%	9%
25 to 34 year olds	53%	13%

Since 1980, the number of public federal universities has increased from 37 to 63. The increase in private institutions of higher learning has been even more pronounced, and in 2015 their number reached 2,069 (INEP, 2015), of which 72% of students were enrolled in night school (INEP, 2015). As more Brazilians get a high school diploma and the Brazilian economy continues to develop, enrollments have increased summarily, including by 73% from 2003 to 2011 (Council, 2015). In 2012, for the first time the percentage of the population with a college diploma (11%) surpassed that with no formal schooling (Brick, 2014b). Figure 2 shows how the overall number of Brazilian higher education students has increased nearly eight-fold since 1980. By comparison, there were about 20 million higher education students in the U.S. (Digest of Education Statistics, 2016) and 40 million in China (ICEF, 2016). It is important to note that while access to higher education has improved, it is still limited and there has been an on-going

deficit of qualified professionals in many areas (Chaves, 2014), especially health care, engineering, information technology, technology development, and geology (Venceslau, 2013), which has limited growth in these and related economic sectors in Brazil (ANDIFES, 2012).

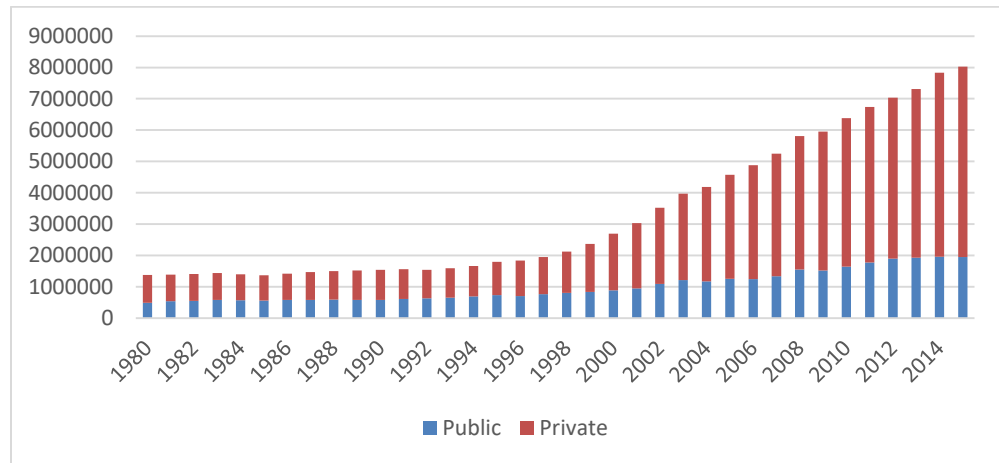


Figure 1, Enrollments in institutions of higher education in Brazil from 1980-2015, public and private

In general, federal universities are the most prestigious and the most competitive in Brazil because there are no tuition fees and they attract the most qualified professors because they offer the highest salaries and professional stability compared to state and private colleges. They are also the site of most of the country’s research. In 2014, data showed 57.9% of the professors at public universities had achieved a doctorate degree, while only 20.8% of those employed by private colleges had (INEP, 2015). Despite recent efforts to make federal universities more inclusive, most students and professors come from the ranks of Brazil’s economically privileged. Paradoxically, families in Brazil’s middle and upper economic classes usually pay for their children to attend private schools that prepare them to compete for the free federal universities. The economically underprivileged masses attend public elementary and high schools, are often unprepared for competitive degree programs at public universities and then pay to study at the

less competitive private colleges (Akkari, 2013). The current government has instituted a program aimed at undermining this societal contradiction: the *Programa Universidade para Todos* (PROUNI), University for All Program, which offers full scholarships for qualified private college students who earn the federal minimum wage and half scholarships for those who earn three times the minimum wage (PROUNI, 2014). In its first ten years, the program has benefited more than a million Brazilian college students and in the first semester of 2013 offered 144,639 full scholarships and 45,416 half scholarships (Números do Prouni, 2014). Another way the Ministry of Education is addressing this issue is by transitioning out of a system in which each university or college has its own entrance exam, called the *vestibular*, to using the National High School Exam (ENEM) scores for college admission. In Brazil, prospective students choose a major before they begin their college career and compete with other candidates who are also vying for the same major by taking their preferred institution's test. In the traditional system, applicants would pay an exam fee and travel to the respective universities to take the tests on the single day they were offered each year. A qualifying grade on either the *vestibular* or the ENEM, and a high school diploma are the only criteria taken into consideration for acceptance. In 2014, more than 6 million people applied to college using their ENEM score. Not having to travel and pay for each university's *vestibular* is creating new opportunities for academic mobility.

There is widespread concern for the difference in the quality of the educational experience between public and private colleges. For example, the explosion in private institutions has led to what has been called a crisis in the field of Applied Linguistics as the curriculums of foreign language majors at the latter often does not engage with state-of-the-art approaches to language learning or the demands of contemporary life on language teaching

professionals (Filho, 2000). Many such institutions have not developed robust teaching practicums that would allow the novice teachers to experience what it is like to lead an additional language class on a regular basis (Paiva & Oliveira, 2013). Furthermore, many teachers at private schools and colleges complain that the educational experience they provide is treated as a commodity by parents, students, and administrators. In some cases, students and parents express the idea that they pay the teacher's salary, which makes them the boss when disputing grades, and often administrators do little to counteract this attitude. In a 2015 interview, the Minister of Education, an economist by trade, revisited the idea that private colleges are not adequately preparing those in teacher education programs, and said that if Brazil developed doctors like it does teachers, patients would die. Furthermore, he reinforced the idea that these courses are dominated by theory, without enough space dedicated to practice (Pinto, 2015). Still, with Brazil being so vastly underserved in terms of higher education, the private colleges play a fundamental role in society, and the Brazilian federal government established the National System of Higher Education Evaluation (SINAES) to regulate them and focus on institutions' social commitments (UNESCO, 2010).

Another major program that is reshaping the landscape of higher education is Brazilian affirmative action. As stated above, the Federal Constitution of 1988 and other national legal documents establish the government's commitment to eliminating discrimination in education. For example, the Common National Base was modified in 2008 to help reduce racial prejudice against Afro-Brazilians and indigenous Brazilians by requiring that their histories and contributions to Brazilian society be studied in elementary and high school (UNESCO, 2010). And Article 78 of the Federal Constitution states that it is the Bureau of Indigenous Affairs' (FUNAI) duty to develop bilingual and intercultural programs for students in indigenous tribes to

recover their historical memory and reaffirm their ethnic identity while guaranteeing information disseminated both within and beyond the tribal community (Brick, 2014a). Still, people of color are extremely underrepresented in Brazilian higher education and affirmative action is one of several programs that the federal government has sponsored in recent years to help overcome the centuries of structural racial inequality that hamper the socioeconomic prosperity of those who identify as Afro-Brazilian and indigenous (IPEA, 2014). The initial program designated 25% of federal university openings for Afro Brazilians (Ali, 2015), and was later expanded to reserve 50% of these spots for Afro-Brazilians, Indigenous Brazilians, and low-income graduates of Brazilian public high schools (Legislação, 2012), making it the most comprehensive such program in the Western Hemisphere (Lloyd, 2014). Included in the plan is a need-based federal grant for these students to help them overcome the financial barriers that might hinder them from completing their degrees (Costa, 2015). Between 2004 and 2014, the percentage of university students between the ages of 18 and 24 who identified themselves as Afro-Brazilians increased from 16.7% to 45.5% (Bôas & Vettorazzo, 2015). Like criticisms leveled against affirmative action in universities in the U.S., some people in Brazil complain that this program is a form of reverse discrimination and that it lowers the standards at universities. However, several studies have shown that academic results of the beneficiaries are similar to those of their colleagues (Pimentel, 2015).

While the Federal Constitution of 1988 establishes the rights of citizens in relation to education, the Lei de Diretrizes e Bases (Foundational Directives Law) establishes the administrative guidelines for the management of public education, and the Parâmetros Curriculares Nacionais (National Curricular Parameters) establishes the content for each grade level and discipline (Instituto de Pesquisa Planos CDE, 2015). Language development is one of the three primary fields of knowledge that the National Curriculum Parameters cite as central to

pupils' personal development as agentive citizens (Ministry of Education, 2000). The document reflects many of the foundational elements of the translingual turn. It states:

Language pervades knowledge and the different forms of knowing; thought and the different forms of thinking; communication and the different forms of communicating; action and the different forms of acting. It is the invented wheel that mobilizes humankind and that is mobilized by human kind. A cultural product and production, arising by virtue of social practices, language is human, and, like humankind, it distinguishes itself for its simultaneously creative, contradictory, multidimensional, multiple and unique nature [translation my own]. (p. 14)

This explanation of language as changing with the shifting social demands of society by policy makers at the federal level, offers potential for language teachers in Brazil to distance themselves from a grounding in prescriptive grammar towards developing communicative strategies. The National Curriculum Parameters also highlight the potential for modern foreign languages to be central to one's personal and social development through further inclusion in the global community. As stated in the document,

Because of their status of a symbolic system, like any other language, foreign languages work as means of access to knowledge and, thus, to different forms of thinking, creating, feeling, acting and understanding reality, which affords students a more comprehensive and more solid training [translation my own]. (Ministry of Education, 2000, p. 20)

Additionally, this document recognizes that our use of language changes with changing social conditions and that language learning can potentially be a site for undermining prejudice.

The world vision of each people varies according to several factors and, as a result, the language also undergoes changes in order to express new ways of looking at reality.

Hence the importance of understanding the teaching of a foreign language as being ultimately aimed at providing for real communication, and, in so doing, the different elements that make up communication will indeed prove effective, thus expanding and attaching meaning to the learning process, while doing away with stereotypes and prejudices that will therefore no longer have a place in the classroom [translation my own]. (Ministry of Education, 2000, p. 21)

In contrast to the way these official documents engage contemporary linguistic understandings of language, for decades two driving forces reinforced elements of a monolingual orientation to language: the college entrance exams and civil servant tests. In both cases, test takers across the country were asked in multiple choice format to fill in blanks with the correct grammatical form on both the Portuguese and foreign language sections of the tests. In 2015, the format of the language section of the ENEM had changed and it instead focused on reading comprehension and interpretation, but other standardized tests have not.

RECENT ECONOMIC GROWTH AND ACCESS TO DIGITAL TECHNOLOGY

From 2002 to 2014, Brazil enjoyed unprecedented economic growth, poverty reduction, and international prestige. During this period, the economy benefited tremendously from a combination of commodity exports (especially iron ore and soy beans), consumer spending facilitated by the expansion of credit, and ambitious national social welfare programs (Prada, 2013). The GDP reached US\$2.3 trillion in 2014 (Overview of Brazil, 2016); only six countries had a larger economy (the U.S., China, Japan, Germany, Great Britain, and France) (Brazil in the World, 2016). One result of improving economic conditions was the growth of the telecommunications industry. The percentage of smartphone users increased by 20% from 2013 to 2014, surpassing the percentage of that in the U.S. (Kersley & Ramanathan, 2015), and in

2013, the country had 100 million internet users, of whom 40% accessed it daily, and 79% of whom were active on social networking sites, including more Facebook users than any other country in the world except the United States (eMarketer, 2013), and as I mentioned in the vignette at the beginning of this chapter, Facebook played a key role in the 2013 protests. The country is currently developing a satellite system in partnership with France to provide internet in even the most remote areas of its territory, which was expected to be complete in early 2017 (Agência Brasil, 2016). As Brazilians further integrate into the global society through use of the internet and hand-held devices, the demand for them to be able to interact in English grows (Council, 2015).

THE INTERNATIONALIZATION OF BRAZILIAN HIGHER EDUCATION.

With the increase of more than 6 million university students in 20 years in Brazil, recently, institutions of higher learning have attempted to offer more systematic support in a variety of areas, one of them being participation in the international academic community. The primary readings in many fields are mostly written in English, and CAPES, the Government Agency for the Improvement and Evaluation of Higher Education Personnel, whose primary task is to monitor and evaluate the country's graduate courses and evaluate scientific journals, places a high value on publishing in international journals for academic career advancement.

Furthermore, there is widespread agreement among Brazilian academic and political leaders that internationalization holds potential for improving Brazilians' lives through social, economic, and cultural opportunities (ANDIFES, 2012). In 2015, there were more than twice as many university students going abroad than in 2000 (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2016).

Objectives of this process include further establishing Brazil as a country where science, technology, and innovation are produced so that it might develop in areas of the knowledge

economy (ANDIFES, 2012), and increasing international academic cooperation and problem-solving (Carvalho & Maia, 2015).

Not only does the goal of internationalization include Brazilians' intellectual mobility, but also the ability of Brazilian universities to receive students, professors, and researchers from other countries (ANDIFES, 2012). This is an area that still needs considerable improvement. While 173 of the world's countries had some university students in Brazil in 2014, only 20 had more than 200, nine of which were South American countries (INEP, 2015). Traditionally, there has been a high degree of intellectual drain in Brazil with prominent researchers seeking employment abroad due to challenges such as lack of funding, impediments for foreign graduate students to join research teams, and cumbersome bidding processes for acquiring research materials (Ciscati, 2016). Two federal programs created during the current National Education Plan (PNE) to support internationalization are the Brazilian Scientific Mobility Program and Languages without Borders, which I will describe in turn.

In 2011, the federal government established the Brazilian Scientific Mobility Program (BSMP) to establish study-abroad opportunities at top research universities around the world. With the program, the number of Brazilians enrolled in foreign universities increased from 35,000 to more than 100,000. Previously, institutional activities related to internationalization had been carried out at individual universities by specific faculty members with connections abroad (Council, 2015), and only a few highly prestigious universities in São Paulo and Minas Gerais stood out for their well-established international exchange programs. By 2015, nearly 30,000 participants had gone to the US. The next closest group by country was the United Kingdom with close to 11,000, followed by Canada, France, and Australia, all with a little more than 7,000 (Painel de Controle do Programa Ciência sem Fronteiras, 2016). The implementation

of this program has made Brazil prominent in the context of international higher education (Carvalho & Maia, 2015), and university recruiters from abroad are now a part of the landscape (ICEF, 2013).

Initially, the Brazilian Scientific Mobility Program was in danger of not meeting its goals because of a limited number of candidates able to meet the minimum requirement for additional language proficiency. For this reason, the Ministry of Education created the English without Borders program to provide English learning opportunities and access to an internationally recognized language proficiency exam for the nation's academic community. The program was expanded to Languages without Borders (LwB) in 2014 and now includes French, German, Italian, Japanese, Portuguese as an Additional Language, and Spanish, with plans to include Chinese and Russian. There are three primary actions all completely subsidized by the Brazilian federal government: an on-line self-study course, administration of an internationally recognized standardized proficiency test, and face-to-face classes. I will focus on the English actions specifically in the coming paragraphs due to their relevance to the study at hand. As of December 2016, the on-line self-study English course, which was adapted for this specific population by Cengage Learning and National Geographic had more than 900,000 participants (Curso Online, 2016). The program had also administered more than 400,000 TOEFL ITP tests (Sistema de Gestão IsF, 2016). Finally, it offers 20,000 seats simultaneously for its face-to-face classes across the country. The latter action is a focal point of teacher development as the instructors are all undergraduate teacher-track interns in the given language. In Brazil, language majors can choose either a teaching or a translation focus, and those who choose the first leave the university with credentials recognized by public schools across the nation. Besides guidance from a faculty specialist in Applied Linguistics, the Languages without Borders interns gain

experience planning classes, developing teaching material, and combining theory and practice for twelve hours a week among three groups. They also receive a stipend of R\$ 1,500.00 per month, which is an amount agreed upon after having carried out a survey of the average salary for English teachers in private language schools across the country. However, in these schools the teachers have full-time teaching responsibilities, while the LwB interns have a half-time load. The internship has a limit of two years so that the benefits of the experience can reach as many English majors as possible. The teacher development aspect of the program is the primary limiting factor for adding more languages because it requires universities to have that language major and faculty specialists. For now, only the nine languages mentioned are offered as majors in federal public universities, and of those, English and Spanish are much more widespread than the other seven. The LwB Central Management Group also provides a series of professional development opportunities including an on-line webinar series on topics related to English for Academic Purposes (Curso Presencial, 2016). The intention of the program is to develop a pre-service experience that will help better prepare English teachers across the country for the demands of the profession once they graduate; robust preservice programs have been pointed to as fundamental to countries with a high level of success in teacher development (Felton, 2016). By December of 2016, over 850 English majors had participated in these internships (Sistema de Gestão, 2016).

Despite attempts to make the Languages without Borders program a democratic project with input from a working group composed of members from ten universities and an on-line forum for sharing ideas with representatives in the field of Applied Linguistics from every public institution of higher learning in the country, there are members of the Brazilian academic community that understand it to be an institution that perpetuates the interests of economically

developed countries. For example, the use of any instrument developed by ETS, like the TOEFL ITP in this context is viewed with great suspicion (Bagno, 2016). Other criticisms highlight what is understood to be the program's privileging of "Native Standard North American English" (Szundy, 2016, p. 111) and use of a colonialist discourse that imbues the English language with symbolic capital, especially given the program's relationship with Fulbright and the participation of Fulbright ETAs as leaders of local cultural activities and conversation classes (Szundy, 2016).

ENGLISH LEARNING IN BRAZIL: AMBIVALENCE TOWARDS AN INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE

According to Gomes (2015), the first record of English classes in Brazil is from 1809, a time when England was one of Brazil's primary trading partners. In a 1931 educational reform, the government attempted to broaden access to education and concomitantly made both English and French required subjects for elementary and high school students, the legislation lasted for 30 years, ending well before public education reached large portions of the population (Gomes, 2015). Since the end of the most recent military dictatorship, the presence of English in the daily lives of Brazilians, as in many countries around the world has steadily grown (Crystal, 2008).

