

UNIVERSIDADE DE LISBOA

Faculdade de Letras



**EMBRACING ENGLISH AS A LINGUA FRANCA: LEARNING FROM
PORTUGUESE USERS OF ENGLISH IN HIGHER EDUCATION**

Ricardo Jaime da Silva Pereira

Tese especialmente elaborada para obtenção do grau de Doutor em Linguística

Especialidade em Linguística Aplicada

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Sob orientação da Professora Doutora Maria Luísa Fernandes Azuaga

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Abstract

The last sixty years have witnessed a vast spread of English language teaching (ELT), which has led to a historically unique position of English in the world, where native speakers of English are now outnumbered by non-native users of the language. As a result, a greater need for the lingua franca function of English is needed but, although English as Lingua Franca (ELF) is emerging as a legitimate alternative to Standard English or native speaker-based models in ELT, the truth is that the primacy of the latter is still upheld in most classrooms around the world.

With this in mind, this thesis begins by examining the reasons for learning English and presents an outline of how English has come to be a global language. Due to the increasing use of English for intercultural communication, this study reviews the major developments in research into ELF and then outlines the position of ELF in the European Union, and surveys ELT practices in this specific setting.

This thesis then examines the presence of English in the national context of Portugal and focuses on students of English at the School of Technology and Management (ESTG/IPL), in Leiria. The methods used in this study combine the analysis of questionnaires and answers to a placement test that incoming students are required to take. Despite having successfully undergone at least seven years of prior English learning, it has been observed that the majority of these undergraduates struggle with the demands of this language in its standard form.

However, this study suggests they may be capable of communicating effectively in English if teaching approaches are adjusted to accommodate their communicative competence. The problem is that the focus on English Language teaching at ESTG/IPL is largely based on a student's ability to speak and write English as a native speaker does. Therefore, this study proposes a significant shift in ELT pedagogy and suggests a number of strategies meant to enhance the listening, speaking, reading and writing skills of students enrolled in the English course at this institution.

Ultimately, the analysis here provided is an attempt to demonstrate that the ELT policy in Portugal is in need of serious re-evaluation, and hopefully it may be taken

into account so as to guide educators and language policies towards ELF-informed teaching in Portuguese classrooms.

Keywords: English as a Lingua Franca, English Language Teaching, Placement Tests, Higher Education, English Language Proficiency.

Resumo

A posição hegemónica actual do Inglês é incontestável, assim como o seu estatuto de língua franca global. Pela primeira vez na sua já longa história, verifica-se que o número de falantes não-nativos de Inglês ultrapassou o número de falantes como língua materna. Este facto, motivo de intenso debate no meio académico, torna-se particularmente relevante, quando centrado nas eventuais mudanças que toda esta realidade acarreta para o ensino da língua inglesa.

Tradicionalmente encarada como língua estrangeira em diversos países, a base para a aprendizagem do Inglês tem sido considerada o modelo do falante nativo, e há décadas que este é o mais valorizado, sendo, inclusivamente, a meta a atingir pelo aprendente.

No entanto, dada a sua disseminação global, é, cada vez mais, prática corrente encarar o Inglês como língua internacional ou, mais frequentemente, como língua franca. O fenómeno da globalização, que tem desempenhado um papel influente na forma como esta língua se dispersou pelo mundo, alterou a forma como comunicamos, e hoje é comum recorrer ao Inglês para estabelecer contactos nos mais variados domínios, desde o turismo à tecnologia, passando pelos negócios, as ciências e o Ensino Superior. A forma como as organizações estão estruturadas e os padrões de comunicação estabelecidos entre os seus funcionários também se viram afectados. Actualmente, assistimos a uma crescente dispersão, pelo mundo, de trabalhadores que se vêem obrigados a recorrer ao uso da língua inglesa para poder desempenhar, de forma produtiva, as suas funções.

A própria União Europeia (UE), que defende a sua existência enquanto região multilingue, assiste, impotente, à utilização do Inglês como língua franca (ILF) enquanto ferramenta de comunicação, através do qual o seu comércio internacional se desenvolve. ILF reflecte, então, a necessidade que falantes não-nativos têm sentido em utilizar o Inglês como língua de contacto entre si, ao invés de o utilizarem somente com falantes nativos. Consequentemente, verifica-se uma colossal demanda por este Inglês singular, que é hoje uma língua sem dono, pertencendo, na realidade, a quem dela faz uso.

Apesar de ILF se afirmar, cada vez mais, como uma alternativa ao Inglês padrão ou a outros modelos que mantêm o falante nativo como referência, a situação nas salas de aula permanece, em grande medida, inalterada, e o ensino e aprendizagem do Inglês continua a estar dependente da normatividade centralizadora estabelecida por falantes nativos. Estas regras têm ditado que qualquer outra variedade ou uso de Inglês sejam considerados de qualidade inferior e, por essa razão, excluídos do processo de ensino e aprendizagem desta língua.

Face a esta apatia que relega ILF para segundo plano, assiste-se a um movimento que advoga uma nova abordagem para o ensino do Inglês, de forma a conferir às variedades e usos não-padrão o reconhecimento e respeito que lhes é devido. Em primeiro lugar, para que tal aconteça, são necessárias a conceptualização e descrição adequadas do conceito de ILF. Isto permitirá aos professores colocar em prática novas estratégias de ensino que possam dar resposta cabal aos interesses e necessidades dos alunos.

Há já um número considerável de estudos focados na descrição pormenorizada de ILF e os nomes de Jenkins (2007), Kirkpatrick (2010b), Seidlhofer (2011), Cogo e Dewey (2012), Mauranen (2012) e Björkman (2013) são alguns que merecem destaque. As suas pesquisas e análises possibilitaram, em diversas salas de aula, a inclusão de estratégias pedagógicas que contemplam os ideais de ILF, porém verifica-se ainda uma distância constrangedora entre os mais recentes avanços científicos na área e a prática pedagógica de docentes, que muitas vezes ignoram estes avanços.

Em virtude desta lacuna, a presente tese toma como objecto de estudo o contexto do ensino e aprendizagem do Inglês em Portugal, com particular incidência nos níveis de proficiência linguística em língua inglesa de alunos que concluíram a escolaridade obrigatória. O objectivo desta linha de investigação pretende demonstrar que o ensino convencional de Inglês como língua estrangeira (ILE) apresenta insuficiências que obrigam a uma alteração na forma como esta disciplina é leccionada. Face ao acima exposto, os docentes de Inglês não poderão mais ignorar a existência de ILF e é imprescindível que seja adoptada uma metodologia de ensino/aprendizagem que não só tenha em conta o uso de Inglês em contextos internacionais, mas que também estipule metas verdadeiramente atingíveis, preparando os alunos para usos pragmáticos da língua, especialmente em contexto europeu.

Desta forma, os primeiros quatro capítulos apresentam uma perspectiva teórica acerca da disseminação da língua inglesa, da evolução do conceito de ILF e dos métodos de ensino/aprendizagem na UE, em geral, e em Portugal, em particular. O quinto capítulo centra-se na concepção de um perfil sociolinguístico do aluno que estuda ILE em Portugal, enquanto a última unidade deste estudo sugere uma proposta didáctica que procura integrar ILF na sala de aula.

Por conseguinte, o primeiro capítulo expõe os motivos que poderão levar um falante a aprender Inglês, realçando alguns dos mais relevantes marcos históricos na história da língua inglesa. Seguidamente, é apresentada uma breve panorâmica dos principais motivos que levaram à expansão e consolidação do Inglês como língua verdadeiramente global, assim como uma referência aos diferentes tipos de falantes de Inglês. Serão ainda analisados os diversos modelos que visam representar a disseminação da língua inglesa pelo mundo e, por fim, serão focadas as reacções a este fenómeno, nomeadamente as acusações de imperialismo linguístico.

O conceito de ILF e a forma como tem evoluído nas últimas duas décadas serão o objecto de análise do segundo capítulo. Esta noção é contraposta ao conceito de Inglês padrão e é discutida a relevância deste último para o ensino/aprendizagem do Inglês. São apresentados, de seguida, diversos termos que visam descrever com maior rigor o carácter internacional do Inglês contemporâneo. A discussão centra-se, então, nas implicações pedagógicas que ILF pode acarretar, o que leva a uma pertinente distinção entre ILF e ILE e as suas metas.

Na segunda parte deste segundo capítulo são descritos os esforços para que ILF seja reconhecido, o que permitirá remodelar as actuais práticas pedagógicas, terminando esta unidade com uma referência à forma como os defensores de ILF tem reagido a críticas.

Sendo o continente europeu uma das regiões onde mais se recorre ao uso do Inglês com funções de língua franca, o terceiro capítulo aborda, em detalhe, o modo como a língua inglesa é integrada nos sistemas educativos da UE. Esta análise compreende o nível inicial do Ensino Primário até ao Ensino Superior, e pretende-se, com esta observação, determinar o nível de proficiência linguística nesta região do globo. São reveladas algumas dificuldades em atingir metas estipuladas por escolas públicas, o que leva a que se questione o modelo de ensino de ILE e se reforce a

necessidade premente da adopção de uma abordagem que tenha em conta o uso de ILF. Mais, são ainda referidas estratégias que, alegadamente, poderão desenvolver a proficiência linguística de falantes não-nativos de Inglês. Por fim, é dada particular atenção ao Quadro Europeu Comum de Referência para as Línguas (2001), onde se destacam as suas limitações quando aplicado ao ensino de ILF.

O foco deste estudo centra-se, então, no contexto nacional e é no capítulo quarto que se retrata o actual sistema educativo, de modo a perceber a posição que a disciplina de Inglês ocupa face aos demais países europeus. Nesta altura, a prioridade é dada aos níveis de proficiência que os programas do Ensino Básico e Secundário estipulam como perfil de saída, e estas metas são analisadas em contraste com os resultados de dois exames de avaliação de proficiência realizados em Portugal.

Em seguida, é apresentada a realidade do ensino de Inglês no Ensino Superior, onde o caso particular da Escola Superior de Tecnologia e Gestão (ESTG/IPL), do Instituto Politécnico de Leiria (IPLEiria) assume uma posição central. É neste momento que se expõe a existência de um teste de nivelamento nesta escola, um exercício obrigatório para todos os alunos recém-chegados.

O capítulo quinto estabelece um perfil sociolinguístico destes alunos, e este é obtido através da análise de questionários que pretendem traçar com o maior rigor possível o seu historial de ensino/aprendizagem da língua inglesa. Em especial, procura-se identificar a existência de dificuldades durante os anos de Ensino Básico e Secundário, o início e o fim da sua aprendizagem do Inglês e ainda os percursos escolares tomados pelos alunos. Acresce a esta análise de questionários, um estudo das respostas fornecidas pelos discentes aos exercícios do teste de nivelamento; pretende-se, deste modo, perceber se há maiores dificuldades nas áreas do léxico ou gramática e se eventuais erros dos alunos constituiriam obstáculo para uma comunicação eficaz em contexto internacional.

Os resultados revelam que a grande maioria dos alunos apresenta um historial académico equilibrado e que a disciplina de ILE raramente foi problemática. No entanto, os dados recolhidos mostram, igualmente, que estes alunos são incapazes de atingir um nível intermédio no teste de nivelamento, um claro sinal de que não possuem as competências estipuladas pelos programas de ILE.

Face a esta incongruência, o último capítulo sugere uma proposta pedagógica que tem em conta o conceito de ILF, e que poderá ser aplicada no contexto da ESTG/IPL, ou noutros estabelecimentos interessados em implementar este tipo de abordagem.

À guisa de conclusão, esta tese defende que as práticas pedagógicas em Portugal mantêm-se essencialmente inalteradas, apesar das recentes avaliações de proficiência linguística revelarem que os alunos do Ensino Básico não estão a atingir as metas estipuladas por programas demasiado ambiciosos. Por conseguinte, argumenta-se que a política linguística que orienta o processo de ensino/aprendizagem em Portugal carece de uma séria reavaliação, e espera-se que este estudo possa ser tomado em linha de conta para a inclusão de uma pedagogia que favoreça o conceito de ILF, contribuindo, assim, para uma melhoria no ensino da língua inglesa em Portugal.

Palavras-chave: Inglês como Língua Franca, Ensino da Língua Inglesa, Testes de Nivelamento, Ensino Superior, Proficiência em Língua Inglesa.

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List of Abbreviations and Explanation of Terms

ACE	Asian Corpus of English as a Lingua Franca
AmE	American English
ASE	American Standard English
BES	Bilingual English Speaker
BrE	British English
CEFR	Common European Framework of Reference of Languages
CET	Technological Specialization Course (<i>Curso de Especialização Tecnológica</i>)
CLIL	Content and Language Integrated Learning
CoP	Community of Practice
DCL	Department of Language Sciences (<i>Departamento de Ciências da Linguagem</i>)
DGES	Directorate-General for Higher Education (<i>Direcção Geral do Ensino Superior</i>)
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
ELF	English as a Lingua Franca
ELFA	Corpus of English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings
ELF ReN	English as a Lingua Franca Research Network
EIL	English as an International Language
ENL	English as a Native Language
ELT	English Language Teaching
ESL	English as a Second Language
ESP	English for Specific Purposes
ESTG/IPL	School of Technology and Management (<i>Escola Superior de Tecnologia e Gestão</i>)
EU	European Union
ICE	International Corpus of English
IPLeiria	Polytechnic Institute of Leiria (<i>Instituto Politécnico de Leiria</i>)
ISCED	International Standard Classification of Education
KfS	Key for Schools
LFC	Lingua Franca Core
L1	First Language
L2	Second Language
MES	Monolingual English Speaker
NBES	Non-bilingual English Speaker
NES	Native English Speaker
NNES	Non-native English speaker
NNS	Non-native Speaker
NS	Native Speaker
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
RP	Received Pronunciation
SBE	Standard British English
SE	Standard English
TOEFL	Test of English as a Foreign Language

VOICE
WSSE

Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English
World Standard Spoken English

Introduction

To claim that English is *the* global language has become a commonplace assertion in and outside of academia. The present and apparently unassailable position of English in the world has been the focus of much research as any review of the literature will show. What has been established and generally accepted is that four centuries ago, English was spoken only by a relatively small number of mother tongue speakers, almost all of them living in the British Isles. These five to seven million speakers have increased more than fiftyfold in number and today the most recent estimates tell us that native English speakers are over 400 million (Crystal, 1997a). As impressive as this may sound, it is people who do not use English as a mother tongue that have contributed to making it the world's most important language. There are hardly any official figures for the number of foreigners using English but it is consensual that it is now spoken in almost every country of the world, with its majority speakers being those for whom it is not a first language.

There have been different historical mechanisms for the spread of English but research shows that this language achieved its worldwide status in the recent past, and that this particular feat has been meteoric. As a result, publications on this topic are in constant need of extensive updating or substantial revising. In addition, the dramatic speed and nature of developments in the field are quite often the source of controversies and terminological inconsistencies. One of these, for instance, has to do with the way the academic community has traditionally regarded those who use English: speakers of English either use it as a native language, as a second language or as a foreign language. However, since the mid-1990s it has become increasingly common to consider a new category - the use of English as an international language (EIL) or, alternatively, as a lingua franca. This term reflects the growing trend for English users to use the language more frequently as a contact language among themselves rather than with native English speakers (Jenkins, 2015).

Globalisation, a phenomenon which is also commonly associated with the spread of English, has undoubtedly played an instrumental part in this immensely fast-moving field. It has, for example, affected the ways that organisations are structured

as well as the patterns of communication between members of the workforce. Owing to the ease of travel and new technology, there is more communication required, which in turn means that more work is language related. In the past decades, working groups or teams have become increasingly internationally dispersed and as a result a larger proportion of the workforce in many sectors now requires a deeper command of English to operate efficiently. At a time when Western Europe is beginning to form a single multilingual area, rather like India, where many languages are hierarchically related in status, there is further emphasis on the lingua franca function of English. Great volumes of trade occur within the EU in a context where trilingual competence (in English, French and German), or at least bilingual competence, is widely regarded as necessary, especially for trade with peripheral countries. However, it has been observed that effective knowledge of English will suffice in this context as it progressively gains a de facto status as an auxiliary language for global communicative purposes, moving further away from the concept of a traditional foreign language.

This present state of affairs is consequently affecting education as the need for English has come to represent a major driver towards English language teaching (ELT). Globalisation is particularly affecting Higher Education as more and more second-language countries are moving to internationalise their education systems and thus become major competitors to native English-speaking countries. Additionally, there is a rising demand for courses, materials and teachers which cater for the needs and experiences of second-language users. At the same time, non-native English speaking teachers (NNESTs) are not necessarily regarded as 'second-best' anymore and are finding their space in the ELT world.

Despite these advances, the truth is that ELT practices remain largely unaltered in the classroom. The rules of Standard English (SE), selected and defined by prescriptive grammarians, have traditionally conditioned teachers' sense of acceptable usage, so that all other usages and varieties of English have been hitherto been regarded as corrupt or inferior, and therefore excluded from ELT practices. In consequence, numerous "adults and schoolchildren have developed feelings of inadequacy and inferiority about their natural way of speaking, or about certain features of their writing, being led to believe that their practice is in some way 'ugly' or 'incorrect' " (Crystal, 2002: 525).

It is then imperative that language educators move away from an institutionalized prescriptivism and adopt a radical approach, in such a way that non-standard usages and varieties, previously belittled or ignored, can then gain recognition and respect. Admittedly, one cannot expect such profound and unconventional changes in linguistic attitudes and teaching practices to be accepted overnight. Before these newfound ways of thinking about English and its learning are taken into account, a series of accomplishments have yet to be achieved. A good example is a proper conceptualization and description of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) that have to be established. Only then can teachers attempt to adequately respond to the changing demands and directions of language policies and education (Seidlhofer, 2007).

The surprising scarcity of data which directly relates to the development of English used for international purposes has gradually been overcome, and in the past ten to twenty years many researchers have devoted their efforts to theorising about the nature of ELF and to collecting considerable amounts of empirical data. Jenkins (2007), Kirkpatrick (2010b), Seidlhofer (2011), Cogo and Dewey (2012), Mauranen (2012) and Björkman (2013) are some of the most important names involved in discussions of ELF research and their work acknowledges that the educational perspective is crucial in moving towards a more egalitarian classroom where all Englishes achieve a new presence and respectability.

Although the role of the language teacher is central in this time of linguistic change, it has been noted that many teachers are oddly unaware of the ELF debate and all that it entails. This discrepancy has prevented the findings of researchers to be applied to actual classroom settings in numbers that can make a difference to current pedagogical practices. There have been several attempts to incorporate an ELF-orientation in current teaching practice, but it is clearly more evident than ever that teachers and researchers need to engage in work collectively.

In light of this concern, my research focuses directly on the Portuguese context of ELT and, in particular, on the attainment levels students are expected to achieve at the end of compulsory education. The objective of this line of investigation is to show that conventional teaching of English as a foreign language (EFL) in Portugal has significant shortcomings, to the extent that English language teachers need to

reconsider their teaching. They can no longer ignore the widest use of English in the world today and need to be aware of ELF. It is above all fundamental that they adopt an ELF perspective in their classrooms with the purpose of adequately preparing their students for more realistic uses of English.