To name a few examples, now it is common to hear as many songs (or more) on the radio or television in English as in Portuguese, cable television offers mostly channels imported from the U.S. (one can watch either dubbed, subtitled, or both), much advertising is done in English, Hollywood movies dominate at the Brazilian box office, and as mentioned above, in some academic majors, required readings can only be found in English (Rajagopalan, 2003). For many Brazilians, learning English contributes to their professional and social potential

(Rajagopalan, 2005a) and demand for it both in public and private schools is continually high (Oliveira, 2003). Some political leaders even go as far as to say that without learning English, Brazilian young people will not be able to achieve professional success (Agência Brasil, 2015).

While many Brazilians are eager to learn English for a variety of reasons, others oppose the presence of English in Brazilian society and view the U.S. as a monolith of false morality that espouses a discourse of democratic values, but whose overriding principles are more concerned with developing, protecting and growing its economy at the expense of the well-being of other countries and peoples. As I mentioned above, this mistrust is especially prevalent in university settings and in older generations due in part to the United States government's role in supporting the conservative antidemocratic rulers both in Brazil and other Latin American countries during the Cold War (Rajagopalan, 2005a). Furthermore, according to Rajagopalan (2003), a substantial part of the Brazilian population believes socioeconomic inequalities in Brazil are the result of foreign interventions in the economy exemplified by U.S. capitalists. For this reason, Rajagopalan and Rajagopalan (2005) characterize a large part of the Brazilian population's attitude towards learning English as ambivalent: on the one hand, the language is present in their daily lives and they know that being able to use it will potentially bring them economic, cultural, social, and intellectual benefits. On the other hand, many believe doing so will make them accomplices in what they understand to be the U.S.'s cultural, political, economic, and ideological coercion (Oliveira, 2003). Often, they reject learning English and aim to undermine attempts to promote it (Galante, 2013) while arguing that the mass media deceitfully exaggerate and propagate the importance of learning English in contemporary society (Lopez, 1996). In one manifestation of this anti-U.S. and anti-English sentiment, some politicians and members of the Brazilian populace supported the adoption of legislation to

protect the Portuguese language from English loan words (Rajagopalan, 2003), a display of monolingual ideology par excellence.

This ambivalence towards learning English coupled with a history of limited access to education are two factors that have contributed to the Brazilian population not successfully learning it on a broad scale (Jareta, 2015); in one study, Brazil ranked 41st out of 70 countries for English learning (EF EPI, 2015). Another major issue is that, despite the approach to language teaching espoused in the National Curriculum Parameters cited above, and Paulo Freire and his supporters having dedicated themselves to an education system founded on problem posing and contemporary teacher-educators embracing student-centered learning, Brazilian primary and secondary education continue to be dominated by traditional, teacher-centered content-based approaches. In the case of language learning, there is an emphasis on the standard Portuguese grammar sanctioned by the Brazilian Academy of Letters and this carries over to how foreign languages are taught (Oliveira, 2003). In 2014, the British Council conducted a nation-wide survey with 2,002 Brazilians whether and how they were motivated to learn English. Half answered that they had learned English at some point during their lives, but only 62 individuals evaluated themselves as being fluent in reading, writing, listening, or speaking the language. The higher their qualifications, the higher the percentage of correspondents who had studied English, with 93% of those with a doctorate, 88% of those with a masters, 70% of those with a Bachelors, and 53% of those with a technical degree answering affirmatively. When it comes to speaking at an advanced or fluent level, the highest percentage of participants believed their skills were related to regularly watching films and television programs in English, and 18% of them used the internet and social media in English. Those who had never studied English were overwhelmingly from an underprivileged socioeconomic situation with 85% making less than R\$

5,500 annually (less than US\$2,000). These participants mostly saw the value of learning English to get a better job (57%) followed by the opportunity to communicate with more people (16%) (Council, 2015).

Finally, a further challenge for English language acquisition in Brazil is that, private English language courses are widespread and commonly advertise on television, radio, and billboards claiming that they have methods with which anyone can achieve success in a short amount of time with no mention of individual factors such as dedication, motivation, aptitude, etc. (Paiva & Oliveira, 2013). The British Council estimated that the English language learning market consisted of 43 million “consumers,” which represented 21% of the total population at the time (Council, 2015). However, English is different from other commodities: while the necessary economic resources can purchase one various technologies that allow one insertion into a global community, achieving proficiency in an additional language requires many hours of dedication and effort. The expectation of being able to buy one’s intellectual potential deceives tens of millions of English students with false hopes.

PROFESSIONAL CHALLENGES FACED BY ENGLISH TEACHERS

In the 2015 British Council study cited in the previous section, English teachers themselves expressed the primary challenges in doing their job effectively as the lack or poor condition of the teaching materials they had access to, the lack of value students and colleagues placed on learning English, the lack of time and guidance for preparing their classes, their low salary, and insufficient class hours. In relation to remuneration, on average, non-tertiary Brazilian schools pay their teachers considerably less of their total expenditures than the OECD average, and starting salaries for the field are among the lowest of these countries (OECD, 2015). Other

common challenges faced by Brazilian public schools regardless of location are: students with a high degree of social vulnerability, violence practiced in and out of the schools, excessively large class sizes, students at widely variable knowledge and skill levels in the same class, and a dearth of adequate didactic tools (Instituto de Pesquisa Planos CDE, 2015). Additionally, in *most* cases, those who teach English in Brazilian public schools do not have a degree in English but are asked to do so because of a lack of qualified professionals (Instituto de Pesquisa Planos CDE, 2015). This situation is not unique to English; teachers are similarly underqualified in other subjects like Math, Biology, Chemistry and Physics (UNESCO, 2010). In general, the number of school teachers with a college diploma has been increasing and in 2012 reached 78.1% (Brick, 2014a), but in 2013, still only 48.3% of high school teachers had a degree in all the subjects they taught (Vieira, 2014). Despite the challenges, in the British Council study, English teachers pointed out the potential for English language learning to have a profound impact on students' professional and social identities, the primary reason they continue in the profession (Council, 2015). It seems then that there is a gap between the policy makers and the National Curriculum Parameters they created and the realities of public schools. The intellectual and academic elite is in tune with state-of-the-art approaches to education policy, but stakeholders are yet to find an effective way of implementing them with the teachers and administrators working on the ground.

Beyond these material challenges, Rajagopalan (2005b) documented cultural challenges related to Brazilian English teachers' acceptance of the idea that an idealized native speaker is the standard by which they should measure their own teaching performance. He found this belief to be prevalent and a source of constant anxiety and stress. Therefore, he calls for work that will empower these teachers and encourage them to overcome "the profoundly pernicious deficit model of their own professional competence" (p. 287), and he encourages teacher educators in

Brazil to engage the teacher-learners they work with on issues of World Englishes and the non-native English-speaking teacher (NNEST) movement, two elements that contributed to the translingual turn in Applied Linguistics.

ENGLISH TEACHING AT UMWB

At UMWB, the Instituto de Letras (LET) coordinates a variety of language teaching and learning activities for Brazilian Sign Language, Dutch, English, French, German, Italian, Japanese, Portuguese, and Spanish. The language majors, which are divided between three paths: teacher development, translation studies, and applied foreign languages, all accept 20 new students per year. In 2015, there were 96 professors in LET, 28 for English. The Instituto de Letras offers MAs and PhDs in both Linguistics and Literature, and MAs in Applied Linguistics and Translation Studies. Undergraduates in Brazil do not get a Liberal Arts education, you specialize in your major from the first semester. The English majors at UMWB generally have a higher level than in other universities in Brazil, probably as a result of several factors including the high per capita income, robust private school sector, and thriving extra-curricular additional language classes offered at local public schools.

One of the activities that the English Language and Teacher Development group is responsible for is teaching English reading comprehension skills to a variety of majors that require this discipline. Due to the tremendous demand for this activity (more than 1,000 students every semester), there is currently a project being developed to offer hybrid on-line and face-to-face classes, which will be overseen by English professors, but primarily carried out by graduate student tutors.

In addition to teaching and research, universities in Brazil are responsible for providing outreach programs for the community. The Instituto de Letras' primary activity in this sense is

the UMWB Idiomas language school, which offers classes in Arabic, English, Esperanto, French, German, Greek, Hebrew, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Mandarin, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish, and Turkish on the three UMWB campuses. In 2015, there were more than 100 teachers (mostly ex-UMWB language majors) involved and 7,000 students, of which 5,000 were learning English. Renata was the Academic Coordinator for English and Thales was the Administrative Coordinator at the time of this study.

The Instituto de Letras is also responsible for the local Languages without Borders center. In 2016, 13,822 UMWB students had signed up for My English On-line, which was more than 30% of the total academic community. Also, the program had administered 9,953 TOEFL ITPs, 5,256 students had participated in the face-to-face classes, and 21 interns had developed their pedagogical skills as student teachers. Both Renata and Thales also have contributed to Languages without Borders since its creation. As in UMWB Idiomas, Renata was one of two Academic Coordinators and Thales was the Administrative Coordinator. Thales also has served as the Vice President of the program on a national level.

In this chapter, I have attempted to establish the context for the current study by briefly exploring aspects of Brazilian history, higher education, and English learning and teaching. Brazilian society is currently experiencing tremendous economic, political, and educational shifts especially in relation to educational opportunities and additional language learning. This text highlights the complexities that Renata and Thales face. In the coming chapters, I will focus on how they are dealing with the shifting identities of their students who are *linguaging* in novel ways as they further incorporate multilingual digital technology into their lives.

Chapter 5. PORTRAIT OF RENATA AS A UNIVERSITY ENGLISH COMPOSITION PROFESSOR

Renata made arrangements with the campus mayor [University Registrar] to change from her originally assigned classroom to one in the Bloco de Salas de Aula Norte (BSAN), which has been recently inaugurated. She tells me she did so because the infrastructure of the new building is nicer. There are new desks, white boards, and plenty of electrical outlets. Even a projector unit housed in a white, locked cage dangles by a white metal rod from the ceiling. The classroom is well-lit by natural light with the top half of the east wall made completely of glass. The parking lot outside is unpaved and the cars pulling in and out between class times kick up the orangish-red dust that characterizes the high plateau region of Brazil. The floor of the classroom is made of large slabs of grey polished granite. The walls are freshly painted and clean. Beyond the half-wall of windows in the back of the classroom is a thick, crisscrossing, concrete checkerboard grid that emerges from the red ground and stretches to the roof of the four-story building, dampening the glare of the sun. Through it we can see lush, green treetops, blue sky, white clouds, and bright reflective waters of Lake Paranoá, which sits just down the sloping hill and across the highway. Most of the students present have their heads bowed to use their smartphones as they wait for Renata to arrive.

The objective of this chapter is to explore Renata's professional and linguistic identity in relation to the contemporary context of English as the world's most prominent international language, specifically the ways she orients herself to language diversity and variation and student incomes in the digital age. I do so by engaging primarily with field notes, the transcriptions of our group interviews, the transcriptions of classroom observations, and e-mail exchanges. As I described in the Theoretical Framework chapter, I avoid framing my results in terms of social

identity categories (race, gender, sexuality, etc.), and instead discuss them in relation to what Ellis (2016) refers to as participants' *language lives*: their linguistic biographies. By doing so, I hope to engage the complexities of their plurilingual identity, repertoires of experience, and the beliefs that contribute to their practice. Again, I did not start with a list of themes to find in the data, but rather let them emerge from my interactions with Renata and these texts. In our interactions, she expressed awareness of linguistic variation and change as her students are learning English to communicate with other people who learned English as an additional language through contemporary technology. She proposed that she teaches them an idealized standard form of English, what she calls "formal prescriptive," because they would not learn such norms otherwise. She also expressed that establishing positive rapport with her students was one of her highest priorities. In the classes that I observed, Renata demonstrated a high level of empathy with her students and emphasized that they develop their ideas and provided opportunities to negotiate meaning in pair and group work. In other words, in my experiences with Renata, she expressed and enacted both monolingual and translingual orientations to language.

In the coming sections I will describe aspects of Renata's linguistic and professional background that she shared with me in our interactions, some of her core beliefs about language and teaching, and how I observed her deploy them in her classroom practice. I also analyze the relationship between her background, beliefs, practice and the teaching context. My focus is primarily on Renata's attitudes and approach and less on techniques, though at times, I do explore specific pedagogical moves she makes. As I described in the theoretical background and methodology chapters, I do so with the understanding that my lens is influenced by my own experience; my goal is to delve into the ideas that Renata expressed and her actions accepting

that her positionality and my own are constantly shifting as we interact with texts, students, colleagues, and administrators, and assume new institutional roles. For this reason, rather than call this chapter a case study, which implies objectivity and separation of the researcher, the research participant, and the report; I imagine it as a portrait, which implies the interconnectedness of these various elements. The value of this research, then, is in the possibilities for discovering new understandings and applying them in new contexts to be further modified. This state of flux of thinking is what I aim to achieve both for myself as a professional in the academic arena and as an educational experience for the students I mentor in order to be able to deal constructively with our dynamic world where difference and change are constant. I am careful in my analysis to acknowledge the types of knowledge this approach generates and what the academic community might do with it.

RENATA'S LINGUISTIC AND PROFESSIONAL BACKGROUND

Renata, like approximately 97% of the Brazilian population, grew up speaking Portuguese (Portuguese, 2015). Her mother put her in extra-curricular private school English classes when she was 11 years old. Her success motivated her to continue even after moving to a new state, and when she reached the age of 18, she was invited to join the teaching staff of the same school, UEC. In Brazil, there are dozens of private English schools, many of them are part of extensive franchise systems, and it is common for them to recruit teachers from among their most successful students. Like Renata, many from this group choose to make English teaching their career.

Renata is proud of her ability to become highly proficient in English despite never living abroad, and students and colleagues often assume that she has. In our fourth Coffee Break at the Café, Renata explained,

[58:56] R *And I remember once a student asked me where I'd lived and for how long.*

And then I said in Goiânia [a Brazilian city] up to the age of 14. And then he looked at me and asked me if I hadn't lived abroad and why not. And then I said that I hadn't that I'd learned English in Brazil just like he was doing and then he kept looking at me and saying, "So it's possible." (Renata, Coffee Break at the Café, October 24, 2014)

This excerpt not only highlights Renata's sense of accomplishment as a highly successful English learner, but also her recognition of her role model status for her students, especially those who will never travel outside of Brazil.

Renata expressed the feeling that she resigned herself to a career in English teaching, even calling it an accident. As a teenager and young adult, her intention was to become an engineer, which is a high-wage, high-prestige field in Brazil. In many ways, her understanding of language and teaching at times reflects a tendency towards rules, logic, and mathematics, which I will explore further in the next section. Part of what influenced her career path was that after six years as a teacher, Renata was promoted to Academic Coordinator at the same school. She spent four years in this position before moving to Brasilia, and she recognizes the decade teaching and coordinating in this context as fundamental to how she developed her language teacher professional identity. She explained in an e-mail,

UEC taught me much about being a teacher within a CLT context and also about becoming an adult. I made a lot of mistakes in both areas but was kindly corrected and

helped. After 6 years, I became the academic coordinator of the school, which gave me the opportunity to learn about the systemic reality of teaching and to understand the importance of integrating one's teaching practices into the context of the institution and the students. Teaching gives a false impression of autonomy. You close the door and believe that you are free to make any decision. However, if you start seeing your class as part of a bigger system, you realize you actually have very little autonomy and need to make more informed and responsible decisions for a greater good. When I left UEC, I was a competent professional and a more mature person. (Renata, e-mail, May 22, 2014)

I will come back to this quote in the coming sections as it points not only to the process of developing as a professional teacher broadly, but also what Barcelos and Kalaja (2011) refer to as the “micro- and macro-political contexts of learning and teaching languages” (p. 282) that contribute to the linguistic and teaching choices we make.

In 2004, Renata moved to Brasília to get her master's degree at the University of Mid-Western Brazil (UMWB), and then qualified to teach at the same institution on a two-year contract. These temporary hires are used to substitute for a tenured (or tenure-track professor) who is on leave while pursuing a PhD or post-doc. Renata served as a substitute teacher twice and contributed as a volunteer instructor in between contracts. In 2011, she was hired for a tenure-track position. From Renata's early days in Brasília, she worked as a standardized test preparation instructor, first at private English schools and later for a specific course for candidates competing for a spot in the Brazilian Foreign Service. The latter experience has been a primary aspect of Renata's professional identity and through it she discovered the highest demands in the range of formal English use. She wrote in the same e-mail,

The Rio Branco classes have been the most challenging work I have done. I actually wrote my MA dissertation on this topic. I had to admit to the fact that my English was not so good as I had thought. I had a lot to learn in terms of grammar and vocabulary besides having to learn a lot about the profile of a student like that, in order to be a successful teacher. I feel more comfortable nowadays, but there is always something new to learn. Besides, since it is Foreign Service, there is always something new to learn concerning international politics and sometimes economics, which fascinates me. Before teaching this kind of class I had trivia knowledge (that is, superficial and useless) and a very naïve view of the world. I feel better about my opinions now and much more secure to talk and write about complex issues. I love having the opportunity of seeing things in a systemic way. (Renata, e-mail, May 22, 2014)

Throughout my interactions with Renata during this study, as well as beyond it, she demonstrated a commitment to personal and professional growth and challenging herself intellectually. The above quote highlights how in moments of insecurity, she values her ability to recognize what she considers weaknesses and is driven to overcome them.