In order to substantiate this claim, I have attempted a detailed sociolinguistic analysis of Portuguese students of English who are attending a first-year English course in an institution of Higher Education. These incoming students are required to take a placement test and it is the disconcerting results uncovered by this assessment exercise that have led to four questions upon which this research is built:

1. What histories of English learning in formal language-learning contexts do incoming students have?
2. What perception do students have of their English language competence in contrast to their placement test result?
3. Which are more problematic to the students who took the placement test: lexical or grammatical items?
4. Will the 'errors' detected in the placement test cause communication breakdowns, as those described in the literature, or will they be unproblematic, enabling students to communicate successfully with native English speakers (NES) and NNES at an international level?

The answers to these questions will hopefully demonstrate that the ELT policy in Portugal is in need of serious re-evaluation. Although the teaching of English has been the concern of successive Ministries of Education who have strongly promoted its learning, the insistence on a traditional EFL orientation is not achieving the desired outcome as I seek to reveal. Ultimately, the findings in this investigation will urge language educators to see ELT practices in a new light and eventually embrace a much needed ELF teaching in their classrooms.

In an attempt to bridge the gap between ELF scholars and English teachers, this thesis provides a somewhat detailed account of research into the issue of ELF. The first four chapters provide a more theoretical insight of the spread of English, the development of ELF, and how English language teaching has been carried out in Europe in general, and Portugal in particular. The remaining two chapters are devoted to establishing a profile of EFL students, and presenting a plan of action for ELF-informed teaching in Portuguese ELT classrooms.

To begin with, Chapter 1 addresses the diverse motivations that impel people to learn English whenever it is not their native language. This discussion entails a reference to the major international domains of English, which reflect the extraordinary position of English in today's society. In order to explain how this state of affairs has come about, an indispensable overview of the landmarks in the history of English is also provided. This section briefly reviews how English evolved and spread throughout the world from the fifth century to the present.

As a result of this linguistic dissemination, we find that there are different kinds of English speakers and, therefore, these are described in detail in the following section of Chapter 1. This will lead to a contemplation of the different models of representing the ways English has spread worldwide. The lack of terminological consistency is highlighted as well as each model's strengths and weaknesses. Finally, the last section of this chapter considers the reactions to the global spread of English, namely the accusations of English as a form of linguistic imperialism.

Chapter 2 is dedicated to the concept of ELF, how it came to be and the ways it has evolved. Firstly, the notion of SE is taken up and the controversy regarding its relevance as a teaching model for non-native learners is emphasised. Consequently, the need for change in traditional ELT practices is alluded to. In contrast to SE, other terms have been proposed to describe the contemporary international use of English. These are the focus of the next section in this chapter and the multitude of terms not only intensifies the aforementioned terminological inconsistency in this area of study but also reflects a change in the way the English language is currently regarded amongst the academic community.

This debate will in due course lead to the notion of ELF, around which this research largely revolves. Understandably, special attention is dedicated to this

concept so as to assist readers (i.e. language educators and their learners) in fully comprehending what ELF encompasses and the pedagogical implications it may have. Following from this comprehensive overview, the next section establishes a distinction between ELF and EFL, with particular focus on the different goals these two concepts have.

In the second section of Chapter 2, I seek to examine the main empirical research findings into ELF. As I try to show, these results are an attempt for ELF to gain academic recognition and acceptance that may enable appropriate changes in current ELT practices. This chapter will then move on to explain how traditional theoretical constructs are being challenged so as to better reflect the nature of this framework.

The final section of the chapter deals with the reactions to ELF research and how its followers have responded to incoming criticism. To conclude, I address the growing interest of research into ELF worldwide, with a specific focus on what has been achieved in Portugal.

ELT across the European Union (EU) is the main concern of Chapter 3 and the introductory section covers the linguistic diversity that characterizes the European continent. The tension between a plurilingual Europe that promotes its multilingualism and the 'menacing' spread of English as a global language is, naturally, addressed in detail. What follows is an in-depth analysis of how English is increasingly being used and taught in Europe, from the early stages of Primary Education up to the more advanced Tertiary Education level.

Seeing as English is so widely taught in the EU, it is important to discuss levels of proficiency demonstrated by different European learners, and what this section tries to demonstrate is that there is a problem of underperformance in ELT classrooms. This conclusion underlines the need to rethink the EFL approach in ELT and consider an ELF teaching model in classrooms so as to remedy this issue of underperformance. Alongside this consideration, this chapter presents a set of suggestions that are believed to effectively improve proficiency in English.

No discussion about assessment of language proficiency in the EU can be fully carried out without referring to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR). As such, the final section of Chapter 3 acknowledges its

international recognition and fundamentally its limitations for the current ELT classroom, in light of the current status of English as the world's lingua franca.

From Europe to Portugal and from general to particular, Chapter 4 delves into the context of ELT in this country, and a review of the research carried out in this field ushers the reader into a description of significant features pertaining to the Portuguese setting. Exposure to English in Portugal is examined in detail and subsequently a comprehensive overview of the current Portuguese educational system is provided in order to contextualize the practice of ELT. In this regard, priority is given to the different levels of attainment that Portuguese students of English are expected to match throughout their academic pathway in compulsory education.

A central section of this chapter reveals the most recent results of two nationwide language tests, aimed at identifying EFL proficiency levels in Portuguese compulsory education. The expected learning outcomes foreseen by official syllabi as well as their appropriateness are then discussed in contrast to these results.

The remaining section of Chapter 4 introduces the reality of ELT in Portuguese Higher Education and fully describes the process of teaching and learning English in the School of Technology and Management (ESTG/IPL), an establishment belonging to the Polytechnic Institute of Leiria (IPLeiria). On this subject, the final section addresses an English placement test which all incoming students are required to take upon admission to this school.

Chapter 5 provides a sociolinguistic profile of students attending the English course at ESTG/IPL, and this is one of the main concerns of this study. Before this empirical description is carried out, the research questions and hypotheses that guide this investigation are presented, followed by a thorough account of the research context, methods and methodology. With reference to this, a general description of not only the questionnaire, but also the placement test, and how it came to be selected, is laid out.

Once these aspects have been established, the chapter goes on to provide the results of a statistical analysis of questionnaires that were previously completed by a sample of the student population at ESTG/IPL. These findings focus largely on the academic background features of Portuguese students of English, namely years of

English schooling, problems experienced in previous English education and attitudes towards English.

Alongside this analysis, the answers provided to the placement test are then examined in an attempt to establish if students exhibit greater difficulty in vocabulary or grammar. At the same time, a sample of specific answers is analysed so as to determine if learners' 'incorrect' choices would hinder effective communication in an international setting, as described by ELF research. Lastly, it is argued that these findings may be representative of the student population at a local and national level, and may possibly be taken into account so as to guide educators and language policies towards ELF-informed teaching in Portuguese classrooms.

Finally, in view of the results provided by the nationwide and ESTG/IPL proficiency tests, Chapter 6 explores a number of strategies by means of which ELF theory can be applied to ELT classes in the specific, albeit not exclusive, context of Portuguese Higher Education.

The pedagogical plan of action presented at this point takes into account learners' needs and interests, given that it is these features educators need to focus on when determining their approach to ELT. A significant section of this chapter considers the dilemma teachers might face when having to choose between English as a Native language (ENL) or ELF as their teaching model, and eventually a potential solution to this quandary is proposed.

After establishing which teaching model would be the most appropriate for the ESTG/IPL context, the following section provides a convenient set of teaching strategies and recommendations that are intended to guide English language teachers who wish to implement ELF-aware teaching practices in their classrooms. These suggestions follow the research carried out by some of the most renowned scholars in the field of ELF and that have, in some cases, been trialled in other educational contexts around the world. A descriptive listing of the knowledge, attitudes and skills to be developed by learners is indicated at this point in the chapter; learners' listening, speaking, reading and writing skills are addressed more intensively, and what follows is a number of functional approaches aimed at further developing these skills.

As a conclusion to Chapter 6, the role of teachers who embrace an ELF-informed attitude is debated and in the end this discussion targets the ways in which ELF teaching may be objectively and competently assessed in schools.

Fundamentally, what is advocated throughout this thesis is that ELT practices remain largely unaltered in the Portuguese classroom, even though recent English language examinations, endorsed by the Ministry of Education, reveal that students have not mastered the anticipated ability to communicate using English for everyday purposes. Thus, the analysis here provided is also an attempt to demonstrate that the ELT policy in Portugal is in need of serious re-evaluation, and hopefully it may be taken into account so as to guide educators and language policies towards ELF-informed teaching in Portuguese classrooms.

Altogether, the results of this study imply that it is essential to move away from exclusively teaching native speaker models of English and that an alternative pedagogical approach to ELT is required. Hopefully, the sociolinguistic analysis I have provided will make a significant contribution to the investigation of ELT in Portugal.

Chapter 1

The Global Spread of English

"What is certain is that English is the most studied and emulated language in the world (...). The hunger for English is gargantuan."
(Bryson, 1991: 176)

1.1 Introduction

The first section of this chapter discusses a list of potential reasons for learning English, should it not be one's mother tongue. In order to fully understand these motives, the second section will present an outline of the theoretical background that describes the history of the spread of English, how it came to be a global language and what kind of English speakers we can find in the world. Subsequently, different models of representing the ways English has spread will be discussed and special focus will be given to their strengths and weaknesses. The last section of this chapter will look at how the worldwide spread of English has affected the academic community and what particular reactions have stemmed from this diffusion.

1.2 Establishing the domains of English

The benefits of speaking English in a globalizing world might seem obvious to most. Nonetheless, the number of potential motivations for learning English has been neatly summarized by Crystal (1997a, 2000), who states seven reasons that people typically provide.