During our second Coffee Break at the Café, she expressed the idea that going through the learning process herself, dedicating herself, and overcoming the challenges, allows her to reach students with the highest learning goals.

[45:02] *R But everybody knows that. Laughter. And so I had four students who were preparing for the Rio Branco exam and and throughout my teaching experience, the question was I think there is very little for exam students. You reach a certain level at which you communicate you survive and that's enough for I don't know 90% of people.*

T I would say more than 90.

R But there is this 10% who want more. They reach we all do, no, not you, but we do [laughter] reach this plateau in which you want to improve you want more to learn more but you don't know the path you don't have someone who corrects you or teaches you how to improve in which areas you need to what you're getting wrong and what you need to rethink. So that was my question, what can I do to help people improve. (Coffee Break at the Café, December 16, 2013)

Knowing the path to successful language learning is one of the core beliefs that Renata voiced on several occasions during our interactions, and one way that she prides herself on being able to effectively establish rapport with her students. I consider her emphasis on putting herself in their place and diagnosing their needs a primary demonstration of empathy.

Renata stands out among her colleagues at UMWB as a leader. There are many administrative opportunities for professors beyond teaching, and Renata has taken on several since she was first hired. She has been the Coordinator of the English teacher-track major, a position that required her to lead the activities of her 13 colleagues and answer to the bureaucratic needs of students. As mentioned in the previous chapter, she has been the pedagogical coordinator of the UMWB outreach program's English section, and she has also been the pedagogical coordinator of the UMWB chapter of Languages without Borders, where she led the teacher development aspect of the program for as many as 13 pre-service English teacher interns (at a time), who taught three classes on their own while simultaneously working towards undergraduate degrees. Her knowledge of details of the English language and her ability to explain them are especially prominent in her role as teacher educator.

RENATA'S ORIENTATIONS TO LANGUAGE AND HOW SHE DEPLOYS THEM IN HER PRACTICE

In Renata's first class of the semester, she asks for volunteers to introduce themselves in English. The students are beginning their third semester of an English major, some will follow the translation track others the teacher track. Each one talks about how they learned English and their motivations to do so. Most either studied at a private school or in one of Brasilia's public-school language learning centers. Among the group, individuals enjoy a variety of music genres in English, play video games in English, or watch their favorite TV series on Netflix in English. There are fans of Friends, Gray's Anatomy, and the West Wing in the room. The students seem eager to participate and Renata is equally eager to engage with them on a personal level. She asks questions and relates their answers to her own interests.

In order to develop complex and nuanced understandings of Renata's professional identity, I now move from discussing elements of her linguistic and professional background, to focus on some of the beliefs she expressed about language and language learning in her teaching context and how she deploys them in her practice. I attempt to do so through a translingual lens. While she places most of her attention on teaching an idealized standard, she also recognizes that language is varied and shifting and that her students have different incomes from her generation of English major colleagues. I focus on the positive rapport Renata establishes with her students through various manifestations of empathy and how this, at times, relates to her leading class in a way that encourages negotiation of meaning, including code-shifting, even when teaching an idealized standard. As I mentioned in the Introduction, I embarked on this research project with the intention of exploring how participants deployed their translinguistic identity as pedagogy,

and this still influences my approach here, but my focus shifted with developments in the field related to discussions of translingual practice, especially Canagarajah's (2013) nuanced explanations of individual variability, language change, language contact, and *linguaging* as a creative and potentially subversive act while also acknowledging the usefulness of formal registers in certain contexts.

Teaching an idealized written standard as a source of confidence.

As I discussed in the section on Renata's background, as a teenager and young adult, she intended to become an engineer and does well with equations and mathematical thinking. In our Coffee Breaks at the Café, Renata told Thales and me that from an early age she wanted to understand grammatical rules and at times even became frustrated with teachers who couldn't provide thorough explanations of them. She shared with us that over the years, she had honed her ability to do what some of her own teachers could not, and this was a point of pride and source of confidence for her. In an e-mail exchange, Renata also explained that, while always curious about grammatical rules and the structure of English as a student, once she became a teacher, she engaged with this aspect even more vigorously.

After I started teaching I studied grammar like mad and could finally feel more confident. I equated knowing a language to knowing the structure of a language. I'm not sure I still think so, especially because of the influence of technology and of the internet in our lives, but I still think that speaking and writing correctly causes a better impression. If one is accurate, people are not distracted by mistakes and therefore tend to pay more attention to the content of the message. (Renata, e-mail, May 22, 2014)

I would like to paraphrase and highlight three aspects of this excerpt: Renata drew confidence from having extensively studied grammar, Renata once equated knowing a language with knowing its structure, but at the time of our conversation she wavered on that belief, and she believed grammatical accuracy was a source of credibility for *language*s. Much of Renata's professional identity seems to have been shaped by her own and students' monolingual orientation to language with variations on the understanding that language is the sum of discrete, knowable rules. So often in my experiences in Brazil (and the U.S., Spain, and México), my acquaintances freely judge others for not using language "correctly" and in this excerpt, Renata reiterates Crystal's (2010) orientation to language that I highlighted in the Introduction and repeat below.

For over 200 years, English-speaking society has lived with the notion that some ways of speaking and writing are 'good' and some are 'bad'. The same point applies to other kinds of behavior, such as table manners. [...] Why is it 'good' to eat your soup one way and not another? It's just the way things are. Sometime in the dim and distant past it became the fashion, among the most powerful people in society, and it stayed that way. And if we don't want to be criticized, that's how we have to behave. (p. 67)

Renata's orientation in this instance is certainly influenced, at least in part by the way Portuguese and English are taught in schools and treated on standardized tests, like the ones she spent many years preparing students for. Still, she expresses an openness to other possibilities when she says that she is no longer sure if knowing a language means knowing its grammar, which demonstrates the fluidity of her beliefs in light of her students' achieving successful communication skills in what she calls a chaotic way. I will return to and develop this aspect of her professional identity in a later section of this chapter.

A recurring theme for Renata in our interactions is her preoccupation with her linguistic and professional competence, especially in her role as an English teacher. In the May 22nd e-mail she explains:

When I started teaching I was very curious and anxious. I was anxious about learning more and more and being better and better. It hurt me and embarrassed me not to be able to answer a student's question or not to be able to give a decent, clear explanation about something. So, I was always taking courses, going to conferences and reading. (Renata, e-mail, May 22, 2014)

What I find especially striking about this excerpt is that Renata expressed a deep emotional commitment to meeting her students' learning needs, her students' expectations of her, and her own expectations of herself as a teacher, while also recognizing the complexity of the nature of language. This resonates with Motha and Lin's (2014) and Song's (2016) discussions of the role that emotion can play in linguistic and professional identity development. Renata shared having at times felt vulnerable and having found confidence through studying grammar rules.

As I highlighted in an excerpt from our second Coffee Break at the Café in the previous section, Renata is focused on helping students develop their communicative skills beyond survival. In that same conversation, she describes how she views writing as a potential avenue to do so.

[45:02] *So that was my question, what can I do to help people improve. [. . .] And I think the answer is in writing. I think because uh when you teach writing you really record your performance, so you can go back and revisit and analyze what you're doing and your thoughts when you are trying to communicate or convey*

what you're trying to convey. (Renata, Coffee Break at the Café, December 16, 2013)

Even though Renata at times expressed a primary concern with form, in this excerpt and others, she also emphasized students developing their thoughts and how they articulate them. By doing so, she generated opportunities for the type of negotiation of meaning that is so highly valued by translingual scholars. Nonetheless, it seems Renata's understanding of the stability of the written form often fuels her preference for teaching writing and her understanding of her own linguistic strengths. In an e-mail exchange she stated,

I prefer to teach writing and to study the written language. I think it gives me more time for reflection and analysis because it is recorded, and you can always go back to the data for new insights. Besides, since I have never lived abroad, my English tends to be more formal, which makes me feel more secure teaching writing and reading than speaking, for instance. (Renata, e-mail, May 22, 2014)

Besides a reflection on the nature of teaching writing, Renata also expressed the idea that having never lived abroad makes her less comfortable to teach speaking. Again, we see how emotion and a sense of vulnerability influences her orientation to her profession. In this excerpt, she shared how she had developed her sense of legitimacy from having gained linguistic competence in an aspect of language that does not depend on place, which allows her to have the greatest positive impact on her students, but also, perhaps, one that gives them less space to question her linguistic authority. She described her teaching specialty at UMWB as such in the May 22nd e-mail,

The writing classes I have at UMWB (Writing 1 – 3rd semester – and Writing 2 – 4th semester) aim at developing students' writing skills and also a bit of their language

abilities. We don't have grammar or structure classes, but students improve form as they receive the correction of their work and rewrite a few of the pieces. As an English teacher, I feel that this is the best contribution I can make to students. I believe I am an attentive and respectful reader and, in my correction, I attempt to bridge the gap between what the student wrote and what the student meant to write, so I try to make a discrete correction of local mistakes and include comments on the overall organization of ideas. I am fascinated by investigating what people think, how they reason, how they organize their thoughts and how the surface (what they say or write) matches their rationale. That was more or less what I investigated in my MA dissertation and what I'll probably work with for the PhD. In this sense, teaching writing is the ideal area for me, once the core of classes is the investigation of the writer's intentions. (Renata, e-mail, May 22, 2014)

The ideas Renata emphasized here about her approach to teaching writing manifest several suggestions by translingual scholars in their quest for linguistic social justice. For example, Lee (2016) and Krall-Lanoue (2013) encourage teachers to read and evaluate students work with a focus on the meaning they are able to create. As I mentioned above, Renata's teaching style is marked by her empathy towards students and a variety of ways of expressing it. Being a *careful and attentive reader* is certainly a central element of that. Despite articulating an emphasis on an idealized standard, which on some levels may seem to promote a monolingual ideology, I observed Renata position herself empathetically towards students and emphasize the meaning they created with their writing, which demonstrates aspects of translingual practice. Moreover, though Renata has had many learning and teaching experiences that emphasized an idealized standard, she recognizes that many current Brazilian students of English are using contemporary

digital technology to learn in novel ways that do not. I will develop this aspect of my discussion of Renata's professional identity further in the next section.

English for international communication.

Renata expressed the understanding that Brazilian students mostly learn English to communicate with other people from around the world who also learned English as an additional language. She also said that these learners are not focused on so called "native-speaker" norms of any given nationality. Below is an excerpt of a discussion between Renata and Thales during the first Coffee Break at the Café in which they discuss their students' incomes

[37:48] *R You're not teaching English to talk to people who speak English as a first language.*

T Yeah.

R It's foreign-to-foreign English.

T Yes. Yeah. That's why uh uh British and American-based companies are hiring foreigners to deal with companies from other-

R [Laughter.] Right.

T From other countries. They prefer a foreigner, not a native-

R Because they can understand each other.

T Because they often feel more comfortable dealing with a foreigner than with a native.

R Yeah.

T It's interesting.

A So, Renata, you were saying that you think that um the English that you teach in Brazil does prepare foreigners to speak with other foreigners, or it doesn't?

R I think it does. To foreigners, not to a native speaker. For some reason, I don't know the accent- and maybe every foreigner is learning the same way no matter where. So, you're learning "spoken prose," so you you communicate in this-

T Yeah, exactly.

R This form of English, which is not natural. It's not native like. Far from being native-like. And so, because of that you talk in this this other form. This metaform, which is not the language, but it works. It's democratic now. (Coffee Break at the Café, October 12, 2013)

To summarize, both Renata and Thales expressed an awareness that their students use English for international communication with other people from a plethora of linguistic backgrounds, especially those who learned English as an additional language, and this is an advantage for them in our contemporary globalizing world. Also, Renata articulated the view that the language they learn was not *native like* but is a more democratic form. I view this as another layer of complexity in Renata's beliefs: while teaching an idealized standard, she understood that there were social advantages to flouting "native-speaker" norms. This discussion is grounded in the understanding of language that motivates the translingual turn in Applied Linguistics. In the fifth Coffee Break at the Café, they came back to this topic and emphasized the role of contemporary technology in contributing to this situation, especially in relation to learner autonomy.

[10:49] *R Yeah, I think teaching now tends to be much more goal-oriented in the sense that what do you want to learn for? What are you going to use the language for?*

T Yeah.

R So, I'll help you with that. So, it's not what I want from you, but what you want from your own learning experience.

T But what I think you should have, right?

R Right. But what you yourself want from the English you want to learn. So, it's more democratic in this sense I think. And I think technology helps with that because students are very autonomous and independent.

T Yeah they they. . .

R They choose how and what they are going to learn. [. . .] Yeah, and it's funny because as you said, they don't learn English to talk with native speakers, like I have this this student whose he's very into video games, and apparently the Koreans are the best players of this game he likes. And so he learns English to talk to them in English to Koreans in English about the game. And it's common. It's really like they don't aim at the "First World" the "Old World" anymore.

(Coffee Break at the Café, July 29, 2014)

In this instance, Renata further explored this generation of students' incomes and recognized the ways that English was useful for students varied greatly and that acknowledging this shifted the learning experience to a more student-centered one. For her students, learning English maximizes their potential to communicate with people from any other nation who also spoke it, and they were acting in the world in novel ways. If Renata's students are interacting and collaborating across borders through video games to solve problems and achieve their goals, I can imagine them potentially building on that experience and working transnationally to engage higher stakes activities, at some point in their lives.

Renata also expressed her view of language as a tool for communication that could be taught for use between speakers from a variety of linguistic backgrounds without it being imbued with cultural implications. In the fourth Coffee Break at the Café, she explored this idea:

[12:07] *R But then, after I started university, my university course, I started studying linguistics and Chomsky's theories and so this this more professional aspect changed my identity in the sense that it was less intuitive, less cultural, less systemic, and it became more um more professional, more focused I think. And the more and of course the more I I kept studying to teach, the more specific it got and then eventually I started teaching for prep classes for exams and so it's for me it's more like a tool than anything else. It it's become less systemic in this sense with fewer cultural elements and less rich in this sense but richer in in . . . in structure richer in elements that that are going to to give tools to people to use the language correctly, appropriately and successfully for what they want. And so for me today it's more like a tool and English is spoken more between people who use it as a second language than by native speakers of English, and I think that's why. For me it's more like a tool. Very powerful. Very intelligent tool. Very interesting tool. More than anything.* (Renata, Coffee Break at the Café, July 29, 2014)

Again, here, Renata engaged with the idea that her students did not need to learn native speaker linguistic or cultural norms, their target was gaining a tool for communication that would allow them to interact in a variety of social contexts across borders. The multilingual context of contemporary language learning that she described in this excerpt, and the way she positioned

herself towards it, once again reflected cornerstones of the translingual turn in Applied Linguistics.

Renata also articulated that the changing learning context and student incomes had put novel pressures on teachers. She expressed the belief that learning English in her generation had been more orderly, more homogeneous, but she welcomed the challenges of the contemporary dynamism.

[11:31] *R You know when I started when I started university, uh my classmates had the same profile I did, which was I went to English classes to an English school, I learned English basic, intermediate, advanced, and then I took pronunciation courses, grammar courses, conversation courses and now I'm here to be a teacher. But today, when I ask my students, they say, "Oh, I learned from this video game."*

T Yeah.

R Or, "I learned from songs. I learned from (I don't know) chatting or Facebook friends, or . . ."

T Yeah.

R And so um it's there's a lot of diversity. And different experiences and different views on language. And I think that's very enriching. Very challenging, but very enriching.

T And they managed, right. They managed.

R And they're much more critical about what we teach because they are always asking themselves, "Is this really useful. Do I need this. Why. What for." And of

course, you have to be much more consistent and confident about what you're doing. (Coffee Break at the Café, October 24, 2014)

In this, and other occasions, Renata expressed that this complex understanding of contemporary *languagers* has profound implications for language teaching. In the classes that I observed, I did not witness Renata directly engage the idea of English as a tool for international communication nor the implications of this for teaching and learning, but she often provided opportunities for negotiating meaning, fundamental to international communication. In all of the classes I observed, she established positive rapport with her students and positioned herself empathetically towards them and their unique learning process.

Renata's expressions of empathy.

As Renata gives me a ride from the Ministry of Education towards UMWB before the first day of class, she describes how she always gets nervous before meeting the group because it's so important to her that they establish good rapport from the get go. "I like to position myself as an ally who can help students reach their goals," she says. Renata explains that writing is often students' least favorite class because it's boring for them and requires a lot of reflection. Not only that, she points out that students don't want to sound silly; they aren't able to express themselves on the same academic level in English as they are able to in Portuguese. In contrast to most students' attitude toward writing class, it's Renata's favorite subject to teach because she is confident that she has the tools to help them overcome their difficulties. She says, "I want to teach them what they won't be able to learn on their own."

Renata displayed much openness and flexibility in how she related to her students. Throughout the classes I observed, she smiled and laughed and engaged students on a personal

level. Such positioning helped her establish positive rapport with them, which she asserted is a high priority for her; in our fourth Coffee Break at the Café, Renata expressed the relationship she sees between rapport and empathy:

[1:07:25] *R Yeah. And I think what helps me establish rapport and connect is empathy. A feeling of, "I know what you're feeling. I feel the same. It is painful. Learning a language is this long, painful process and if you stop it, you forget a lot of things and have to go back and study them over again." And I think this feeling of empathy many times I ask them, "Have you ever felt like this? Have you ever gone through this feeling?" And then they say, "Oh, yeah! Oh, yeah!" And so I think that's what helps me establish rapport and then because of that they trust me because I've suffered first. It's not that I know better, but I'm older so I started first and I think that's what helps. This feeling of empathy. I remember what it feels like and it still feels the same. It is hard. And I think confidence comes not because you know more, but because you can help them follow the path in a less painful way maybe because you've done it before and you've made mistakes and are trying to help. Confidence comes from that. From sharing. Not because you know more. (Renata, Coffee Break at the Café, July 29, 2014)*

This excerpt is a rich explanation of how Renata saw her role as that of someone who could help and guide students on the difficult path to proficiency in English, and she drew confidence from having gone through the process herself. I find it interesting that she emphasized the pain involved in learning English because it again points to the role of emotions in developing her professional and linguistic identities. Her response was to develop empathy with her students.