Firstly, Crystal argues that one might want to do so for historical reasons. As a consequence of British or American imperialism, large numbers of people speak it as a mother tongue (e.g. USA, Australia, Canada, New Zealand). In most of these countries

it has been made an official language, which is used as a medium of communication in domains such as education, government, law, media and religion. English, therefore, benefited from being the language of Britain, a vast empire during the most part of the 18th and 19th centuries and, as a result, this colonial legacy English still occupies an important status in many former British colonies, such as India, South Africa or Zimbabwe. The fact that Britain maintained a persistent role in imposing English in its colonies as Phillipson (1992) argues is an important factor behind the influential presence of English in many countries today and one that cannot be ignored. Nonetheless, the current emergence of English as a global language should be perceived as a colonial heritage and in a positive light (Crystal, 1997b).

Alongside imperial antecedents, there are also internal political reasons that encourage the acquisition of English language, seeing that it may serve the purpose of a neutral means of communication between different ethnic groups, such as the case of South Africa, Malawi, Kenya or Singapore (Crystal, 1997a). In these territories, English is thus a politically advantageous tool, given that it has been adopted as a solution to the problems created by multilingualism, and functions as a neutral and unifying language. Hence, it allows ethnic minorities in such countries to avoid conflicts about which group language to choose as the official language of the country (Phillipson, 1992). There are, however, some reserves as to this neutrality in view of the fact that English in the context of many of such countries is the language of elites. Ultimately, this means that a language of a minority is dominating the majority of uneducated members of the language community (Pennycook, 1994). Even so, it is undeniable that knowledge of English in this context is an advantage which has consequently spurred its growth.

Crystal (1997a) goes on to specify that the desire for commercial contact is yet another incentive for English language learners. Those willing to establish international business and trade with the USA, one of the world's dominant economic potencies, will necessarily have to do so in English. Taking part in international business successfully depends to a great extent on knowledge of English (Phillipson, 1992) and for this reason a lot of money has been spent on learning this language. Alongside the external economic reasons, Crystal points out that the tourist and advertising industries rely

significantly on English, which reinforces the aforementioned incentive within the context of a globalised capitalist world economy.

The fact that English is also the chief language of international air traffic control and is becoming increasingly more functional in other areas, such as international maritime, policing and emergency services enhances the expediency of learning it. Another practical reason pointed out is that English is the international language of business and academic communities, who particularly appreciate the availability of a common language.

Crystal (1997a) also highlights the intellectual reasons one might have for learning English, seeing that translations of many Western European literary, religious and philosophical authors are only available in English. Moreover, the vast majority of the world's scientific and technological information is written in English, not to mention the immeasurable quantity of digital information stored on-line.

The English language is in clear evidence when it comes to permeating popular culture as it has been the language of cinema and the recording industry, video games and home computers. Learning English for entertainment reasons is, therefore, increasingly common and is even frequently associated with international illegal activities such as drugs and pornography.

Having stated six reasons he considers valid for learning English, Crystal concludes his list with what he calls "wrong reasons". Although people might claim that they wish to learn English because it is more logical, grammatically simple or merely more beautiful than other languages, he argues that English is in fact highly complex in terms of syntax and that one cannot compare languages in terms of logic or beauty for lack of objective standards.

From what has been said so far, it seems fairly evident that English holds a dominant position in most domains of our society, which understandably led Phillipson (1992) to beforehand state that

English has a dominant position in science, technology, medicine and computers; in research, books, periodicals and software; in transnational business, trade, shipping and aviation; in diplomacy and international organizations; in mass media entertainment, new agencies and journalism; in youth

culture and sport; in education systems, as the most widely learned foreign language [...]. This nonexhaustive list of domains in which English has a dominant, though not of course exclusive, place is indicative of the *functional load* carried by English.

(Phillipson, 1992: 6)

Several studies have documented the linguistic effects of the global spread of English and there is general consensus when it comes to pointing out the fields in which it has risen and achieved the status of a global language. Graddol (1997) devises his own list of major international domains of English, in which we find many similarities when compared to Phillipson's list:

Table 1.1: Major international domains of English (Graddol, 1997: 8)

- | |
|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none">1 Working language of international organisations and conferences2 Scientific publication3 International banking, economic affairs and trade4 Advertising for global brands5 Audio-visual cultural products (e.g. film, TV, popular music)6 International tourism7 Tertiary education8 International safety (e.g. "airspeak", "seaspeak")9 International law10 As a "relay language" in interpretation and translation11 Technology transfer12 Internet communication |
|--|

As it is plain to see from the table above the variety of domains that require mastery of English is plentiful and wide-ranging. It has become a global language for a series of reasons, many of them historical, rather than anything intrinsic in the language itself, as we have seen above. For instance, the countless irregularities in the

English system of spelling may often be seen by a beginner as a disincentive. Millions, however, are not discouraged. One of the strongest incentives for learning the language is the use to which it can immediately be put, socially, economically and culturally. It is essential when carrying out business or communicating within the leading North American and European markets, and indispensable when it comes to reading any of the countless scientific articles stored in on-line archives around the world. Much of what people may choose to do in their free time will invariably involve English whether they are playing video games, either off-line or connected to the cyberworld, watching television or enjoying the latest Hollywood blockbusters. In short, mastery of English is undeniably a necessity for inclusion in any of these domains today.

The lists may in fact be nonexhaustive as Phillipson (1992) suggests in his provocative *Linguistic Imperialism*, yet different studies have found common ground, which, as we shall see further along, is not always the case when it comes to discussing the spread of English. However, what I would like to focus on at this stage is how exactly this dominant role played by the English language came about, and why it is that the world today is "linguistically dominated by English almost everywhere, regardless of how well established and well-protected local cultures and identities may otherwise be" (Erling, 2004: 20).

1.3 The spread of English: landmarks in its history

The reasons why English came to reach its current position in the world of today have been discussed profusely and in great detail by many linguistic authorities. While it is not my intention to repeat them here, I do find it imperative to highlight significant landmarks in the history of English so as to understand what steps were taken to make it a world language.

The local spread of English

It is known that the English language began to spread around the British Isles as early as the fifth century and that this first movement took place on a very local scale

(Graddol, 1997; Crystal 1997a). The eleventh century witnessed the Norman Conquest of England, an event that changed the course of English dramatically, seeing that it was a period of language contact between the English and the French. This initially resulted in the borrowing of words from French and subsequently the proclamation of French as the official language in England. Graddol (1997) emphasizes the fact that during this period educated people in England had to learn three languages - Latin, French, and English - and that it would be fair to say that during this period French and Latin were still dominant over English. However, the Norman invasion also increased the territorial spread of English: when the Norman rulers reached the regions of Wales, Ireland and Scotland, they "brought English-speaking soldiers and/or settlers with them, setting off the process of Anglicization" (Mollin, 2006: 16).

The first diaspora of English

Now, as Crystal (1997a) points out, although the Norman conquest of 1066 witnessed further movements of English, for the reason that many English nobles fled and were scattered about the territory, it is thought that towards the end of the sixteenth century there were approximately 5 to 7 million English speakers in the world, most of which presumably confined to the British Isles. In effect, the *global* spread of English was to take place later on in time, in the form of what has been viewed as two diasporas (Kachru & Nelson, 1996).

Graddol (1997) states that the first significant step in the progress of English towards its status as a world language took place in the seventeenth century, with the foundation of the American colonies and consequent first diaspora of English. Countless English immigrants of different linguistic backgrounds settled in North America. They were then followed by a wave of Irish immigration in the early eighteenth century and by 1790 the colonial population of the country was around 4 million (Crystal, 1997a). Linguistically speaking, this first dispersal resulted in new mother tongue varieties of English (Jenkins, 2003) and it was at this stage that an unsuspecting world witnessed the first global dissemination of the English language.

The second diaspora of English

Large-scale migrations of mother-tongue English speakers to the southern hemisphere, mainly Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, are known to have taken place throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Although smaller in numbers, by comparison to those in the northern hemisphere, these immigrants helped establish the English language on a truly global scale as this second diaspora meant that it was now being used in new sociocultural contexts worldwide, which would ultimately have profound effects on the English in these regions and lead to the development of a number of second language varieties often referred to as *New Englishes* (Kachru & Nelson, 1996; Jenkins, 2003). Having simultaneously established its presence in South Asia and colonial Africa, within a mere century the British Empire was now a reality and the status of English would fundamentally change.

The importance of the Industrial Revolution

Now if the British imperial expansion was crucial in the emergence of English as a world language, it is also true that towards the end of the nineteenth century this colonial power would experience the first stages of its downfall. Yet a series of significant events would uphold the growth of English regardless of the colonial collapse. In the mid-eighteenth century the Industrial Revolution marked a major turning point in history as Great Britain and, soon after, the United States underwent rapid and dramatic technological transformations. One example of how English benefited from these technical innovations is that high-speed printing generated "an unprecedented mass of publications in English" (Crystal, 1997a: 73). As this linguist points out, with the American and British research combined, it is possible to suggest that about half of the influential scientific and technological output in the period from 1750 to 1900 would have been written in English. Graddol (1997) points out that these events were a step forward in consolidating the standardisation of the language, a phenomenon that was facilitated by the compilation and publication of dictionaries as well as the use of English in advertising, media, in telecommunication, and more and more in education.