In the classes I observed, Renata created a jovial learning environment, not only through her friendly disposition, but also by proposing fun activities, like asking students to create a written portrait of the ugliest person they could imagine to practice relative clauses. She positioned herself more as an ally than an authority. Renata expressed that this was intentional in our second Coffee Break at the Café:

[47:14] *R I think that what helps me teach them is um having gone through the path of uh facing my own difficulties and my own limits to reach a higher or or increasingly advanced level. Being able to map out what's missing and what's strong already and what's missing and as I go through this path I can help them go through the same path studying more or less the same thing and I think that this this feeling of empathy is what helps me help them. Facing the same difficulties. Having the same first language and the same objective, which is improving.* (Renata, Coffee Break at the Café, December 16, 2013)

As Seidlhofer (1999) describes, the idea that Renata knows “the terrain that has to be crossed” (p. 238) to achieve proficiency potentially makes her well-equipped to support her students. What strikes me in this excerpt is that even though previously she had expressed the idea that her students had unique incomes and were learning English in novel ways that differed from her generation of English majors, she proposed that the core of the learning process, the path, essentially remained the same, and she could help her students with that. In her *language life* (Ellis, 2016), she had experienced the curiosity and the frustration of the learning process and put in countless hours of study to be a highly successful *Englisher*.

Part of her being intentionally empathetic was a recognition of both similarities and individual differences. As a learner herself, in many ways she knew what her students were

going through, but she also recognized differences in the way the current generation of students was learning English as compared to when she started learning. Again, from the second Coffee Break at the Café:

[50:36] *R Classes are very heterogeneous you can have two people and it's going to be heterogeneous. And so one thing I try to do is try to um guess or reach where the question is coming from and why that question is being asked. And I think that's why um rapport is usually good in my classes and I really respect whatever stupid things they say. I don't think they're stupid really. I think students here are very um that's different from my generation or your generation because to learn English, you had to go to an English school. And go from one book to the next then you finish, and my students are very intuitive. Technology helps them a lot. So, their learning is chaotic. It's really disorganized they know a lot, but they don't know how they learn. They have no control or knowledge and so sometimes they're really lost because they don't even have metalanguage to talk to you about their questions. And that's a new experience for me. (Renata, Coffee Break at the Café, December 16, 2013)*

Renata's recognition of student heterogeneity motivated her to be patient with students and negotiate with them to discover the nature of their questions. Moreover, engaging such differences is one of the cornerstones of a translingual orientation to language (Canagarajah, 2013): each student embodies unique linguistic incomes. Canagarajah emphasizes that an awareness and open disposition to this can have a positive impact on students' learning experience. In this excerpt, Renata also expressed the view that her students' language learning, while effective, was often chaotic and they did not always possess the metalanguage necessary to

articulate their questions. Still, she was eager to reach them. In this way, she engaged the complexities of contemporary language learning and recognized that while students could learn English without her, she played an important role in helping them prepare to go beyond just being novice Englishers to *linguaging* on a professional level, which requires more specialized knowledge such as metalanguage.

One way Renata put forth for dealing with the tension between student incomes and her own was to ground her practice in her understanding of what they lacked in their language learning trajectory. For example, she could prepare them for the rigors of the academic genre and high-stakes standardized tests because this was an approach to the language that they probably would not learn on their own. In the second Coffee Break at the Café, she explained,

[53:35] *R And one thing we can do and may be harder for them to learn elsewhere is the norm for professionals. These are things they won't learn elsewhere. And so that's how I choose what I teach. The way I teach. More like raising awareness. If you really want to work with language, uh there are different things you need to know. And one of them is norm. You have to. It's power. It's knowledge. And and and I think it's a way of empowering these professionals. If they are going to be translators or teachers or um web designers or whatever they're going to be.*

(Renata, Coffee Break at the Café, December 16, 2013)

In a previous excerpt, Renata had explained that she felt teaching language was systemic and she had a responsibility to teach according to institutional expectations. Here, she reiterated her sense of duty to teach idealized language norms. While she expressed that such norms were not based on “native speaker” standards, in our interactions, she did not question the origins of the norms she taught, which came from the textbooks and grammar guides she studied. Renata

returns to this idea in our fourth Coffee Break at the Café and emphasizes that what she teaches is an idealized standard form of English.

[54:22] *R So, prescriptive grammar is the rule in my class and that's the guide. And that's how I correct them and that's what we talk about. And that's the choice for the explanations and for the exercises. Yeah, and for everything because that's the thing, I try to teach them something they wouldn't be able to learn otherwise or elsewhere because there is a lot they can learn from songs and books and the internet, but um nobody in their free time, nobody would get a grammar book to learn prescriptive grammar, so I'm trying to offer something they wouldn't learn otherwise. (July 29, 2014)*

In Renata's classes I observed, the foundation was always on grammatical form and normative writing conventions, and this was also true of the materials in the course pack she developed. However, in the activities she organized to work with these norms, her empathetic, rapport-building approach often generated opportunities for the classroom community to negotiate meaning and develop their ideas together, which I understand to be central to a translingual orientation to language.

One of the primary ways that I observed Renata encourage critical thinking and negotiation was through regular group and pair work. These activities took the focus off her as the center of knowledge production and put it on students to create understandings together, to negotiate language and the learning process. An example of an exercise that I witnessed Renata use from August 26, 2013:

Step 1 – Renata asks students to write answers to the question, “What are the difficulties in being a university student?” She asks them to do so without including any punctuation.

Step 2 – Renata collects texts.

Step 3 – Renata redistributes the texts.

Step 4 – Students try to add punctuation to their classmate’s text.

Step 5 – Students return the text to the original person, and together they discuss whether the punctuator did as the writer expected.

Step 6 – Renata asks, “Now that you’ve compared your punctuation to a partner’s and the original, do you have any questions about the differences that came up? Do you see any other possibilities?” (Renata, Classroom observation, August 26, 2013)

In this exercise, Renata emphasized that there was much to be gained from students explaining their punctuation decisions to each other. The texts were all created by students; Renata did not offer a model text with “correct” answers for students to assimilate. Her practice in this case demonstrated much of what Canagarajah (2013) encourages as students together created their understandings of *linguaging*, in this case punctuation patterns. While in our Coffee Breaks at the Café and follow-up e-mails, Renata emphasized form and norms, in the classes I observed, I mostly witnessed her prioritize opportunities for students to develop the content of their ideas and arguments, without being sidetracked by too much attention to form. For example, on November 27, 2013, Renata asked students to write about the ugliest person they had ever seen. Students reacted positively to the activity; the climate was jovial; they were smiling, laughing, reading out loud excitedly. I asked her about where she got the idea for the activity and she said that she did it because she wanted the students to have fun and focus on the content. She expressed the belief that when they wrote for her, it could become mechanical, but when they wrote for each other, they focused less on form.

Renata also acknowledged both variation and intuition. When engaging students about the use of topic sentences, Renata asked the big group, “Do you prefer the topic sentence at the beginning of the end of the paragraph?” (Renata, Classroom observation, September 2, 2013, 15:35). In this way, Renata encouraged students to see how there is flexibility infused in language. Even in an idealized standard form, there is variation. In another activity I observed, Renata emphasized the role of intuition when she explained the order of multiple adjectives that describe the same noun. She asserted,

There is often a preferred order if there is more than one adjective before a noun. In the order. You don't have to memorize this, okay? With time and intuition, you will learn how to do that the order usually is opinion, size, physical shape, or age and then color and then -ed/-ing adjectives, then origin, then material, then type, then purpose. (Renata, Classroom observation, October 2013)

What stands out to me in this instance is the use of words like “often” and “usually,” which, again, implies flexibility in norms. Also, Renata emphasized that students didn’t have to commit the rule to memory because they would learn to use it with experience, which I understand to be an example of how she recognized that there is much room for variation in the learning process.

Code shifting.

In the seven classes that I observed, Renata spoke mostly in English, but at times, she shifted to Portuguese to explain issues of grammar, make jokes, or make comparisons between English and Portuguese; and students often used Portuguese in pair and small-group work. This openness to code shifting is a central aspect of encouraging translingual practice as described by

Canagarajah (2013). Below is an excerpt of a grammatical explanation of gradable and ungradable adjectives in which she strategically engages in such.

[48:46] R: *Yeah, terrible, or horrible. It's the same idea as péssimo in Portuguese. Can something be more péssimo than something else? Mais péssimo. Do you say that? [. . .] Não foi tão péssimo. [It wasn't so terrible.] You can't say that, right? That's the same idea that works in Portuguese that works in English. Some things you grade and compare. Some things are extreme, and you can't grade. So, let's take a look at the definition of ungradable. Ungradable adjectives are the idea that something or someone has a particular quality to a large degree. So much so that you don't compare or qualify it. (Renata, Classroom observation, December 2, 2013)*

Here, she uses examples in Portuguese to make a direct comparison with English and switches her codes for pedagogical purposes.

When students make a mistake or provide an unclear answer, I witnessed Renata use Portuguese and take a *faux* authoritative stance, like a traditional Brazilian teacher would, which got students' attention and was amusing to them because it is not the way they are used to seeing her position herself towards them.

[69:20] R: *Combined, military, powerful?*

Ss: *[Inaudible talking.]*

R: *Como que é?! [Say what?!]*

Ss: *[Laughter] Powerful, combined, military. (Classroom observation, December 2, 2013)*

When explaining a grammar point, making comparisons with Portuguese, or making jokes were the primary contexts in which I witnessed Renata code shifting in class. While students used more Portuguese than she did, I never saw her reprimand them or ask them to use more English.

In the classes I observed, Renata encouraged students to engage in the meaning making process while the content of the course was prescriptive grammar. In the context of Renate's prescriptive approach, *translanguaging* turned out to be a valued and productive technique. In the next section, I explore Renata's values and beliefs in relation to her teaching practices and orientations developed within the challenges of a society with extensively materialized monolingual ideologies.

CHALLENGES RENATA FACES FOR TEACHING COLLEGE-LEVEL ENGLISH

COMPOSITION WITH A TRANSLINGUAL ORIENTATION TO LANGUAGE

To return to an idea I presented in the Introduction, recently the field of English teaching has shifted with developments and new understandings of English's role as an international language, the role of English teachers with a variety of linguistic backgrounds, the role of technology in language learning, and the nature of language itself. Underlying many aspects of these shifts are attempts by scholars who identify with an impetus towards social justice and language teaching. Briefly, to encourage forms of language teaching that promote productive, peaceful relations and undermine the various forms of racism and misogyny that permeate societies (on the individual and institutional level), many have embraced understandings of languages as fluid depending on a variety of contextual factors including, but not limited, to the physical and cognitive attributes of the *languager* as well as different aspects of their social identities. While this translanguing orientation to language can be applied to any idiom, it is

especially relevant for English because of its contemporary role as the predominant international language. Its implications for language teaching are only beginning to be explored. For example, Canagarajah (2013), Krall-Lanoue (2013), and Lee (2016) offer some initial suggestions for writing assessment that involve dialogue and negotiation with students about their language choices. While Bou Ayash (2016, pp. 572-573) highlights composition courses as a site for

unlearning and “disenventing” (Makoni and Pennycook, 2007) their current misrepresentations of language as a pre-formed and pre-shaped entity—misrepresentations that perhaps they are unaware of—in order to “reinvent” and rewrite new ways of thinking about language(s) as continually and inescapably being performed and reshaped for each occasion of reading and writing. (p. 572)

In the final section of this chapter, I will analyze Renata’s beliefs and practice—central elements of her professional identity, in relation to these discussions of translingual practice. I first explore the tensions that Renata encountered between the way many of her students learn English in the digital age and her pedagogical grounding in knowing and teaching prescriptive grammar. After that, I engage with how dominant monolingual discourses and material representations of language in Brazil might impede a translingual orientation to language. Last, I discuss how Renata’s emphasis on empathy towards her students enhanced opportunities for translingual practice during their learning experience.

The tension between teaching an idealized standard form of English and language learning in the digital age.

Until recently, the few proficient English speakers in Brazil mostly came from an upper-middle class socio-economic background, usually studied English in a private school as an extracurricular activity from childhood, and often spent time abroad in a country where English is the primary language of communication. As I mentioned in the previous chapter, this profile is starting to change with expansive access to internet technology; today there are more English *languagers* in Brazil across the socio-economic spectrum than ever, and with increased access to higher education, many of them choose to study English as a major.

A challenge for me as a researcher in this field has been to avoid exploring this issue in terms of a binary between a monolingual ideology and a translingual ideology. For now, my solution is to attempt to discuss it not only as a continuum between the two, but also in terms of the ways they might overlap and how a single person might hold contradictory subject positions in different contexts. For this reason, when discussing teachers' views, I use the term *orientation*, which implies more mutability, as opposed to *ideology*. However, I do not completely avoid the term *ideology*, and use it especially when discussing material manifestations of language such as the Brazilian Academy of Letters, linguistic legislation, or standardized tests. In my interactions with Renata and observations of her classroom practice, she attempted to reconcile her own understandings of learning and teaching English with her students' learning experience, which is heavily influenced by digital age technologies, and which she characterized as chaotic. In our Coffee Breaks at the Café and in individual conversations, she expressed awareness of language variation and even the notion of Brazilian English, by which I understand her to mean that one may teach according to an idealized standard, but

Brazilian students will learn their own form of the language and then *language* Brazilian style. Meanwhile, she grounded her practice in having studied extensively and developed knowledge of an idealized standard based on a nationally unspecified “native speaker” that she called “formal prescriptive” (Renata, Coffee Break at the Café 5, October 24, 2014). She expressed that this provided her with a sense of security and confidence because by doing so, she was helping students develop the ability to use formal norms and metalanguage, which she believes are an important element of *linguaging* that they would not learn otherwise.

What I observed in her classes demonstrated these beliefs and values as the course content was based on a monolingual orientation to language in which academic English is fixed and adheres to specific norms and conventions. These rules are often opaque to students, who, as Renata asserted, learned English in a chaotic way, and she proposed that it was her duty to make them clear. However, at points of our discussions during the Coffee Breaks at the Café, Renata acknowledged that she was teaching English to students who would use it with other people who learned it as an additional language, which to me means that there is tremendous potential for her students to communicate effectively and creatively in ways that deviate from prescriptive norms, as Canagarajah (2013) describes. Renata’s pragmatic approach (Lee, 2016) has advantages, not the least of which is contributing to her sense of confidence in the Brazilian context, which has been shown to be a site where the imposter complex (with teachers who learned English as an additional language questioning their own professional legitimacy) has been a negative force (Rajagopalan, 2005b). Moreover, as I mentioned in the background section of this chapter, Renata believed she was a part of a system, and did not have much autonomy in her decision-making process.

In terms of incorporating more of the translingual turn into her practice, if that were her goal, Renata might add to her teaching repertoire an emphasis on students gaining strategies for facilitating communication and negotiating meaning beyond our own understanding of an idealized standard form (Canagarajah, 2013). Also, she might express to students how she decided on the standard she teaches, who developed the norms and when, and the material consequences of using this idealized standard. Canagarajah (2013) suggests,

When grammatical norms are treated as ontological constructs, with an objective reality of their own, this may hide the inherent diversity in all communication and the practices that generate meaning. Therefore, the focus should not be on shared form, but on the pragmatic strategies people use to negotiate difference and achieve intelligibility. (p. 14)

I could imagine Renata explaining in an early class how linguistic standards developed in recent human history, whose interests they serve, and how contemporary linguists both embrace them and push back on them.

On different occasions during our Coffee Breaks at the Café, Renata expressed the idea that technology had allowed language learning to become more democratic, which she viewed as positive. She revealed the tensions that she felt between teaching language as dynamic and shifting as her students learned with and were exposed to so many varieties through the use of contemporary technology, especially the internet, and attempting to teach an idealized standard so that they would achieve credibility with their intended audiences and interlocutors. I understand Renata's contradictory subject positions as a productive entry point into the complexities of teaching translanguage practice. Horner et al. (2011) suggest that:

While increasing one's linguistic resources is always beneficial, taking a translingual approach is not about the number of languages, or language varieties, one can claim to know. Rather, it is about the disposition of openness and inquiry that people take toward language and language differences. (p. 311)

It is this openness that Renata not only aspired to but demonstrated that I believe generated translingual practice in her classes, such as code shifting, a focus on developing students' ideas, and regular pair and group work, even while having as an objective teaching an idealized standard. Another example of this dual lens is Aimee Krall-Lanoue's (2013) approach, in which she asks writing teachers to be "engaged readers rather and not simply experts of rules and conventions" (p. 228). Krall-Lanoue demonstrates how this might be done in relation to issues of tense, word choice, and sentence boundaries. Rather than "edit out difference" (p. 229), she encourages us to "negotiate meaning" (p. 229); in other words, correction becomes negotiation through engaging in conversation with students about their writing choices. As I explored in the last section, I observed Renata do so the in-class writing activities she designed.

Challenges of developing a translingual orientation to language at UMWB.