The role of the US

At the beginning of the nineteenth century Britain had become the world's leading industrial and trading nation and the future decades were to bring about Britain's retreat from the empire. However, the global status of English would not follow the same fate. Graddol (1997: 8) pertinently points out that English might have shared the same outcome as other languages of former colonial powers (e.g. Portugal) had it not been for the "dramatic rise of the US in the twentieth century as a world superpower". The fact is that the US had a critical role in ending the First World War (Berns *et al*, 2007), and as Graddol (1997) claims, the aftermath of the Second World War was vital for the spread of English as the US eventually took over the world lead from Britain. The magnet of opportunity, once in Britain, now lay in the USA, the leading economic power. With currently nearly four times as many English mother-tongue speakers as the United Kingdom, American money-making influence alongside its cultural power has had a predominant role in the spread of English in the past decades, as is evident in such domains as advertising, broadcasting, and the Internet (Crystal, 1997a). The result of this influence is noteworthy: although English as an official language has claimed progressively less territory among the former colonies of the British Empire since World War II, its actual importance and number of speakers have increased rapidly (Baugh & Cable, 2002). Much of this has to do with the development of twentieth-century computers and the Internet, or quite simply the electronic revolution, out of which English has emerged stronger, more vibrant and far-reaching than ever before.

English across the world

In a nutshell this is the story of English which attempts to explain the grounds for its present-day world status. An extensive amount of research has been carried out in order to depict the development of English from its origins in England to its current global status¹. However, Mollin (2006) presents a helpful table in which she sums up the phases of the expansion of English.

¹ See, for example, Sidney Greenbaum, *The English Language Today*, 1985; Randolph Quirk and Henry Widdowson, *English in the World: Teaching and Learning the Language and Literatures*, 1985; and Peter Trudgill and Jean Hannah, *International English*, 2002.

Table 1.2: The four phases of the spread of English (Mollin, 2006: 21)

	Dominant type of Spread	Areas Involved	Rough Timeline
Phase 1	Imperial	Ireland, Scotland, Wales	11 th -19 th century
Phase 2	Demographic	North America, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa	17 th -19 th century
Phase 3	Imperial	South Asia, South East Asia, West Africa, East Africa, Caribbean, Pacific	16 th -20 th century
Phase 4	Econocultural	All regions of the world	20 th +21 st century

Building on terminology developed by Quirk (1988), these phases have been differentiated in terms of their nature. A demographic spread would typically involve the movement of population taking English to new areas. An imperial spread, on the other hand, would mean introducing English into a new community by means of political domination. Finally, an econocultural spread has to do with ideas, economic and cultural developments leading to language acquisition by new speakers. Consequently, this type of language spread does not imply any migration.

Whether or not English was apparently 'in the right place at the right time' repeatedly, as Crystal (1997a: 10) argues, is not an issue at this stage. More importantly, as we look back from the twenty-first century, it is indisputable that no other language has spread worldwide so extensively and so rapidly.

In order to visualize this linguistic phenomenon, a map of English-speaking countries across the world, designed by Crystal (2000) after research carried out by Strevens (1980), shows a superimposed upside-down tree diagram. This is meant to demonstrate the way in which all subsequent Englishes have had affinities with either one or the other since American English became a separate variety from British English.

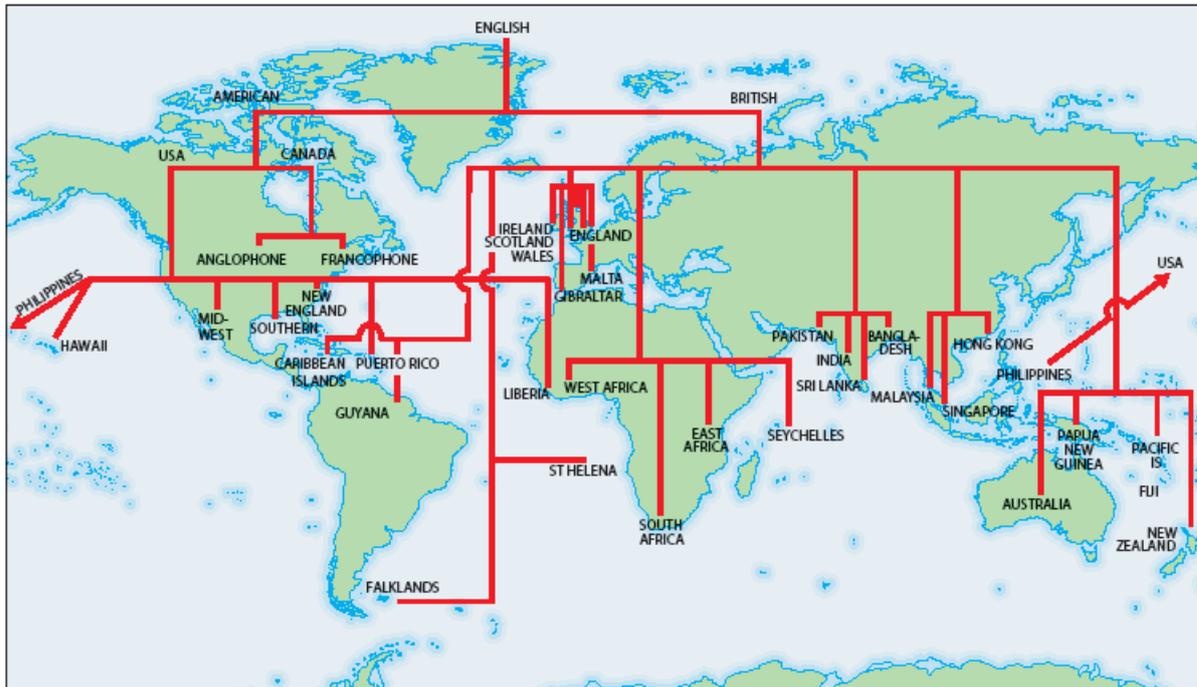


Figure 1.1: The spread of English across the world, and the influence of American and British English (Crystal, 2000:107 after Strevens, 1980)

This map displaying the spread of English was the earliest of its kind and it noticeably reveals the beginning of scholarly interest in documenting this particular linguistic diffusion. From the 1980s onwards, many scholars found themselves working out possible models of representing the ways English has spread, how it has been acquired and is used by different communities of speakers.

1.4 The three kinds of English speakers

The first thing that is important to understand is that the spread of English is often discussed in terms of three distinct groups of users. Graddol (1997) presents a neat classification of the three types of English speaker in the world today, a model which is largely based on the work of not only Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech and Svartvik (1972) but also Kachru (1985), which shall be discussed in more depth further on in this chapter.

Speakers of English as a Native Language

According to this view, each of these speakers has a distinct relationship with the language. On the one hand, there are those for whom English is a first language (L1) and more often than not the only language. They are native speakers (NS) of English who by and large live in countries where English is at the foundation of the dominant culture. It is the language of those typically born and raised in one of the many countries where it is used by the majority of the population, such as Australia, Canada, the United Kingdom, the United States or New Zealand. Crystal (1997a) estimated that there are about 377 million speakers of English as a Native Language (ENL) worldwide, including creole.

Speakers of English as a Second Language

On the other hand we find second language (L2) speakers, those who use English as a second or additional language in intranational or international contexts. It is commonly the language spoken in a large number of multilingual territories which were once colonized by the English, such as Zimbabwe, India and South Africa. As we saw earlier in Section 2.3.3, these areas have witnessed the emergence of distinct varieties of English - New Englishes - which are extremely prone to change in response to the needs of local speakers (e.g. South African English, Pakistani English, Nigerian English). The number of L2 speakers is estimated to be around 350 to 375 million in 75 different countries, i.e. one third of the world's population. Graddol points out that English language competency in these English as second language (ESL) territories may range from native-like fluency to extremely poor.

Speakers of English as a Foreign Language

Finally, Graddol designates a third group of English speakers - all those who are learning English as a foreign language (EFL). These speakers use English almost exclusively for international communication, such as learners in Portugal, Brazil, Russia or China. It is this particular number of speakers that has risen dramatically in recent

years and competence in English among them may in the same way vary from what he describes as barely functional in basic communication to near native proficiency. According to Graddol there is a clear distinction between fluent EFL and ESL speakers which is important to understand: ESL speakers use English within their community, whereas in foreign-language areas there is no local model of English. Nonetheless, the speech of an EFL speaker, i.e. his accents or patterns of error, may very well reflect certain features of his native tongue. Kirkpatrick (2007: 27) adds that "EFL occurs in countries where English is not actually used or spoken very much in the normal course of daily life" (such as in Portugal) and that it is usually studied in schools. However, he adds, students have little opportunity to use English outside the classroom and, therefore, little motivation to learn English. Historically EFL was learnt in order to be used with native speakers of the US and the UK, however, Jenkins (2015) points out it is currently more likely that they will use English to communicate with other non-native English speakers. As for estimates, she argues that "reasonably competent" EFL speakers are thought to number approximately one billion. Naturally this estimate is, as she points out, not uncontroversial due to the complexity involved in assessing such figures.

1.4.1 Problems with the ENL/ESL/EFL model

On the whole, this classification of Englishes, one of the most common in the language teaching world, has been extremely helpful. Yet, as useful as this tripartite division may be, it is not flawless as Graddol (2006: 110) himself admits, especially when taking into account the more recent worldwide spread of English. In his words, "Global English has led to a crisis of terminology. The distinctions between 'native speaker', 'second-language speaker and 'foreign-language user' have become blurred". McArthur (1998) and Crystal (1997a: 6) share the same view, and the latter even suggests that "[d]istinctions such as those between 'first', 'second' and 'foreign' language status are useful, but we must be careful not to give them a simplistic interpretation". In what soon became a recurring trend in this specific field of language study, scholars are quick to discuss the merits and faults of newly-proposed classifications or models and descriptions of English, a reflection of how controversial

the issue is. Jenkins (2015) succinctly lists McArthur's concerns in relation to this three-way categorisation:

1 ENL is not a single variety of English, but differs markedly from one territory to another (e.g. the US and UK), and even from one region within a given territory to another. In addition, the version of English accepted as 'standard' differs from one ENL territory to another.

2 Pidgins and creoles do not fit neatly into any one of the three categories. They are spoken in ENL settings, e.g. in parts of the Caribbean, in ESL settings, e.g. in many territories in West Africa, and in EFL settings, e.g. in Nicaragua, Panama and Surinam in the Americas. And some creoles in the Caribbean are so distinct from standard varieties of English that they are considered by a number of scholars to be different languages altogether.

3 There have always been large groups of ENL speakers living in certain ESL territories, e.g. India and Hong Kong, as a result of colonialism.

4 There are also large numbers of ESL speakers living in ENL settings, particularly the US and, to a lesser extent, the UK as a result of immigration.

5 The three categories do not take account of the fact that much of the world is bi- or multilingual, and that English is often spoken within a framework of code mixing (blending English with another language, e.g. 'Spanglish' in the US) and code switching (switching back and forth between English and another language).

6 The basic division is between native speakers and non-native speakers of English, that is, those born to the language and those who learnt it through education. The first group have always been considered superior to the second regardless of the quality of the language its members speak. [...]

(Jenkins, 2015: 15)

In sum, what is being maintained at this point is that it is progressively more difficult to categorize speakers of English as belonging solely to one of the three groups presented in Graddol's *The Future of English* (1997), and this is a chief issue that shall be discussed in more detail later on in this study. Furthermore, it has been suggested

that due to the complex nature of the spread of English, these ENL, ESL and EFL categories have unclear boundaries which may prove to be misleading. Even so, and despite the aforementioned shortcomings, Graddol argues that this categorization is a useful starting point for understanding the pattern of English worldwide.

1.5 Models of the spread of English

The numerous classifications or models of Englishes that have been proposed by scholars in the past thirty years attempt to explain the differences in the ways English is used in different countries (Kirkpatrick, 2007) and any discussion regarding English as a lingua franca would evidently be incomplete without referring to the conceptual frameworks that have paved the way for the way for ELF pedagogy. Be that as it may, due to the abundant number of studies carried out in this field, I shall focus my attention on but a few in order to provide a theoretical context for research being conducted in this study.

Kachru's Concentric Circles of World English

As I mentioned earlier, Strevens' (1980) family tree representation of the spread of English was the first attempt of its kind. However, the most influential model of the spread of English is Braj Kachru's model of World Englishes (1985), which serves as a framework for studying the various roles English plays in different countries of the world as well as in a wide range of sociolinguistic situations. This model consists of three concentric² circles of language: the Inner Circle, the Outer Circle and the Expanding Circle. Each of these circles represents the type of spread, patterns of acquisition and functional domains in which English is used in different countries and cultures worldwide.

² In Kachru's original model, the circles are presented vertically rather than concentrically, and are oval rather than circular. These ovals are also depicted as somewhat overlapping, despite the term "Three *Concentric Circles Model*" (emphasis added), used by Kachru himself. Crystal (2000), on his part, provides a simple two dimensional depiction with three concentric circles, as may be seen in Figure 1.2. Therefore, I have chosen to focus on the concentricity and am using Crystal's representation of Kachru's ideas.

As we can see in Figure 1.2, in the centre we find the Inner Circle, which represents the countries in which English is a primary language and consequently acquired as native language (ENL). Kachru claims the Inner Circle countries are the traditional bases of English and provide standards and norms for non-native speakers (NNSs), to which they have to conform. These countries are the UK, US, Australia, Canada, Ireland and New Zealand. The total number of English speakers in this circle ranges from 320 to 380 million³ (Crystal, 1997a).

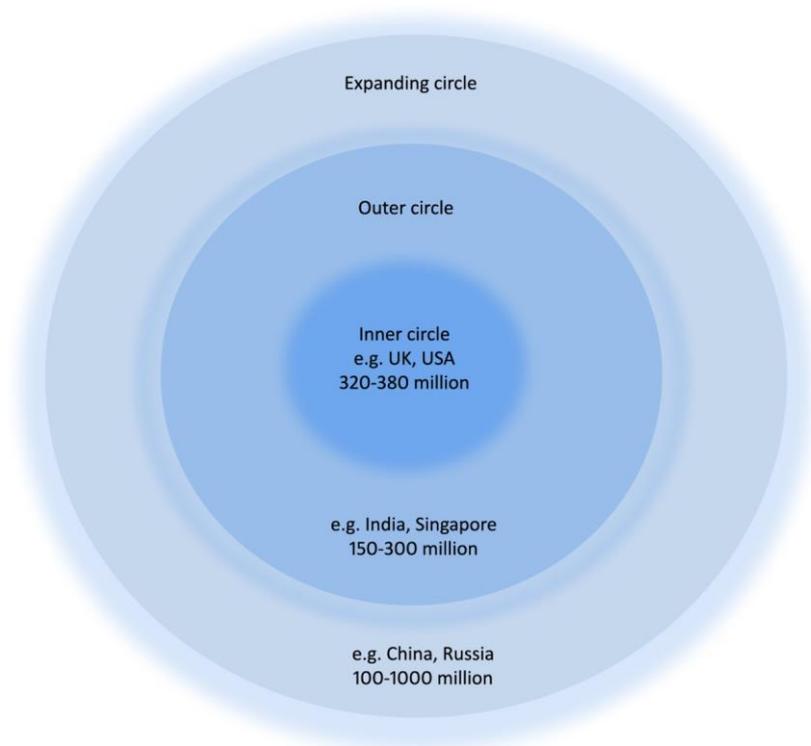


Figure 1.2: Concentric Circles of World Englishes (adapted from Kachru, 1985)

The Outer Circle is comprised of nations such as Ghana, India, Kenya, Singapore or Zimbabwe, who are not norm-providing but norm-developing. In this Outer or extended circle, English is largely acquired as a second language (ESL) and is primarily used in the country's main institutions. Note that Outer Circle countries are for the most part former colonies of Inner Circle countries, which means English has a colonial history as it spread to a non-native setting, where it is now a useful lingua franca

³ Note that Crystal made these estimates in 1997, thus these figures are likely to be out of date.

between different ethnic and language groups. Crystal estimates that these speakers number about 150 to 350 million.

Finally, the Expanding Circle contains countries in which English is taught as foreign language (EFL) and functions widely as an international language. There is no colonial history in the acquisition of English and it does not play any historical or governmental role. However, the English language in these countries is becoming more and more influential as the number of its learners is increasing (*expanding*) rapidly. They are also norm-dependent upon the norm-providing Inner Circle countries. Much of the rest of the world's population not categorized in the previous circles are included in this Expanding circle: Portugal, Spain, France, Brazil, China, Russia and so forth.

In this three-circle model Kirkpatrick (2007) observes that there is a clear reference to the ESL/EFL classification, in Kachru's (1985) own words:

the current sociolinguistic profile of English may be viewed in terms of three concentric circles... The Inner Circle refers to the traditional cultural and linguistic bases of English. The Outer Circle represents the institutionalised non-native varieties (ESL) in the regions that have passed through extended periods of colonisation... The Expanding Circle includes the regions where the performance varieties of the language are used essentially in EFL contexts.

(Kachru, 1985: 366-367)

It is widely regarded that Kachru's model has been a helpful approach in describing the present-day world status of English. For instance, and according to Kirkpatrick (2007: 28), the great advantages of this model are "that it makes English plural so that one English becomes many Englishes" and, linguistically speaking, no variety is any better than any other. Furthermore, this representation demonstrates that the worldwide spread of English has led to the development of many Englishes as opposed to the notion of the transplanting of one model to other countries. In the field of applied linguistics, the Kachruvian model has inspired the EIL movement, which lays emphasis on the practical implications of world Englishes scholarship, especially in ELT (e.g. McKay, 2002; Sharifian, 2009).

- Limitations with Kachru's model

As with all linguistic models we shall discuss, Kachru's work has some limitations which have been widely discussed. Jenkins (2015: 17) lists what she calls "the most serious problems" identified by the academic community and which we shall look at very briefly.

First, this three-way categorization of English is based on geography and genetics rather than on the identity of the speaker. Second, there is what she calls a grey area between the Inner and the Outer Circles, as well as between the Outer and the Expanding Circles. Another limitation has to do with the fact that many World English speakers are bilingual or even multilingual and use different languages for different functions in daily life. Jenkins also claims that there is difficulty in using the model to define speakers in terms of their proficiency in English. Moreover, this model cannot account for English for Specific Purposes (ESP) which constitutes another considerable drawback. Although Kachru's model implies uniformity of linguistic situations for all countries within a particular circle, the truth is that there is a large amount of linguistic diversity within and between countries of a particular circle, which this model does not account for. Finally, at the bottom of this list of shortcomings, Jenkins argues that the term "Inner Circle" implies that speakers from ENL countries are central and may thus be interpreted as superior, even though Kachru meant nothing of the sort. Canagarajah (2006) adds his own constructive criticism to this list with an expressive metaphor. He argues that recent changes, such as human migration or technology-mediated communication, are causing these circles to leak and that the Kachruvian model fails to depict the fluidity between the so-called layers. Despite these comments and suggestions, Kachru stands by his model claiming it has been systematically misinterpreted by the academic community (Jenkins, 2006a: 159). In addition, and for ease of reference, I have chosen to use the concentric-circle model of the spread of English as the standard framework.

McArthur's Circle of World English

As a result, other scholars have attempted to improve on Kachru's work and have proposed alternative models, one of which is McArthur's (1987) circle of World English.