There are a variety of potential impediments for Renata to develop and teach with a translingual orientation to language. As described in the previous chapter, in Brazilian society, a monolingual orientation to language predominates. This is perhaps best illustrated by the way Portuguese, English, and Spanish are evaluated on college entrance exams and civil servant admittance tests, which, when not evaluating reading comprehension skills, focus on grammatical structures. There is certainly a relationship between the way Portuguese is tested, the way Portuguese is taught, the way Brazilians orient themselves to language, and the way

English is taught. This culture of standardized testing is potentially a nonlocal influence on local action (Linn & Erickson, 1990). Renata herself has a trajectory as a standardized test preparation teacher that has shaped her professional identity. She identifies with this aspect of the profession because it is a context in which the students' goals are very clearly defined and they tend to be highly motivated. Renata's teaching choices seem to be deeply influenced by the structure and understanding of language promoted by the Rio Branco test for candidates for Brazil's diplomatic corps and other standardized tests. In our lifetime these high-stakes exams have changed to attempt to measure test takers' communicative skill, but they are still based on an orientation to language as discrete and fixed. The paradox is that they are simultaneously a material form of language that reifies an idealized standard and potentially influences the way people use English around the world. Canagarajah (2013) explains,

The notion of bounded languages, with neatly patterned grammatical structures of their own, has been an asset for product-oriented teaching. The norms and standards that come with monolingual orientation have served as a benchmark for language assessment and social stratification for a long time. The translingual orientation disturbs these arrangements. (p. 12)

Renata, in contrast, in my experiences with her, seemed uninterested in participating in such subversion and did not position herself as such in her teaching practice; yet, the activities she designed for her class were often process-oriented and allowed for, or even encouraged, student negotiation of meaning, even as that included translingualism.

Another aspect of the UMWB context that impedes translingual orientations to language is that many members of the department that Renata is a member of understand idealized U.S. and British norms to be a starting point for teaching. In one departmental meeting I attended as a

member of the faculty, two colleagues presented a proposal for modifications to the English Phonetics and Phonology course curriculum. I was the only faculty member who suggested linguistic diversity be emphasized, but my colleagues did not take it up and this topic was not included in the course contents at all. At Applied Linguistics conferences in Brazil, I have noticed that some of my colleagues are engaging with *translanguaging*, while others, push back on the idea as impractical, and the latter was the stance of our colleagues in the department at the meeting in question. Similarly, Renata mentioned on more than one occasion, that she felt that language teaching was systemic, and she had a responsibility to help students within this system, which minimized her autonomy.

It is also important to remember that in a student-centered approach to teaching, students' monolingual orientation to language can influence how the teacher acts in a class. Often, students expect the teacher to explain the target language in discrete terms and ask questions like, *how do you pronounce that word? when do you use a comma? what does that word mean?* In a translingual orientation to language, instead of the auxiliary question word *do*, there is a shift to the modal question word *can*. In other words, there would be a reeducation towards a more critical and flexible approach to language, one that emphasizes creativity over objectivity. This is not a practice that I witnessed in my observations of Renata's teaching.

Reconciling Renata's grounding in teaching prescriptive grammar with a translingual orientation to language.

One salient finding of this study was Renata's emphasis on empathy with her students. In many attitudinal studies focused on the attributes of English teachers who learned English as an additional language, this was a prominent attribute of such teachers. For example, Jun Liu

(1999) found that English teachers who had learned English as an additional language recognized their ability to empathize with their students as they are familiar with the process of learning English and can serve as positive role models, especially when explaining grammar. Additionally, Samimy and Brutt-Griffler (1999) explored the attitudes of teachers with this linguistic profile who were in a MATESOL program and found that they viewed themselves as being more sensitive to their students' needs, efficient, aware of negative transfer in learners' interlanguage, able to use learners' L1 as a medium (in an EFL context) and tending to rely on textbooks. Renata displayed these attributes in a variety of ways. For example, she expressed a sense of confidence derived from diligent study, understanding of an idealized standard form of English, and years of teaching practice, especially for test preparation courses and the Rio Branco Brazilian Foreign Service Exam.

Renata displayed awareness of her own potential strengths coming from her ability to diagnose students' needs and help them reach their learning goals. As Freeman and Johnson (1998) point out, our teaching practice is shaped by our beliefs about ourselves as teachers, and Renata's orientation to language, pedagogical approaches, techniques, and strategies are part of an on-going process of reflection and modification in order to meet her own teaching comfort zone and her students' needs in specific ever-changing contexts. Additionally, I observed Renata draw on what Monzó and Rueda (2003) describe as *funds of knowledge* in terms of life experiences that are similar between teachers and students and that teachers can use to establish rapport with students. Furthermore, it was clear that Renata was very metacognitively aware of her choices and intentional in the way she performed her linguistic and professional identities (Varghese et al., 2005, p. 23). Even though Renata expressed the idea that prescriptive grammar was the foundation of her composition classes, I observed her establish a learning environment in

which negotiation was prominent, which is one primary element of translingual practice. The implications of the extremely complex nature of how individuals *language* requires a high degree of mental flexibility, and even generosity on the part of teachers and students, and Renata's empathy with students and the rapport she generated, encouraged this. In this way, she emphasized the practices and processes as much as the products of writing in English, which is yet another cornerstone of a translingual orientation to language teaching. With such negotiation, there was potential for the educational experience of Renata's students to develop deeper understandings of language, society and themselves. In other words, like Canagarajah, she generated a learning environment "where students may develop a critical attitude toward existing norms but also develop the repertoires and strategies required for social success [as students] communicate along, against, and beyond the dominant norms without disregarding them" (p. 12). I observed Renata and her students "modify, appropriate, and renegotiate dominant norms" (p. 12) as they adopted them, even if not always consciously.

I did not witness Renata encourage the sort of hybridity in texts that Canagarajah (2013) describes is possible in translingual practice. Still, I take for granted that all humans' unique physical characteristics, cognitive development, lived experiences, and social identities contribute to a unique way of *linguaging*. Thus, Renata and her students are constantly engaged in a creative process as they communicate and demonstrate their diverse individual characteristics as they do so. As Canagarajah suggests,

The translingual paradigm then does not disregard established norms and conventions as defined for certain contexts by dominant institutions and social groups. What is more important is that speakers and writers negotiate these norms in relation to their translingual repertoires and practices. We will find that such translingual negotiations

lead to subtle variations of established norms, as appropriate for one's interests and contexts, and gradual norm changes. (p. 9)

Renata's empathetic disposition towards her students enabled this and in so doing potentialized the possibility for them to "enjoy effective cosmopolitan relationships that allow us to be different and yet collaborative" (Canagarajah, 2013, p. 15) as they communicate with people from around world.

In this chapter I have provided a portrait of Renata as a university English composition professor in Brazil. In my experiences with her, she displayed a practice founded on empathy and grounded in teaching an idealized standard of English in response to the chaotic ways students learn outside of class through digital technologies. She combined this sense of empathy and goal of teaching "formal prescriptive" norms to emphasize the content of students' writing and encourage negotiation of both meaning and norms. In this way, she allowed, sometimes invited, elements of a translingual perspective into her classroom. In the next chapter, I will turn to her colleague's translingual orientation to language while teaching an English Morphosyntax class.

Chapter 6. PORTRAIT OF THALES AS A UNIVERSITY ENGLISH PROFESSOR OF MORPHOSYNTAX

After two years in Brasília working at the Ministry of Education, I was hired by the University of Midwestern Brazil (UMWB) to join the faculty of the English teacher-track major. I sometimes drive to campus and my route takes me along the shores of Lake Paranoá past the Ministry of Justice and the Attorney General's Headquarters, the latter is the government body that investigates and prosecutes other members of the government and is currently playing a crucial role in Brazilian society. It's a beautiful complex: two ten-story suspended cylinders connected by a sky bridge and completely dressed in glass. The reflections among the two main buildings and the aerial pedestrian bridge creates a spectacular kaleidoscope effect of blue sky, white clouds, dark green trees, and yellow sun. The colors of the Brazilian flag. It was Oscar Niemeyer's last architectural contribution to Brasília before his death.

On today's drive, as I flip through the radio stations, I hear a familiar voice on Rádio Senado [Senate Radio], a nationally broadcast station. Thales is being interviewed and asked to react to a recent assertion by Gregg Roberts, a World Languages and Dual Immersion specialist, that monolingualism is the illiteracy of the twenty first century. Thales describes how in Brazil socioeconomic conditions are so varied that knowing an additional language is a professional and social luxury for most people here, and there is still much work to be done to improve literacy in the national language. So, Roberts' idea of comparing monolingualism to illiteracy applies to only a very narrow section of the population. He goes on to discuss the possibility and benefits of learning more than one language.

Several aspects of Thales's approach to teaching that I observed stand out in relation to the objectives of this research project. He expressed the belief that he should engage students in authentic use of language instead of the type of language found in textbooks, which lacks sociolinguistic awareness. Additionally, like Renata's classes, I observed him and his students regularly engage in code shifting as they negotiated meaning in the big group as well as pairs and small groups. Although Thales emphasized learning language in a low-stress environment, at times, I also observed him explicitly correct students' language production with a more authoritative stance than I observed in Renata's classes. Still, like Renata, displays of empathy and rapport building permeated Thales's teaching practice. In this chapter, I repeat a similar model as the last: I first explore how Thales expressed elements of a translingual orientation to language when talking and writing about his teaching experience, how this orientation was performed in the classes I observed, and, finally, in the context of UMWB, the factors that might either encourage or impede Thales from performing a translingual orientation to language as part of his professional identity.

THALES'S LINGUISTIC AND PROFESSIONAL BACKGROUND

The youngest of six siblings, Thales was interested in studying English from an early age because his four older brothers and one older sister so enjoyed their classes at a co-op private English school, owned and operated by a group of 8 teachers. The minimum age requirement for enrollment was fifteen, and he joined the school the semester after he reached this milestone. Thales completed all of the classes they offered in three years, and, similar to Renata at her English school, became a teacher there. Despite his father and four older brothers being engineers (his sister is a psychologist), Thales identified so much with learning and teaching

English that he decided on it as a career and went on to get his undergraduate degree in teaching English from his home state's flagship university, the Federal University of Minas Gerais (UFMG). Besides English, Thales has also studied French, Italian, and Japanese. Having learned four foreign languages to varying degrees is a central aspect of Thales's personal, professional, and linguistic identity. He narrated in an e-mail:

Because of my passion for language, and of my theoretical background in terms of language learning and acquisition, I have always found it easy to learn a language – using techniques such as avoiding direct translation, listening to music and watching films in the language I am learning, not being embarrassed to talk to anyone who speaks the language, not being afraid of making mistakes, using a monolingual dictionary whenever possible... For sure I have become a better learner with time. Literature helps a lot, as well, since I try to read books – either adapted or in the original – from the languages I learn. (Thales, e-mail, March 23, 2014)

Thales' focus on learning a language in an enjoyable, low-stress environment was a recurring value of his that he expressed in our interactions and demonstrated in the classes I observed. In contrast to Renata, he did not emphasize the difficulties of the process or the anxiety of not being able to answer students' questions adequately, though he did mention on more than one occasion the embarrassment one often faces when learning an additional language, which I will return to discuss in the next section of this chapter.

Thales moved to Brasília when he was twenty-four years old to follow his fiancée, who got a job there at a hospital after completing her degree in Physical Therapy. In the nation's capital, Thales started teaching at the Casa Thomas Jefferson (CTJ), which is the city's, and one of the nation's, most widely renowned English schools. It is a bi-national center, which means

that it is a non-profit, autonomous English school recognized by the U.S. government and associated with the U.S. Embassy. It houses Brazil's Fulbright office and the U.S.-government-maintained Information Resource Center (IRC), a de facto public library of publications in English. Renata also taught at this school for a time, but only after Thales was no longer working there.

While still at CTJ, Thales earned a master's degree in TESOL that was offered as a distance-learning course through the American School of Brasília in conjunction with Framingham State College. His thesis compared how native English-speaking teachers and Brazilian teachers who learned English as an additional language evaluate students' oral production. From CTJ, he moved on to the local private Catholic university and eventually became the Coordinator of the English Department. While there, the Brazilian federal government opened the country to multi-national investors and, as I described in the chapter on the Brazilian context of English teaching, one of the areas that was profoundly affected by this action was higher education. In the Federal District, the number of private colleges offering a major in English went from one to 23 and the Catholic University saw a drastic drop in enrollment, which led Thales to pursue a PhD and seek further professional stability as a professor at UMWB, where job security is unmatched. Renata and Thales actually competed for the same job, which is where they first met, and both "passed" but were hired at different times. In the Brazilian public higher education system, one takes a test to get hired, and those who earn qualifying scores are eligible for job openings at that, or any other federal university, for up to four years. While Renata is a member of the teacher-track faculty, Thales is part of the group whose students are in the Applied Foreign Languages Program. It is an innovative major, unique nationally, in which students take courses in any three of the four language majors offered at

UMWB and prepare themselves for using multiple languages in fields that do not require a teaching or translation license. As I described in the chapter dedicated to Renata's profile, at UMWB, Thales is a leader in the Department of Foreign Languages and has served the institution in a variety of administrative positions.

Another prominent aspect of Thales's professional identity that I experienced was that he incorporated contemporary technology into his teaching repertoire. For example, in every class that I observed, he used a tablet computer and a projector unit to show examples and review the exercises students had done for homework. He was also very creative with technology and often repeated the adage, "if you want to do it, someone has probably invented it" and used the help function of software to figure out how to create dynamic slides and handouts. To supplement the resources he used in class, he also maintained a professional webpage, Twitter account, and Facebook page for his students. Additionally, the class also had a Moodle Learning Management System course page where he posted quizzes and practice activities.

THALES'S ORIENTATIONS TO LANGUAGE AND HOW HE DEPLOYED THEM IN HIS PRACTICE

Thales's classes this semester meet in the Instituto Central de Ciências (ICC), affectionately known as the Minhocão, or Big Worm, for its long, curved shape. The building is the structural and social heart of the UMWB campus, with all the others laid out in relation to it. Designed by Oscar Niemeyer, it consists of two three-story, 700-meter-long strips of classrooms, auditoriums, laboratories, and offices, as well as student lounges, copy centers, and snack bars. Thales's classroom this semester has a concrete floor and thin, temporary walls that remind me of cubicle dividers and allow much noise from neighboring classes and the hallway to pass through. The

walls don't reach all the way to the exposed steel beams at the ceiling, and there is peach-colored foam to fill the space. There are four internet jacks in the front of the room and six in the back, the remnants of the time before they installed WiFi on campus. Their wiring runs through PVC pipes along the top of the wall and down to the outlets. In some places the duct is black, in others white, and in still others gray, as if they were installed in waves as connectivity demands increased over time. In the front of the class there is a green chalk board and a sturdy white-topped table. Thales sets up his mobile projector unit on the table and projects onto the wall where pieces of A4-sized paper are taped in a vertical column over a groove between the panels to improve the quality of the image. The wall that separates us from the Minhocão's exterior and a palm-tree-and-papaya-filled garden is a heavy, sliding glass door. When it is open to let in a bit of a breeze, members of the class compete not only with the noise from neighboring classes and the hallway, but also the birds' banter in the garden. On the back wall there is graffiti that reads: "OBRIGADO POR + eSTe DIA SENHOR AMeM!!!! [THANK YOU LORD FOR oNe + DAY AMeN!!!!] It's written in thick blue permanent ink, which is transparent as if someone tried to wash it off but was unsuccessful. Religious graffiti in Brazil is the reminder of the complexities and contradictions of this society and setting. Maybe there are religious fundamentalist who tag classrooms? Maybe there are liberal progressives who thank god? Maybe it's sarcasm?

Like Renata, Thales expressed and demonstrated the value he places on empathy and developing rapport with his students. However, he and Renata articulated different orientations towards an idealized standard and prescriptive grammar. Still, I observed them both conduct their classes in a manner that generates opportunities for students to develop their translingual practice through negotiating meaning during pair and group work; however, Thales emphasized

students' development of a critical lens towards language norms and awareness of varying registers. Also, like Renata, Thales's *languaged life* (Ellis, 2016) had been influenced by emotion: in his case, the times he had embarrassed himself by pronouncing words in unexpected ways, when he was a YMCA camp counselor in Texas. In the coming subsections, I discuss Thales's translingual orientation to language in terms of his emphasis on building positive rapport with his students, how he approached an idealized standard form of English, and the way he positioned himself in relation to English as a language of international communication.

Thales's Emphasis on Rapport.

In our conversations, Thales emphasized being motivated by the need to make a positive impact in society and support students as they learn and progress while also having fun in the process, especially encouraging opportunities to make personal insights and epiphanies that he believes will have a lasting effect. Related to this emphasis on contributing to students' lives was Thales' focus on establishing positive rapport with them. In our joint interviews, he asserted that he was especially influenced by the teachers who befriended him at the co-op school where he first started learning English. He expressed the idea that learning an additional language requires much effort, but in order to motivate students, that rigor can be tempered with a light-hearted, enjoyable learning and teaching environment. In the fifth Coffee Break at the Café, Thales reported,

[1:05:55] It has to have a component of studying. Reading a lot. Studying.

Watching. Listening. Developing. Uh, and then a bit of psychology and dealing with people, right? Being being friendly, smiling in the class and not creating too much a threatening atmosphere. Making jokes, as you saw in my class. Yeah, I

think I win the students very quickly, most of them. Some of them I don't and I've learned to to accept that. (Thales, Coffee Break at the Café, October 24, 2014)

As Thales said in this excerpt, and I witnessed in his classes, he generated a learning environment founded on positive relationships both between him and students and among students themselves. Like Renata, he smiled and laughed throughout the classes I observed, and his students did too.