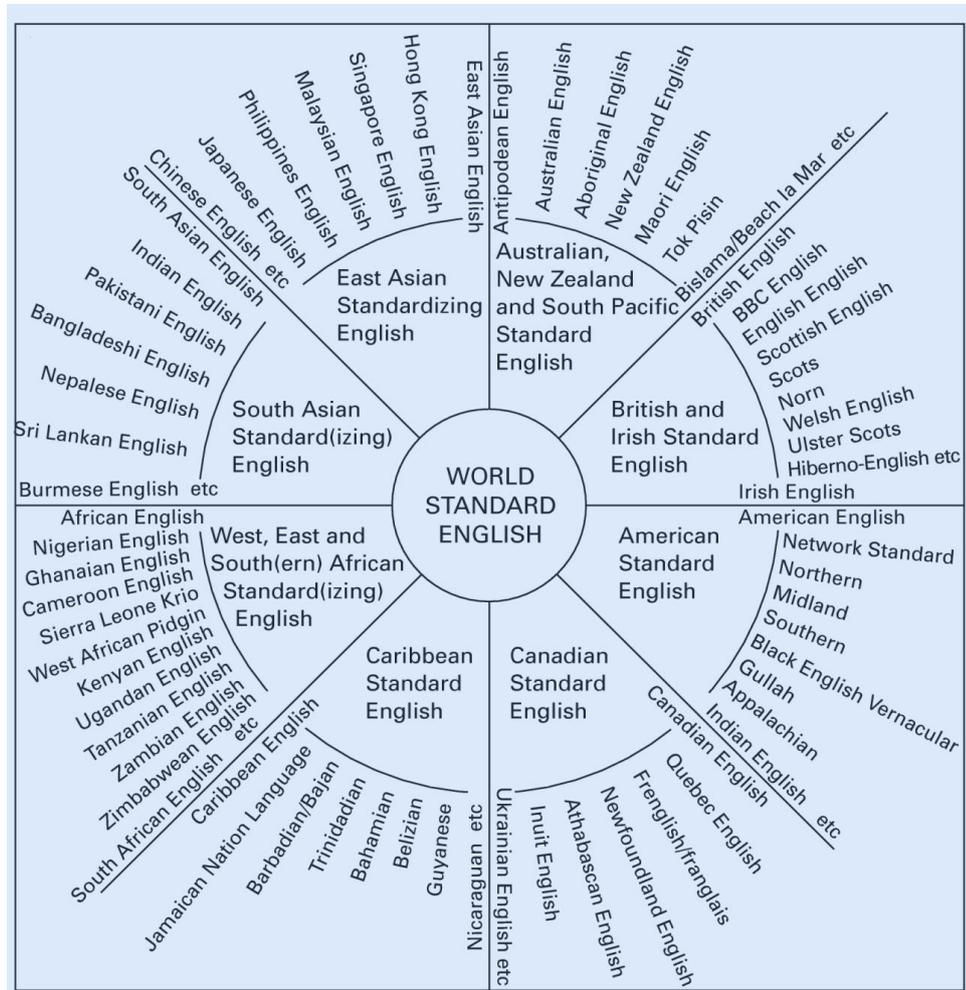


Figure 1.3: McArthur's Circle of World English (1987: 11)

McArthur's circle is an attempt to represent the unity and diversity of the English speaking world and it has at its centre an idealized central variety - 'World Standard English' - which "does not exist in an identifiable form at present" (Jenkins, 2015: 13) or, as Crystal (2000: 111) puts it, a "common core".

Around it and moving outwards comes next a band of regional varieties including both standard forms and standards that are emerging. Finally, beyond these, divided by spokes separating the world into eight regions, are examples of localized subvarieties, i.e. the wide range of popular Englishes that exist.

The strengths of this neat model are understandable. McArthur's is an egalitarian model where the different varieties of English relate to each other on a single level and not on three hierarchies, as in Kachru's model (Canagarajah, 2005). As a result, McArthur's circle is an improvement on its predecessor because it does not give any particular variety of English a 'core' position. It also includes English-based creole languages in the circle of Englishes (e.g., the ones listed for the Caribbean), which did not find a comfortable place in Kachru's model (Li & Mahboob, 2012). McArthur's circle of English conveys the notion that all Englishes are equal and that they serve the purposes of the people who use this language in their local setting. Its egalitarian nature also shows that no one dialect of English is better or more central than another. Finally, McArthur's circle attempts to label and describe different dialects and varieties of Englishes.

- Limitations with McArthur's Circle of World English

Despite the illuminating perspective this model provides, it does in actual fact raise several problems. To begin with, it does not help us in fully understanding what 'World Standard English' truly is or, for instance, what happens in contexts where speakers of different dialects/varieties communicate with each other (Li & Mahboob, 2012). As they point out, this gap in our understanding is currently being studied by linguists working in the area of ELF. Other aspects that have been pointed out relate to the fact that the three types of English discussed earlier on - ENL, ESL and EFL - have been merged in the second circle and that the wide range of Englishes in Europe are absent from the model. Lastly, there has been a certain amount of resistance to the inclusion of English pidgins and creoles in the outside layer seeing that, as McArthur (1987) points out, many scholars would agree that they do not belong to one family alone.

Modiano's centripetal circles of international English

More than a decade later, and in light of the weaknesses of Kachru's model, Modiano initially (1999a) conceives a four-layered model composed of centripetal

circles. The centre is comprised of all those speakers who are proficient in what he labels "international English". What immediately strikes the eye is that he has disregarded any historical or geographical concerns and focuses "on what is mutually comprehensible to the majority of proficient speakers of English, be they native or non-native" (Jenkins, 2015: 17). According to his view, these proficient speakers function capably in cross-cultural communicative environments where the English language is the lingua franca and may very well be native or non-native speakers of English.

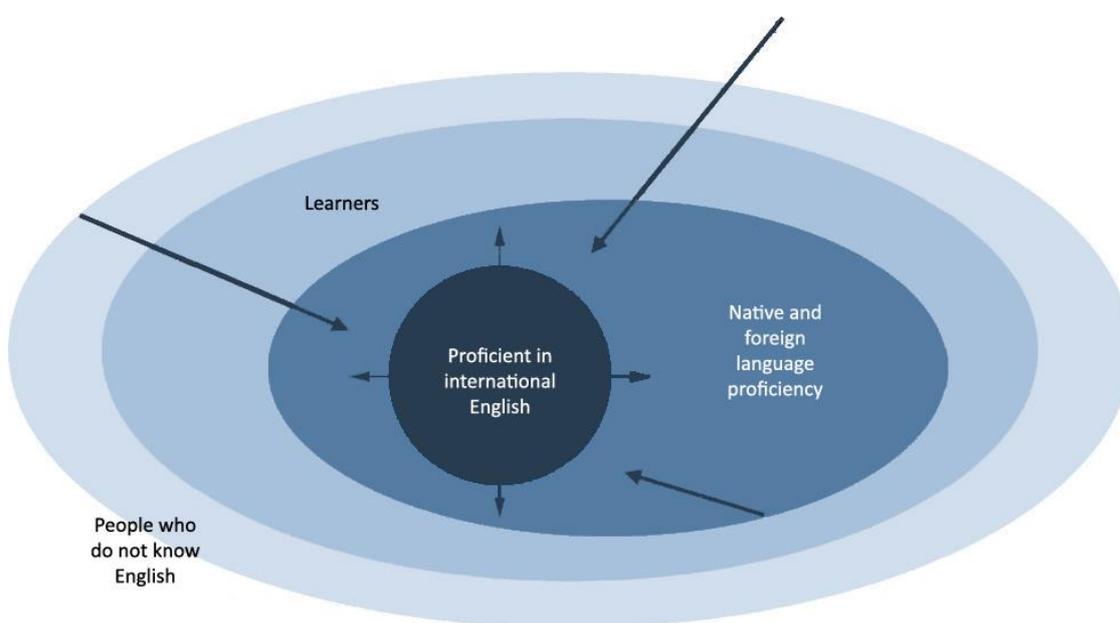


Figure 1.4: Modiano's centripetal circles of international English (1999a)

Apart from having to be proficient in international English, Modiano argues that the speakers who take up the innermost circle of his model should bear no strong regional accent or dialect. The next category refers to all those are proficient in English as a first or second language that is not effective in international communication, meaning any speaker able to communicate in English with other native or non-native speakers with the same linguistic background. Outside this circle, a third one encloses learners of English, i.e. those who are not yet proficient in English. Finally, a fourth circle represents those people who do not know English at all.

Although this model does not radically differ from Kachru's proposal, there are significant differences seeing that it promotes the diversity of English and bases a modern description of users of English on proficiency while prioritising the use of English as an international or world language. Modiano (1999a: 25) states that in his model "proficient non-native speakers of EIL, rather than the native speakers of who are not proficient in EIL, are better equipped to define and develop English as a tool in cross-cultural communication." This is naturally in direct opposition with the Kachruvian model, which regards inner-circle speakers as not only proficient but also norm-providing. The fact that speakers can shift from the third to the second and the second to the first circles, as they become more proficient in a variety of English that is understood in international contexts is considered as a major innovation in Modiano's model. Furthermore, it also addresses several of the chief concerns about the Concentric Circles model, such as the notion of nativeness, potential connotations of prestige and the concept of norms.

- Limitations with Modiano's centripetal circles of international English

This model was praised for reflecting a somewhat more realistic picture of the different ways English is currently being used around the world but, unsurprisingly, many scholars found themselves debating the validity of Modiano's model. Without devaluing his ideas, attention was drawn to certain problems. One feature that understandably met with some apprehension was the notion of "strong regional accent", for it is unclear where to draw a line, as Jenkins (2015) puts it, between a strong and nonstrong accent. Ultimately, a strong regional accent speaker would be placed in the second circle, which would then make him or her as not proficient in EIL. The fact that there is no solid description of EIL leads to other uncertainties: how is one to define a speaker who is proficient in international English as opposed to another who is simply able to communicate well? Finally, and despite the democratic nature of this model, it still reflects a hierarchical trait, seeing that the innermost circle is presented as the ideal (Toolan, 1999).