As I mentioned in the previous section, Thales learned several languages to varying degrees, and he expressed valuing his language learning experience as a source of insight for his language teaching practice. He said that one of his motivations to continue learning new languages is that it allows him to identify with his students' experience. Furthermore, on several occasions, Thales articulated being a perpetual learner as central to his identity and he appreciates that his students and colleagues constantly challenge him with new ideas and ways of approaching the profession.

Another way in which I observed Thales establish positive rapport with his students, like Renata, was through code shifting. Thales spoke in English most of the time and often responded in English even if the students spoke in Portuguese, but overall his class was a mix of speaking in Portuguese and English. I observed Thales and the students almost flaunt their ability to switch back and forth between languages as if it were fun and established a connection among them. This seemed to be part of his regular attempts to relate to students on their level individually and create a comfortable learning environment. I observed Thales use Portuguese to provide grammar explanations, when there were disputes about an answer, to make jokes, to compare English and Portuguese, when students asked for clarification in Portuguese, and to confirm with students that they had understood a concept. In fact, one of the reasons Thales

reported that he left CTJ was because of the school's English-only policy. In the examples I present below in relation to other aspects of Thales' teaching performance, this code shifting will be evident.

I also observed Thales establish rapport with students by destabilizing the teacher-to-student hierarchy. For example, one day, he left class early to attend a class himself. As he prepared to do so, he pointed out that one of the students present had started attending the same class but hadn't been to the most recent sessions. He asked her why (in Portuguese) and she said that she had a regular class at the same time. To which he responded, "Mata aula!" ["Skip class!"]¹. On another occasion, some students were talking about a recent test from another class and Thales joined in and said the teacher in question had always given tests that were "de bola cheia" [exceptionally difficult]². Such playfulness established Thales as someone students could relate to, and reduced the pressure and anxiety involved in earning a university degree, which as I explored in the chapter on the context of teaching and learning English in Brazil is exceptionally competitive and not available to the vast majority of the population. This is especially relevant in the Brazilian context because there are so many ways in which hierarchies within society are enforced.

Idealized Standards and Teaching.

Thales' understanding of the nature and role of standard forms of language have shifted across the length of his professional experiences. For example, notwithstanding UFMG's reputation as one of the country's top universities, overall, Thales was disappointed with the

¹ The literal translation is "Kill class!" and is a very colloquial saying.

² A colloquialism that literally means a soccer ball very filled with air. A ball that has high air pressure moves faster across the field of play and is harder to control.

experience because some of the professors' standards conflicted with his own at the time.

During our first Coffee Break at the Café, he explained,

[5:29] *T When I entered university all I needed was just a diploma because I already had a job. I I thought my life was done. So, at university the experience with English was not that good because the professors were not . . . the professors rarely spoke in English. Uh, professors corrected the students wrongly. I remember being corrected. And I remember correcting the professors because you know in the beginning of the career you correct everything a student says, right? I heard things in class and I slipped up.* (Thales, Coffee Break at the Café, October 12, 2013)

In our discussion, he expressed embarrassment about being so brash, but later in an e-mail said that he hoped his students would feel comfortable questioning him about something he said or the way he said it.

Thales reported that as he grew professionally, so did his interest in how Brazilians approached standards and correction. In his MA Thesis, he investigated the relationship between oral test scores and the evaluators' linguistic identity. He recorded test takers' responses on an oral exam and then had three highly proficient Brazilian teachers who had learned English as an additional language and three English teachers who identified as native speakers evaluate the content of the recordings. He initially hypothesized that the Brazilians would provide more negative feedback and lower grades because at CTJ the teachers had agreed that students could not earn a 10/10 on an oral test because a "perfect" score would have to be reserved for *native* speakers. However, he found that the evaluations of the teachers from both linguistic profiles were similar.

Thales' understanding of standard English, how it is taught and tested, was also influenced by his PhD project, which he began while still a professor at the Catholic University of Brasília. He earned his PhD from UMWB in Linguistics and developed a dissertation that explored English textbooks' inclusion of sociolinguistic content. He found that they offer very little if any; instead the focus is primarily on prescriptive grammar. Thales' own sociolinguistic awareness seems to have influenced his focus on language variation in class as he encouraged students to

“become more critical towards language, and look at language with eyes of a scholar, and not of a regular ‘user’” (Thales, Classroom observation, June 8, 2014).

This stance was primarily in relation to the limitations of teaching only an ideal of academic writing norms, as Thales regularly made comparisons between what the textbook demonstrated as correct and examples of language use that students found in songs, movies, television series, video games, etc. In all of the activities I observed, Thales engaged with the idea of varying registers. For example, when discussing relative clauses, he explained:

[13:52] *T Very good. So, you would never hear Chico Bento say look at the*

clouds and say “Olha as nuvens. Hoje à tarde teremos pancadas esparças.”

[“Look at the clouds. This afternoon we will have scattered showers.”]³

Ss laughter

T It doesn't mean it doesn't fit. It's not his register. The same way you will never

see the weather guy on the Jornal Nacional say “Amanhã vai cair um toró

danada.” [“Tomorrow it's gonna rain cats and dogs.”]⁴

³ Chico Bento is a comic book character known for his rural dialect and informal register.

⁴ This might be how Chico Bento would say it, but probably not a meteorologist.

Ss laughter

T It doesn't happen. So, these are different registers different ways of saying the same thing so depending on where you're using your English you have to use the right register . . . depending on what you do what you are writing never write an e-mail to a friend a friendly e-mail to a friend "Oh, I will send you the picture of the boy with whom I spent last night". Your friend would think you are crazy.

Ss laughter (Classroom observation, June 8, 2014)

By discussing the idea of register with students, Thales was encouraging them to reflect on possibilities for language variation. In this example, we also see him engage in code shifting to help make his point, and he used the cultural references of a popular comic book character, who uses a very informal register, and the most popular television news program, which is presented in a formal register. At the same time, in this excerpt, Thales's definitive tone, "You would never hear...", "You will never see...", and "never write" point to his understanding of language as variable but fixed for certain contexts. In other words, in this instance he positions himself as being open to language variation, but still firm in terms of appropriateness. While many scholars embrace this approach, Lippi-Green (2011) points out that,

If communicative competence is taken as a speaker's ability to use language appropriately in social context, and we do not challenge the construction of "appropriacy," then we have opened a back door to exclusion on the basis of another kind of "correctness" logic. (p. 81)

Thales's emphasis above on registers is a central element of a translingual orientation to language and a step towards developing students' translingual practice; at the same time, there

would have been room for him to take his critical stance further and engage students about how, when, and why appropriateness is productive and when we might push back on it.

The foundation of the Morphosyntax class was content related to grammatical structures (e.g., the various forms of the conditional, verb tenses, and relative clauses), and like Renata, he often engaged in explicit grammatical explanations, but also included opportunities for students to negotiate meaning through pair work and small-group work in which students discussed the reasons for their answers before sharing with the big group. For example, he proposed an activity in which students had to match the use of a verb tense in sentences to the correct explanations. He asked them to,

Talk to the person sitting next to you and find the answers together. [. . .] If you explain it to each other, if you defend your ideas, it helps make it clear. (Thales, Classroom observation, September 19, 2013)

These activities often generated lively debate between students. They were eager to engage in discussions of their answers, which I believe comes at least in part from the type of learning atmosphere that I observed Thales generate.

Still, at times, I witnessed Thales return to the way he positioned himself early in his career and provide on-the-spot corrections of pronunciation. For example, after hearing a student pronounce the word dinner with a high, front “ee” vowel, he explained to the class,

Guys, dinner, dinner, not deener. Don't mistake e with i. Bead, Bid, Bed, Bad. The different vowels cause a meaning change in English but not in Portuguese. Minino, Minnino, Menino, Manino. Já ouvi todas essas pronúncias. São diferenças de sotaque, não de palavras. Não faz diferença de significado. Temos que lembrar que estamos lidando com uma língua diferente. Temos que condicionar nossos cérebros a reconhecer

a diferença entre palavras como beach e bitch e produzir essa diferença. [I've heard all of these pronunciations. There's a difference in accent, but not word. The change in vowel doesn't change the meaning. We have to remember that we are dealing with a different language. We have to condition our minds to recognize the difference between words like *beach* and *bitch* and produce the difference.] (Thales, Classroom observation, September 26, 2013)

He went on to explain that he had spent time in Texas, and there, people made fun of the way he said *dinner*. In other words, this particular word was especially significant to his English learning experience while the vividness of the experience may in part have helped him remember a certain pronunciation of *dinner*, he also wanted to help his students avoid humiliation. Like, Renata, the emotions that Thales associates with different language learning episodes played a part in the development of his linguistic and professional identity. In this case: embarrassment. Yet, in this episode Thales also expressed the idea to students that part of the learning process requires conditioning our brains to recognize and produce phonological differences, a stance that could be seen as contrasting with his strong focus on communication. In our July 29, 2014 Coffee Break at the Café, Thales returned to the idea that grounds his practice in communication as more important than form.

[29:11] *I think um um uh what I said about pronunciation I think it shows more or less how I feel and my approach that uh nowadays more and more English uh is necessary for communicating so uh as long as the language you're using is passing the message you really mean, uh, that's that's the purpose.*
(Thales, Coffee Break at the Café, July 29, 2014)

I highlight this to point out the dynamic nature of Thales's professional identity development and performance in our interactions. It makes sense that he engages pronunciation corrections, even though he might not wholly believe in them, because so much of his socialization process involved such corrections and because he is able to put these corrections within attention to sociolinguistic markers. I will return to and explore this idea further in the analysis section of this chapter.

In a later class, Thales returned to the theme of pronunciation and related another example of his English learning experience in Texas when he tried to tell a joke, but his pronunciation of the word *gas* made the joke incomprehensible. He had asked a group of friends, what a ten-letter-word that started with *gas* was, but they understood “guess” instead of “gas.” He explained to students that in Portuguese, these two sounds are variations of the same phoneme:

Some people say 'menino' [boy] and some say 'manino.' [boy] (Thales, Classroom observation, October 31, 2013).

He also related embarrassing moments for English speakers learning Portuguese.

Um amigo Irlandês que tinha morado muito tempo no Brasil confundiu bizzoro e bezerra. Esses momentos fazem parte de aprender outra língua. [An Irish friend that had lived for a long time in Brazil used to confuse beetle and calf. These moments are part of the language learning experience.] (Thales, Classroom observation, September 26, 2013).

This anecdote was followed by much student laughter. When citing such examples, Thales was not only helping students heighten their phonological awareness, but also helping prepare them to deal with the pitfalls and potential for misunderstanding when engaging *language users* from diverse backgrounds.

Besides such issues of pronunciation, Thales engaged students throughout the semester with the idea that languages mix, even on a grammatical level and he asserted that English has influenced Portuguese in the use of the future continuous. While people with a prescriptive orientation to language reject such mixing, Thales explained that it was natural. Still, people in many parts of the world reject this tendency and try to impede it. He explained:

Tem pessoas na mídia que reclamam desse uso no Brasil, mas existe. É só quando é um verbo de estado que não pode. Na Alemanha publicaram um artigo reclamando da inclusão de palavras da língua inglesa no dicionário mais tradicional. Vocês lembram que falamos sobre isso em português? Pois é, tem gente besta para qualquer lado. [There are people in the media who complain about this use in Brazil, but it exists. It's only when it's a stative verb that it doesn't work. In Germany, some people complained that they included words of English origin in the dictionary. Do you remember we talked about that in Portuguese? Well, there are silly people in every country.] (Thales, Classroom observation, September 26, 2013).

I will discuss the complexities of Thales's approach, which at times seemed to be contradictory in the analysis section of this chapter.

English for International Communication.

In our interactions at the Coffee Breaks at the Café, Thales agreed with Renata about the changing nature of English and English learners, namely, that their students learn English to communicate with other people who learned English as an additional language from a variety of countries, and they use digital technology both to learn and to communicate transnationally. However, while Renata's reaction to the contemporary English learning context was to

emphasize a “formal prescriptive” form of English because students would not learn it elsewhere, Thales expressed the intention to teach them what he considered more authentic language use. For example, when Thales and Renata were discussing English for international communication, he contributed that he had read recently that people who speak English as a foreign language far out-number so-called “native” speakers and that he agreed with the author’s belief that “the owners of the language are those who speak it” (Thales, Coffee Break at the Café, July 29, 2014). He cited as an example variation in preposition use in Egypt, which has become an Egyptian English standard. He highlighted that despite differences, the Egyptian use communicates perfectly and asserted:

This has always been. Usage consolidates it. Now, usage is being done by non-native speakers. (Thales, Coffee Break at the Café, July 29, 2014).

The idea that different communities of *Englishers* use the language in unique ways is one of the foundations of a translingual orientation to language, and while I did not witness Thales relate this sort of example in class, the sociolinguistic examples cited here suggest he very well might have, and his understanding potentially has a profound impact on the content and approach of his teaching practice.

Another way that Thales expressed elements of a translingual orientation to language was when he asserted his dissatisfaction with the type of language taught in books because he was concerned that it was only useful in specific contexts, like high-stakes tests, but did not focus enough on communicative competence. This is demonstrated in the following excerpt of an interaction between the two participants during the July 29, 2014 Coffee Break at the Café.

[36:14] *T But but this is- I I think this had a great impact on on on my wanting to*

study communicative competence actually because we are not teaching the students the real language. We are teaching the bookish language.

R Right.

T Which in your case is what they have to learn because they are doing the test for Rio Branco.

R Yeah.

T But 99% of the Brazilians don't need that. They need real English. They need to be able to understand movies. To chat with their friends. (Coffee Break at the Café, July 29th, 2014)

Thales was concerned that teaching what he calls “bookish” English does not prepare his students for the demands of international communication, which Canagarajah (2013) asserts involves much negotiation and meaning making. Meanwhile, this excerpt also demonstrates how both Thales and Renata negotiate their understanding of and beliefs about the nature of their teaching task. Neither was antagonistic or defensive towards the other despite potentially divisive stances; instead, they recognized the value of the other’s position in relation to their specific teaching needs. Such dialogues potentially contributed to their developing understandings, beliefs, and actions. As the above cited interaction continued, their open disposition to each other’s ideas was further showcased. I presented the following excerpt in the chapter dedicated to Renata’s portrait, but repeat it here because it emphasizes the positive rapport between the two participants and highlights Thales’s understanding of the usefulness of translingual practice.

[37:27] *R You're not teaching English to talk to people who speak English as a first language.*

T Yeah.

R It's foreign-foreign to English.

T Yes. Yeah. That's why uh uh British and American-based companies are hiring foreigners to deal with companies from other-

R Laughter. Right.

T From other countries. They prefer a foreigner, not a native-

R Because they can understand each other.

T Because the other feel more comfortable dealing with a foreigner than with a native.

R Yeah.

T It's interesting. (Coffee Break at the Café, July 29th, 2014)

Again, Renata and Thales expressed the belief that contemporary Brazilian students of English would use the language to interact mostly with people who also learned English as an additional language from around the world, and for Thales, preparing them to do so was pivotal.

In a specific instance of this, in our fourth Coffee Break at the Café, Thales discussed the importance he placed on teaching students about language variation and change, such as the lack of agreement between subjects and verbs in both English and Portuguese in some registers or the use of what are adjective forms in places that prescriptive grammars call for adverbs. He suggested,

[50:02] *T And [students] just don't know that well can be an adjective or an adverb and that's why they say that I feel well and not I feel good. So, I try to show this whenever possible. And try to make them see there are there are certain times in which certain situations in which if you use what the grammar tells you to, people will raise their*

eyebrows. *Just like we do here in Portuguese. And then I say, "Yeah, you say to your friend, telefonarei-te mais tarde⁵." [I will call you later.] We never do this. Would you write this? Yes, if you are doing a test for Rio Branco, you should use esapólis. You should learn how to use it and use it. (Thales, Coffee Break at the Café, October 24, 2014)*

In the same interaction, he later expands on this notion.

[14:59] *T I think lately, I've I've I've been trying to raise whenever possible to raise the students' awareness to other aspects outside the structure. [. . .] Uh, aspects of a different ways of saying the same thing depending on where you are. And and which I believe for most of the situations in the prep courses you wouldn't mention for example there's. There's for plural, right? Which is natural. Today you said, "there's three classes with my name." There's three classes with my name. So, I I I'm calling their attention to that and and I and I try to make parallels to Portuguese and and and tell them, "Look, it would be very inappropriate for you to have a conversation with your friends and use the verb haver instead of fazer. You wouldn't say to your friends, 'Há muito tempo eu não vim nesse bar.' [It has been a long time since I last came to this bar.] Never. Uh and if you did say that, people would raise their eyebrows and say whay, 'Are you weird or something?'" So, to try to make them see that this naturally happens in every mother language. (Thales, Coffee Break at the Café, October 24, 2014)*

⁵ This is an extremely formal future tense and pronoun combination that is very rarely used in contemporary Brazilian society.

In this excerpt, Thales reinforced the idea that communication is contextualized: Following prescriptive rules can be an impediment to communication in many contexts. I understand that his approach was in response to the tendency in Brazil to teach an idealized prescriptive grammar as the form that students should strive to achieve without qualifying its usefulness.

I mentioned earlier in this chapter that Thales heavily incorporated technology into his teaching repertoire and he expressed awareness of how digital technology had much to do with the changes in students' learning objectives and learning techniques. He even expressed admiration for their ability to do so. In our October 24, 2014 Coffee Break at the Café he and Renata discussed this. Again, I presented this excerpt in the chapter dedicated to Renata's portrait, but I repeat it here to emphasize Thales's engagement with digital technology and contemporary students' *language lives*, even that of his son.

[11:21] *T We have some students some freshmen and they're talking, and I said,*

"Where did you learn English." And they said, "Oh, on the internet, playing games."

R Yeah, and it's funny because as you said, they don't learn English to talk with native speakers, like I have this this student whose he's very into video games, and apparently the Koreans are the best players of this game he likes. And so he learns English to talk to them in English to Koreans in English about the game. And it's common. It's really like they don't aim at the "First World" the "Old World" anymore.

T Yeah, and and and because these games you play them on line and and you play and you talk to the other player wherever he is. My son does that and it's amazing how much they learn.

R How quickly and how much.

T Yeah because they are learning real language and it makes sense, it's useful and every now and then my son comes up with something, "Where did you learn that? I know it's not at Cultura Inglesa⁶." [laughter] So, it's this this this. And also, uh, sitcoms. Yeah because that's that's where real learning takes place.

As I described in Chapter 4, on context, Brazilians have gained expanded access to digital technologies and among the changes in society that this has brought, one is the way they might learn an additional language, the motivation for it, and the resources to supplement this learning. Thales and Renata expressed how these understandings of language learning and their task as language teachers has been influenced by these changes. Now, there are more possibilities for *linguaging*. Their students, and they themselves, are growing in unexpected ways as they build relationships and engage media that are not isolated within national borders.

Like any *linguager*, Thales is constantly engaging in translingual practice as he uses English in his own unique way, influenced by the many languages he has learned and the many variations of English that he has engaged with over the years. Additionally, I observed Thales, like Renata, regularly negotiate meaning with students, not only when engaging in metalinguistic discussions, but also in any interaction with them. He also encouraged them to negotiate meaning with each other as they discussed their understandings of language together in pairs and small groups, asking them to think critically about language. In this way, he allowed for “meaning-making as a social practice that engages holistically with ecological and contextual affordances” (Canagarajah, 2013, p. 10). Furthermore, through the daily activities involving pair and group work that required students to engage language norms critically, Thales promoted

⁶ *Cultura Inglesa is a national language school franchise in Brazil.*

possibilities for them to “learn new culturally shared meaning through face-to-face interaction; and create meanings, given the unique exigencies of practical action in the moment” (Linn & Erickson, 1990, p. 106).

Thales’s emphasis on empathy and building rapport, which he expressed having cultivated since his earliest teaching and learning experiences, is an element that might have contributed to his being open to translingual practice and the negotiation that is central to it. One difference between the two participants is that Thales expressed more of a disposition to teaching towards language variation than Renata. While she believed it was her job to teach prescriptive norms because her students wouldn’t learn them otherwise, Thales wanted to teach what he believed was authentic use and asked students to approach language critically. This echoes Canagarajah’s (2013) appeal to teachers to develop a learning environment “where students may develop a critical attitude toward existing norms” (p. 12). By highlighting language variation in relation to registers, Thales’ practice is consonant with Canagarajah’s call for teachers to support students as they “develop the repertoires and strategies required for social success” (p. 12).

Thales also demonstrated a disposition to engage what Canagarajah describes as

pedagogies that teachers may find useful to help students communicate along, against, and beyond the dominant norms without disregarding them. It is possible to modify, appropriate, and renegotiate dominant norms as one adopts them. (p. 12)

As I have discussed in this and previous subsections, Thales did not reject teaching an idealized standard, but attempted to contextualize it as one of many registers that students should master in order to achieve communicative competence.

Many of Thales’ values and beliefs about language and language teaching aligned with Canagarajah’s (2013) exploration of translingual practice, but there was also much tension

between his developing understandings and other aspects of his socialization process. I engage this issue in the next section.

CHALLENGES AND TENSIONS THALES FACED FOR TEACHING MORPHOSYNTAX WITH A TRANSLINGUAL ORIENTATION TO LANGUAGE

In the previous sections I explored Thales's linguistic and professional background and his beliefs about language learning and teaching, especially in relation to language change and language variability, as well as how he manifested these beliefs in his teaching practice, as I observed it. To review, Thales expressed dissatisfaction that the norms emphasized by English textbooks do not reflect the way English is actually used in most social situations. He viewed contemporary undergraduate students' learning experience as very different from his own because of their access to, and the nature of, new technologies that allow them to consume a variety of media in English and communicate with people from all over the world. Furthermore, his emphasis on students working in pairs and small groups to develop critical awareness of language use is an example of the opportunities for the negotiation of meaning and meaning making that Canagarajah (2013) identifies as central elements to encourage translingual practice. These three aspects of his professional identity demonstrate his propensity to embrace elements of a translingual orientation to teaching English. Yet, there were still many challenges and tensions that Thales faced to do so while teaching a Morphosyntax class. As Barcelos and Kajala (2011) predicted, teachers' representations of language "develop, fluctuate, and interact with actions, emotions, identities or affordances and [are] constructed within the micro- and macro-political contexts of learning and teaching languages" (p. 282). This was most evident in the way I observed him approach phonological aspects of language.

As I noted in the previous section, on different occasions, I observed Thales emphasize to students the need to develop their ability to distinguish and produce the phonemes of English. The approach he demonstrated got my attention because in one of our Coffee Breaks at the Café, he had talked about his disappointment with his undergraduate experience due to some of his professors' low level of English proficiency, including what he considered pronunciation mistakes. However, he expressed remorse and embarrassment at having corrected them. He explained that at the time, he thought that all mistakes should be corrected right away, but he no longer felt that was the best approach. The apparent contradiction between Thales's expressed beliefs and actions illustrates the tensions teachers can face in the process of their professional identity development. At times we are able to engage and rationalize a new theoretical aspect of teaching practice, but our earlier beliefs and long-standing actions are still manifested.

Thales must reconcile his understanding of language with macro-level forces in Brazil that perpetuate a monolingual orientation to language that I have cited at various points. For example, Portuguese language teaching has long been associated with the norms established by the Brazilian Academy of Letters, and these norms are reflected in multiple-choice, high-stakes standardized tests such as local university entrance exams and civil servant admittance tests. The monolingual beliefs about language that such material manifestations reify often carries over into the arena of foreign language teaching in elementary and high schools as well as the foreign language portion of college entrance exams. In a case of washback on a national level, those who have access to a formal education are often trained to follow these norms, which are sanctioned by law, in order to pass these gate-keeping tests. Those who are not, are marked as being economically and socially disadvantaged. Still, it is important to acknowledge that dependence on such norms in educational institutions is decreasing, as the National Curriculum

Parameters and the National High School Exam (ENEM), which was taken by more than 8 million people in 2016 (Ferreira, 2016), demonstrate. Meanwhile, I observed Thales position himself as an ally and colleague to students, thus undermining the typical hierarchy of the classroom context. As a final note at the end of the first test of the semester, he included the following quote that embodies this approach to education that engages its implications for social relations, “Without education, we are in a horrible and deadly danger of taking educated people seriously” (Thales, November 28, 2013).

All language teachers are subject to mainstream discourses around languages, teachers, and teaching, which implicate them in power relationships. The situation of many non-native English-speaking TESOL teachers and their striving for legitimacy in a sometimes hostile globalized TESOL market is a case in point (Miller, 2009). Yet, Thales, in my interactions and observations, did not mention or display any lack of confidence of the type discussed in Rajagopalan (2005b). There are certainly many factors that contribute to this: years of professional experience in a variety of contexts, professional qualifications in the field, leadership positions in the institution, and perhaps his gender. But perhaps his experience with and affinity to sociolinguistics was especially important. Thales seemed also to be interested in developing what Canagarajah (2013) describes as “strategies and dispositions [that] enable us to enjoy effective cosmopolitan relationships that allow us to be different and yet collaborative” (p. 15). Moreover, Thales’s treatment of appropriateness aligns well with Canagarajah’s inclination towards “the development of English proficiency in relation to repertoire building with other codes and languages” (p. 13).

An aspect of a translingual orientation that I did not observe either Renata or Thales deploy was an emphasis on communicative strategies to deal with language variation in our

globalizing society, which they could have done by focusing on possibilities such as clarification requests and confirmation checks. I observed Thales engage his students in a variety of registers according to level of formality, but both participants might include texts from speakers from a variety of linguistic backgrounds so that students develop flexibility and dexterity.

Another aspect of a translingual orientation to language that I did not observe Renata and Thales encourage was code shifting in written texts. As I have already explored, they both embraced mixing English and Portuguese in students' oral production. Perhaps the longstanding and widespread prescriptive approach to writing in Brazil is an impediment to either of them considering such. Also, it is important to note that Canagarajah's (2013) and Horner's (2011) publications came out about the same time that I was in the field with Renata and Thales, and the translingual turn in Applied Linguistics has gained momentum since then. In my own experience in contemporary teacher education programs, translingual orientations are being explored and encouraged, but this was not part of Renata's and Thales's formal teacher development program. The current generation of graduate students in Applied Linguistics, like myself, is potentially more likely to embrace aspects of translingual practice than previous ones if their professors and mentors engage it.

Chapter 7. CONCLUSION

As people all over the world appropriate the resources of English according to their own norms and values, accommodate them into their existing language repertoires, and shuttle between English and diverse local languages for communication, the translingual orientation also explains their competence and practices better.

Suresh Canagarajah, *Translingual Practice*

This multifaceted ethnographic research project explored the complexities of two Brazilian university English teachers' translingual orientations to language, and how these influenced and were demonstrated in their teaching practice. I began by tracing key elements of my interest in this topic, especially the value I place on undermining linguistic discrimination. From there, I discussed several aspects of the development of the translingual turn in Applied Linguistics such as embracing the individuality of language use, the inevitability of language change, and the arbitrary nature of language standards. I also addressed the negative role of the native speaker myth in language teaching, and the context of the contemporary digital age, which creates opportunities for *linguaging* across national borders on an unprecedented level. This study is grounded in the assumption that translingual practice (Canagarajah, 2013) offers a productive explanation for the social nature of communication; rather than emphasize conformity to top-down norms, translingual orientations to language highlight *linguaging* as a creative act. Doing so shifts the focus of language teaching from its products to the processes that support students as they develop linguistic flexibility and dexterity. With these ideas in mind, I attempted to answer the following research questions:

1. How do Renata and Thales express a translingual orientation to language when talking or writing about their teaching experience?
2. How do they demonstrate a translingual orientation to language when teaching?

3. How are the happenings in this specific context related to the larger national and international context of the translingual turn in Applied Linguistics and English teaching in the digital age?

It is important to note that Canagarajah's (2013) *Translingual Practice*, which I view as a landmark in the development of the translingual turn, was published the same year that I was in the field interacting with Renata and Thales. Therefore, my discussion of the findings points to the complexities of the participants potentially taking up this theoretical trend at its early stages of development.

As I explored the research questions, I drew on Bakhtin's (1981, 1984, 1993) philosophy, which points to the nature of our apprehension of reality as ever shifting. New experiences and reflection on new ideas influence who we are. Researchers in Applied Linguistics, and other disciplines, have deployed this perspective by developing inquiry related to stake holders' identities. In this vein, my approach engages the complexity of the interaction between Renata's and Thales's values, beliefs, emotions, and actions in the context of contemporary Brazilian society (i.e., the role of who they are in how they teach). Rather than pursue cause-and-effect explanations for their actions, I have attempted to cultivate nuanced and non-binary understandings of their *languaged lives* (Ellis, 2016) and teaching lives.

With these theoretical underpinnings in mind, I have presented the research findings at hand with the recognition that my lens was influenced by my own experience. Therefore, my goal was to engage the ideas that Renata and Thales expressed and their actions while accepting that their positionality and my own are constantly shifting as we interact with texts, students, colleagues, administrators, and assume new institutional roles. I explored the issues *with* them and designed my study so that we would be in dialogue. Together we constructed

understandings of their identities and the roles of their beliefs in their professional lives, as opposed to trying to either separate myself from or impose myself on their process of identity construction. In this way, I worked towards Scarino's (2005) discussion of ethical knowing. This study holds the potential to expand understandings of how those who learned English as an additional language successfully approach their profession without depending on native speaker identity. The value of this research, then, is in the possibilities for reaching insights and applying them in new contexts to be further modified.

Renata related that she became an English professor by accident after having achieved success as a student at a private English school, becoming a teacher there, and then earning the position of academic coordinator. She did not resist the momentum of a series of successful professional experiences leading to further opportunities until she had reached the pinnacle of the profession in Brazil: a tenured professorship at a federal university. One key element of this process that she reported was the personal and intellectual growth she experienced as a teacher of high-stakes standardized test preparation classes.

In regard to the first research question—how she expressed a translingual orientation—Renata saw translingualism as something students already brought with them into the classroom, and as we'll see in the discussion of the second research question, she used as a resource. She expressed the idea that her English Composition students' incomes were very different than those of her English major colleagues in the 1990s, mostly because of the influence of digital technology. Such contemporary media allowed them to interact with people around the world, above all other people who learned English as an additional language. She believed in the democratic benefits of these possibilities for her students' *languaged lives* and understood she could contribute most to their academic and intellectual development by drawing on her

expertise of an idealized standard. She suggested that many of her students learn to communicate well in English before arriving to her class, but in a chaotic way, so her primary role was to help increase their metalinguistic awareness and improve their use of formal writing conventions. She believed these were important aspects of their professional development that they wouldn't learn otherwise. Renata recognized "formal prescriptive" as an artificial lingua franca that no one actually used, but she felt it offered a foundation upon which to ground her practice. At various moments in our interactions, she brought up the emotions she had felt as a learner and novice teacher, especially a sense of insecurity. She reported that through diligent study and experience she had transformed this feeling of vulnerability into one of confidence.

As to my second research question, in the act of teaching, I observed Renata position herself empathetically towards students: smiling throughout the class, making jokes, being self-deprecating, and expressing interest in students' ideas and experiences. She created a learning environment that allowed for openness to their experimenting with language creatively, and she generated opportunities in all seven classes I observed for students to negotiate meaning both during pair and group work, as well as in big-group discussions. In this way, she emphasized not only linguistic products, but also *linguaging* as a process (Canagarajah, 2013). While there was potential for tension between Renata's objectives of teaching a "formal prescriptive" standard and students' expectations as learners in the digital age, she minimized it with the way she positioned herself as an ally in the learning process. This was especially evident in the way Renata shifted between English and Portuguese and allowed, even encouraged, students to do so, too. My impression was that she cultivated a sense among the classroom community that collectively their linguistic resources complemented each other and could be deployed together to create meaning and generate mutual comprehension. In summary, several aspects of Renata's

teaching actions that I observed aligned with Canagarajah's (2013) suggestions for promoting translingual practice.

In responding to the third question, this research report has engaged the challenges that Renata faced in teaching English Composition with a translingual orientation to language. As contemporary Brazilian society was going through major political, economic, and social shifts, Renata was starting to have students with more diverse incomes, including linguistic repertoires they had developed through transnational communication. Renata herself was experiencing novel professional opportunities as the local Languages without Borders Program Academic Coordinator. Through this position, she became part of a national community of university English teaching specialists, as well as gained an institutional role in the development of English major teaching internships at UMWB. Yet, in my understanding of Renata's *language life* and professional context, I found few officially recognized affordances for a translingual orientation to language beyond specific sections of Brazil's National Curriculum Parameters and the National High School Exam (ENEM). On the contrary, Renata's work as a standardized test preparation teacher, Brazilian society's emphasis on an idealized standard of Portuguese for access to higher education and jobs in the public sector, and even times when her colleagues at UMWB agreed that they should use as a foundation an idealized British or U.S. standard for their curriculum all played a role in Renata's belief that language learning and teaching are systemic. From this understanding of her teaching context, she said she had less autonomy in the classroom than one might think and felt a sense of responsibility to teach students what she believed they needed to know: an idealized standard form of English. Still, she positioned herself as a friendly ally to her students, and in the classes I observed she engaged the content of their ideas more

than the way they expressed them. In my interactions with Renata, it was evident that her teaching life is certainly complex and influenced by competing forces.

Multiple excerpts that I presented in the previous chapters included Renata expressing the idea that she grounded her practice in formal norms and prescriptive grammar because she had invested heavily in learning it, which generated a sense of security and confidence. This brings up the question of how we might develop translingual orientations towards language in teaching that simultaneously develop teacher confidence. I can imagine how learning more about the translingual turn might actually be a source of such. However, a concern for me is that teachers who currently ground their professional identity in teaching an idealized standard might feel threatened by the translingual orientations to language. In fact, during my contact with Renata, I was faced with a research dilemma. While she expressed many ideas that echoed contemporary research on translingual practice, at the same time, she took for granted a standard English norm that she should teach students. How to deal with our contrasts in philosophy was central to my growth as a researcher because of the centrality of maintaining our rapport, respecting her as a highly competent professional, and valuing the sacrifices she made and her generosity to participate in this project. I intended to present her actions and ideas in an intellectually balanced way and I was intentional about keeping an open mind. In doing so, I saw that her idea of a standard was not based on any idealized native speaker norms; she expressed the idea that it was artificial, but it offered a starting point for exploring the formal, academic register with her students. Furthermore, in her actions, she promoted activities that encouraged students to interact and negotiate meaning without imposing her own understanding of an idealized standard. I came to recognize a dynamic interplay of beliefs and actions that I was not expecting and in so doing came to view my own tendency to adhere to a monolingual

versus translingual binary. The process of inquiry through interpretive research, has helped me reflect on, examine, and challenge my own beliefs about what it means to be an effective university English professor in our globalizing context. It also made me reflect on my own biases as a researcher, working against my own expectations and preferences as I strove to fairly capture the challenges and contradictions of a pedagogical field in flux. I hope that in so doing I have been able to adequately honor Renata and showcase her talents.

Thales's and Renata's *language lives* and professional identities have much in common, but they also contrast in key ways. Thales reported having found his calling as an English teacher partly because of his deep identification with his mentors at the first private language school he attended. Like Renata, the momentum of one successful professional experience after another, in a variety of teaching contexts, led to his becoming a university English professor. This happened despite Thales's father and four brothers being engineers, which seems to be an early example of his propensity for subversion in certain situations.

For the first research question—regarding the orientation to translingualism—I found that Thales agreed with Renata that their students were learning to *English* in order to interact with people from diverse international and linguistic backgrounds. However, he differed in how this influenced his stance as a teacher. He felt motivated to teach students what he considered authentic language and encouraged students to think critically about the “bookish language” that was found in most textbooks and English classes that he was familiar with. His approach was influenced by his doctorate in Linguistics and his dissertation, which explored the ways that English textbooks include topics of sociolinguistics.

With respect to the second question, in the Morphosyntax classes I observed, Thales put his beliefs into practice by incorporating a variety of digital technologies into his teaching

repertoire and developing activities that asked students to reflect on a variety of registers and appropriateness. Beyond that, like Renata, he generated opportunities for students to negotiate meaning through group and pair work. Also, similar to her, he and his students shifted between English and Portuguese; they even did so with flair, creating a bond between members of their learning community. The content of Thales's class was grammar-based, but he reframed students' questions about correctness in terms of appropriateness and contexts of use. Thales conceded that when teaching for a high-stakes exam, the students needed to learn prescriptive norms; in other situations, he encouraged the ability to communicate across national and cultural borders. In short, Thales's teaching demonstrated a variety of elements that I associate with the translingual turn in Applied Linguistics. Still, Thales's actions were not without their own complexities as I observed him at times take an authoritative stance and tell students in a definitive tone that they would "never" hear or see certain uses of English or Portuguese in certain contexts and corrected their pronunciation without contextualizing the idealized dialect he was using as a point of reference.

As for Research Question 3, considering the shared context, there was much in common between Renata and Thales. The recent political, economic, and social changes in Brazil had influenced Thales and his students, and he embraced the opportunities that transnational communication represented for both them and him. For example, similar to Renata, Thales was benefitting from the Brazilian federal government's focus on internationalizing higher education. He was the local Coordinator of the Languages without Borders Program and the national Vice President of the English branch of the program. In the latter role, he promoted multilingualism as a leader of the nation-wide community of more than 100 coordinators, a position that also routinely involved participation in international meetings and conferences. He was also a leader

in local internationalization initiatives at UMWB. While Thales faced the same lack of affordances for developing a translingual orientation to language as Renata, his background in sociolinguistics and his affinity for teaching communicative competence aligned his philosophy with that of Canagarajah (2013) in several ways. However, as I mentioned in the previous paragraph, when his students deviated from his expectations in relation to pronunciation, I observed him explicitly correct them. In these instances, he referred to his experiences of being humiliated for his pronunciation as a young man visiting Texas. This is compelling to me because it points to the depth to which our emotional experiences might influence our teaching decisions.

In summary, I have focused on the ways I observed Renata and Thales position themselves in relation to student incomes that included their use of digital technology to interact across borders and, given this context, the ways in which the two taught English with a translinguistic orientation to language. While engaging with these aspects of Renata's and Thales's professional identities, I found that they both viewed the digital age as influencing the ways their students learn English and the forms of English they use, Renata even referred to it at one point as Brazilian English. Neither was clinging to a monolingual ideology; they both embraced the changes and looked for ways to reach their students in meaningful, empathetic ways. Their classes were a mix of engaging the processes of *linguaging* as well as its products. At the same time, they did so in distinct ways in agreement with their own unique professional incomes. Renata's experiences led her to ground her teaching approach in an idealized standard, while Thales's led him to help his students develop communicative competence beyond such a standard.

As part of this research project, I explored the context of English teaching and learning in Brazil and found legislation that included elements of a translingual orientation to language. Specifically, in Brazil's National Curriculum Parameters, there is an emphasis on the social nature of language development and change and foreign language learning as a creative act that broadens students' communicative potential both within and across borders. However, there are other significant elements in Brazilian society that reinforce a monolingual ideology, most notably laws about Portuguese use that are recommended by the Brazilian Academy of Letters. While the Academy does recognize language change, and recently updated their legislation to better reflect contemporary prestige norms, its role in perpetuating a monolingual ideology concerns me. As long as there is a government-sponsored body that endorses certain conventions over others as what is recognized as proper, there is potential for institutionally sanctioned linguistic discrimination. In other words, one's access to and ability to conform to this idealized Standard Brazilian Portuguese has material effects on one's opportunities for growth and self-realization. My ideal would be for the government to embrace the diversity of language and encourage citizens to focus on developing the content and depth of their interactions rather than on the form, as expressed in the National Curriculum Parameters and manifested in the ENEM.

Additionally, I am interested in how to undermine linguistic discrimination, when students have educational and professional goals related to achieving high scores on standardized tests. As a member of the Languages without Borders Central Management Group, I witnessed how such tests streamline students' access to higher education, jobs, and study abroad programs. What is central to my argument is not that we avoid teaching standard written English, but that we position ourselves to it in such a way that we qualify it as an idealization, not fixed and

discrete. In order to undermine the way these tests perpetuate monolingual ideologies, teachers might engage in activities that deconstruct them as they help students prepare for them.

Moreover, the ENEM demonstrates how standardized tests can be created with a translingual orientation. Renata and Thales's generation took multiple choice college entrance exams with Portuguese questions based on prescriptive norms. For the ENEM, candidates are asked to interpret texts from a variety of genres and registers. During my time in Brazil, the Languages without Borders Program organized a working group of local language evaluation specialists, which was developing Brazilian language proficiency tests for a variety of languages. It remains to be seen if what they produce manifests the understanding of language as creative and flexible that appears in the National Curriculum Parameters and the ENEM, or the monolingual approach taken by the Brazilian Academy of Letters. Still, this working group represents the possibility that standardized tests can be changed and new tests can be developed to meet local needs. I welcome the idea that our primary role as teachers is to support students in achieving their learning and professional goals. However, I also feel it is important to engage students with the implication of some forms of success in terms of discrimination and exclusion. I encourage the inclusion of a variety of linguistic registers and dialects to help students develop critical understandings of language as well as linguistic flexibility and dexterity. Teachers might focus on a recognition that each student will *English* in unique ways to meet their social and professional needs. Additionally, they will shape it as part of the creative *linguaging* process (see the epigraph that opens this chapter). This concept effectively undermines the native versus non-native binary, which moves the field of Applied Linguistics beyond previous research related to the non-native English-speaking teachers (NNESTs) movement.

Canagarajah (2013) suggests that “pedagogy is a very challenging domain where the relevance of new communicative orientations will be hotly contested and scrupulously tested, helping us examine their practicality and usefulness” (p 12). This reminds me that as I continue to pursue translingual practice and its implications for teaching and learning, I must do so with an open mind and be prepared to meet resistance and criticism, both of which are an opportunity to generate further inquiry and discovery. This study has certainly influenced how I will approach my teaching practice at UMWB and my participation in the Languages without Borders Central Management Group, as well as how I engage *linguaging* with my own family, which is transnational.

As I noted in the Introduction, linguists have engaged with the concept that we each use a language in a unique way at least as far back as the 19th century when Strong et al. (1891) observed that we are each cognitively and physically unique, and thus express ourselves in unique ways. We mold our *linguaging* to fit in different social situations, sometimes to meet the expectations of gatekeepers (employers, customers, teachers, college entrance selection committees, publishers, etc.), sometimes to generate mutual understanding with family, friends, or strangers. So much of what and how we communicate depends on our social context, so when we encounter people from other social spheres, we attempt to *language* in ways that will lead to communication. But language norms are a moving target. The way we position ourselves in relation to such norms and our approach to deviations from them can contribute to successful communication. For Canagarajah (2013), a recognition of language as always changing shifts the focus of teaching to help learners develop strategies to overcome misunderstandings and negotiate meanings with their interlocutors to arrive at mutual comprehension. If the way they *language* causes a negative impression, the problem lies as much with the interlocutor or reader

as themselves. With increased mobility, increased linguistic flexibility will enhance the human experience. A rigid adherence to idealized standard linguistic norms will isolate us and hamper our growth in this millennium of possibilities.

A translingual orientation to language has implications for a variety of stakeholders including policy makers, dictionary editors, textbooks writers, administrators, teachers, and students. What would a translingual dictionary look like? What might be its role in society? What about formal grammars? One possibility is for them to emphasize which conventions facilitate understanding, and which are mere formalities. In this case, we might ask, what *linguaging* impedes comprehension and what *linguaging* does not conform to one's expectations? For example, we may assert that verb conjugation in the third person singular is a mere formality, we don't need it for the first or second person because we include the pronouns. In other words, the marking is redundant. This would mean reading past the omission of some of the linguistic norms that many language teachers around the world hold dear.

Through this grounded examination of language teaching I have sought to contribute to understandings of how language teachers teach, and their students learn (Freeman and Johnson 1998) in the digital age, at a time when a translingual orientation is gaining momentum and influencing teacher education in TESOL. For future studies, I would like to explore several aspects of translingual practice in Brazil. For example, how are my colleagues in Brazil who embrace the translingual turn in Applied Linguistics approaching this important element of their professional identity performance? How do students react to such? Additionally, with a national program like Languages without Borders, how are coordinators positioning themselves towards the translingual turn as they lead their local groups of teacher interns? Are they encouraging translingual practice or do they continue to ground their teacher development activities and

curriculum in an idealized American or British standard? Also, how does the Languages without Borders evaluation working group take up the translingual turn?

As Bakhtin (1993) notes, every language act we engage in, both production and reception, shapes our language, shapes our linguistic identity. Even though translingual practice has always been what people do, it has not been acknowledged by the dominant discourses, and doing so involves a major cultural shift. Renata's and Thales's professional identity performance can serve as a point of reflection in relation to this as they demonstrate generosity and empathy towards their students' ways of *linguaging*. As I explored in the Introduction, I am attracted to the translingual turn in Applied Linguistics because it emphasizes and develops human qualities such as openness, flexibility, creativity, and collaboration, and in so doing undermines linguistic discrimination. I am eager to see how this shift takes shape in Brazil and beyond in the coming years.

Chapter 8. REFERENCES

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APPENDIX A: PARTICIPANT RECRUITMENT E-MAIL (ORIGINAL)

Prezados Professores de Inglês do Curso de Letras da UMWB,

Sou aluno de doutorado da *University of Washington* e estou em Brasília como English Language Fellow para apoiar o programa Inglês sem Fronteiras. A sua colega, Profa. Renata, me fez a gentileza de compartilhar os contatos de vocês para que eu possa apresentar meu projeto de doutorado e ver se mais professores da UMWB poderiam participar dele.

Uma síntese da pesquisa: Nos últimos anos surgiram vários estudos que tratam de atitudes acerca de professores de inglês que aprenderam inglês como língua adicional ("não-nativos"), mas não há estudos sobre o que esses professores *fazem/pensam* que os tornem competentes e legítimos na profissão. Com isso, estou explorando como professores universitários de língua inglesa do curso de Letras-Inglês usam sua identidade multi-lingue e sua experiência como aprendizes da língua inglesa como recursos pedagógicos. Escolhi essa população porque ao mesmo tempo que estão ensinando língua, estão formando futuros/atuais professores.

Para coletar dados, gostaria de formar um grupo de dois ou mais participantes (a Renata já confirmou sua participação) para discutir suas experiências profissionais uma vez por mês ao longo do segundo semestre deste ano letivo. Apesar de ter que gravar essas conversas, gostaria que estes encontros ocorressem em um ambiente informal, durante uma parada para cafezinho e bate-papo. Além disso, gostaria de observar as aulas desses mesmos participantes de duas em duas semanas, também ao longo do semestre. Como a Renata já concordou em participar, observaria a aula dela uma semana e do outro participante na outra e assim por diante. Essas observações devem alimentar nossas conversas mensais.

Sobretudo, gostaria que essa pesquisa, e a reflexão que provoque, possa colaborar e servir como aprendizagem e crescimento tanto para mim quanto para os participantes. Eu me vejo como *participant-observer* e podem aproveitar da minha presença na aula para apoiar na maneira que vejam oportuna. Além disso, o projeto servirá para minha tese, mas os participantes podem colaborar como co-autores para qualquer outra publicação gerada dele.

Se tiver interesse, ou qualquer dúvida ao respeito do projeto, favor entrar em contato.

Cordialmente,

Avram Blum
Senior English Language Fellow
English without Borders Program
Ministry of Education, Brasília, Brazil
PhD Candidate, English, University of Washington, Seattle
(61) 2022-8071

APPENDIX B: PARTICIPANT RECRUITMENT E-MAIL (TRANSLATION)

Dear UMWB English Professors,

I am a Ph.D. student at the University of Washington and I am in Brasília as an English Language Fellow to support the English without Borders Program. Your colleague, Renata, did me the favor of sharing your contact information so that I might present my Ph.D. research project and verify if more English professor from UMWB would be willing to participate.

A summary of the project: In recent years, several studies have explored attitudes towards teachers who learned English as an additional language ("non-natives"), but there isn't much research about what these teachers do/think that makes the competent and legitimate in their profession. As such, I am exploring how university English professor use their multilingual identity and English learning experience as a pedagogical resource. I chose this group because while they are teaching language, they are also contributing to the development of current and future English teachers.

To collect data, I would like to form a group of two or more participants (Renata already confirmed her participation) to discuss professional experiences once a week during the second academic semester. Even though I will record the meetings, I'd like them to happen in an informal environment, for example a quick coffee break. Besides that, I'd also like to observe participants' classes every other week for the duration of the semester. As Renata has already agreed to participate, I would observe her class one week and the other participants' the next. These observations will feed our monthly conversations.

Above all, I would like this research project, and the reflection it inspires, might contribute to and serve as a learning experience both for me and participants. I see myself as a participant-observer and you can take advantage of my presence to support your work in the way that you see fit. Besides that, the project will serve as my dissertation study, but participants are invited to collaborate as co-authors in any publication that it generates.

If you are interested or have any doubts about the project, please contact me.

Sincerely,

Avram Blum
Senior English Language Fellow
English without Borders Program
Ministry of Education, Brasília, Brazil
PhD Candidate, English, University of Washington, Seattle
(61) 2022-8071

APPENDIX C: QUESTIONS FOR COFFEES AT THE CAFÉ 1

1. When did you start learning English/other foreign languages?
2. Where/in what contexts have you learned English/other foreign languages?
3. How have you learned English/other foreign languages? What techniques/practices have worked well for you? What hasn't worked? Has this changed over time?
4. Who did you learn with? Teachers, friends, relatives? How were the people you learned with influential in how you learned?
5. Why did you decide to learn English/other foreign languages? What was your motivation? Has that changed over the years? How?

APPENDIX D: QUESTIONS FOR COFFEES AT THE CAFÉ 2

1. When did you become an English teacher?
2. Under what circumstances?
3. Where have you taught English?
4. What did you learn in each teaching job?
5. Do you identify with one teaching context more than the others? Why?

APPENDIX E: QUESTIONS FOR COFFEES AT THE CAFÉ 3

1. What is your vision of your professional identity?
2. Has this changed over time? How?
3. What motivates you?
4. Has this changed over time? How?
5. In relation to the course you taught that I observed, what did you like about teaching this subject and group of students?
6. What did you not like?
7. What was your overall goal for the class?
8. Did you meet this goal? How?
9. How do your goals for the specific class I observed relate to your overall goals as an English teacher?

APPENDIX F: QUESTIONS FOR COFFEES AT THE CAFÉ 4

1. How would you describe your linguistic identity? Are you bilingual? Multilingual? Translingual? Is there another label or not any label? Why would you describe yourself in this way?
2. Has your linguistic identity changed over time? How?
3. What are your linguistic goals?
4. How do your linguistic identity and your linguistic goals relate to what you do in your classes?
5. What is your approach to prescriptive grammar? How does your teaching practice reflect this?
6. Is it important for you to establish your professional and linguistic legitimacy for your students? Why? If so, how do you do so?
7. I have observed you trying to make learning English easier for your students. In what ways does your bilingual/multilingual/translingual competence contribute to this?
8. How would you describe your use of Portuguese in the classroom? When do you use it and why?

VITA

Avram Stanley Blum grew up in rural Skagit County, Washington, between tulip fields and the Cascade foothills, in the shadow of Mount Baker's glacier-covered volcanic cone. Language learning and teaching has taken him back and forth between the Puget Sound region and Spain, Mexico, and Brazil. He received a B.A. in Spanish with a minor in English from Western Washington University, a post-bac Specialization from the Faculdade São Lucas in Porto Velho, Rondônia, Brazil, and an M.A. in Linguistics, a Master of Arts for Teachers of English to Speakers of other Languages, and now his Ph.D. in English (Language and Rhetoric) from the University of Washington. During his Ph.D. work, he took a leave of absence to be a Senior English Language Fellow with the U.S. Department of State. In this position, he first worked with Public High School English teachers in Caruaru, Pernambuco, Brazil and then at Brazil's Federal Ministry of Education in Brasília to help a team set up the Languages without Borders Program and offer free English learning and teaching resources at universities across the country. After defending this dissertation, he will return to Brazil to his position as an Assistant Professor of English at the University of Brasília and continue as a consultant with the Languages without Borders Program.