Modiano's model of English as an International Language

Unlike Kachru, after carefully considering comments from others, Modiano (1999b) chose to redraft his first model a few months later and presented a model based on features of English common to all varieties of English.

Starting from the outside, he divides English speakers into five groups - speakers of American English (AmE), speakers of British English (BrE), speakers of other major varieties, speakers of local varieties, and foreign language speakers - each of which are seen as possessing features peculiar to their own speech community and which are unlikely to be understood by most members of the other four groups.

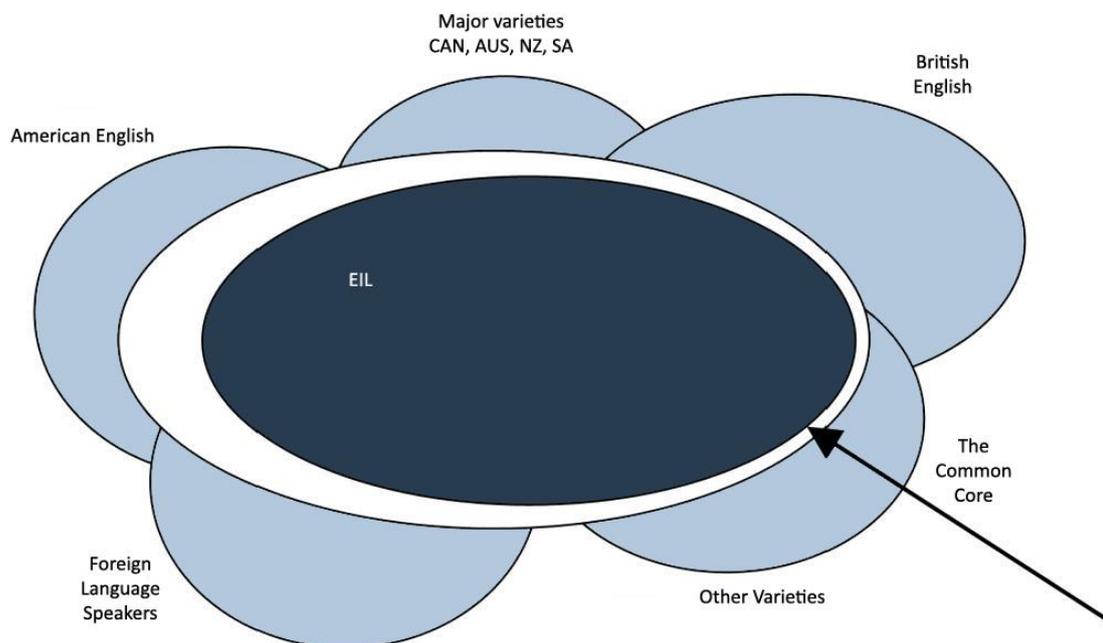


Figure 1.5: Modiano's model of English as an International Language (1999b)

The middle circle, however, consists of features which may become internationally common or may fall into obscurity. Finally, at the centre of this updated model lies English as an International Language, with a set of features which are comprehensible to the majority of native and competent non-native speakers of English - "the common core". He interestingly adds that "this core of standard English is what constitutes the starting point for a definition of EIL" (1999b: 11).

- Limitations with Modiano's model of English as an International Language

Despite the effort, critics still encounter problems. One has to do with the apparent difficulty of distinguishing between core and non-core varieties. There is also debate about Modiano comparing native speakers with 'competent' non-natives, implying that all native speakers of English are competent users of English, which is patently untrue (Jenkins, 2015).

Graddol's proficiency-based model of World Englishes

A much more recent attempt to take account of developments in the spread of World Englishes is that of Graddol (2006) which is no more than a reconceptualization of the three-circle model by Kachru (1985). An outline of the revised Kachru model is provided by Mahboob (2010), who states that

the inner circle represents high proficiency without regard to how or where the language is learned and used. The outer concentric circles represent lower proficiency. So the revised inner circle is not based on history, official status, or geopolitical designation, but rather on use, expertise and competence in English. It can, therefore, be occupied by anyone from any of the three circles in the original model. This new, inclusive model more accurately reflects the reality of the language and shifts the focus away from nativeness and race. If it were more universally recognized and understood, it might influence the acceptance of the legitimacy of a broader spectrum of English speakers and the status of English as a world language, rather than as the property of an idealized few. English as a world language implies a new definition of the language: English *is* all its speakers. In this view of English, it is a global language that belongs to all its speakers.

(Mahboob, 2010: 29)

In light of the above, this model can be called a 'proficiency-based model' and what it tries to put across is that the notion of a second or an additional language user of English is no longer relevant in today's globalised world.

Graddol's model noticeably discards the use of nation-state labels in order to group speakers of English worldwide, a common feature in previous models. Alternatively, this reconceptualization looks at the world of English speakers based on

their proficiency in the language, rather than their relationships (e.g., mother tongue, ESL, EFL) to the language (Li & Mahboob, 2012). It is still based on the idea of the concentric circles model, but now allows for varieties of English to be in transition between the circles. It comprises of a norm-providing group and a norm-dependent group.

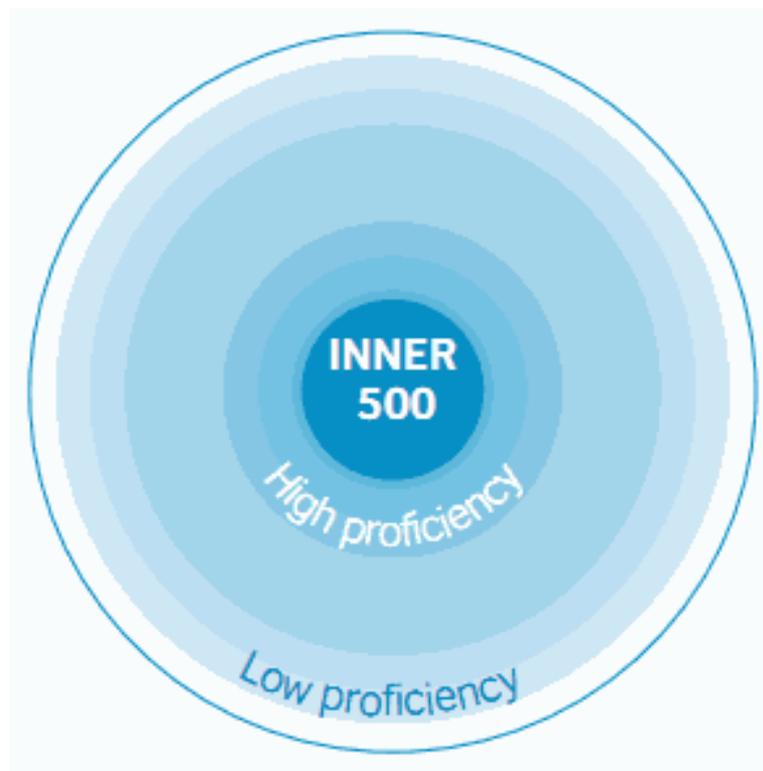


Figure 1.6: Graddol's proficiency-based model of World Englishes (2006)

Graddol argues the proficiency-based model is different from the earlier models of World Englishes in that it focuses on language proficiency instead of considering who the users of the language are – whether they are "native" or "non-native". He underlines the ability of the model to distance itself from the notions of "nativeness" and "country-of-origin", claiming it is one of the strengths of his proposal.

- Limitations with Graddol's proficiency-based model of World Englishes

Again, this is not a flawless model. In the same way as the aforementioned terms "World Standard English" and "English as an International Language" are difficult

concepts to factually describe, the most significant problem with this model is that it does not define the term "proficiency". What makes proficiency a problematic term is that it is typically measured in relation to "native" models of the language, such as in Tests of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) and with the International English Language Testing System (IELTS). This model is, therefore, inevitably linked to the "native" model instead of helping us understand how proficiency is in fact negotiated between users of English in the context in which it is used (Li & Mahboob, 2012).

English in the future

The different models described above reveal some interesting points worth considering at this stage. First of all, it is quite evident that no conceptual model of the spread and use of English developed in the last decades has been fully accepted. Although I have presented several different attempts to classify this linguistic phenomenon, there are, nevertheless, a number of other scholars who have proposed alternative classifications. Consider, for instance, Görlach's (1988) Circle Model of English, Crystal's suggestion of an English family of languages (1997), Yano's Three Dimensional Parallel Cylindrical Model of World Englishes (2001) or Schneider's (2007) Dynamic Model of Post-colonial Englishes. This conceptual diversity has consequently led to an inconsistency in terms, such as Kachru's *World Englishes*, McArthur's *World Standard English* or Modiano's *international English* and *English as an International Language*. As we have seen, speakers are also positioned differently in these paradigms which may produce different outcomes. As Modiano (1999a) argues, although speakers themselves do not mind it, this is essential because the paradigms profoundly affect the development and implementation of educational norms.

To make matters more challenging, almost two decades ago Graddol (1997) had already suggested what he considered to be a useful model for describing English in the future. Given that English was increasingly becoming the lingua franca that holds together the international conversation and debate in areas such as climate change, terrorism and human rights, consequently assuming the role of a genuine global medium with local identities and messages, and because this was a trend that would predictably continue as non-native speakers would far outnumber native speakers –

already at an estimated ratio of 4:1 according to the oft-cited statistics of the British Council (2013a) - the need for a futuristic model was legitimate.

In his view, as first-language speakers would be outnumbered by those who speak English alongside other languages, the latter would, in fact, increasingly decide the global future of English. Therefore, Graddol (1997) suggests that the three circles of English speakers - L1, L2 and EFL - overlap, with the 'centre of gravity' shifting towards L2 English at the start of the twenty-first century.

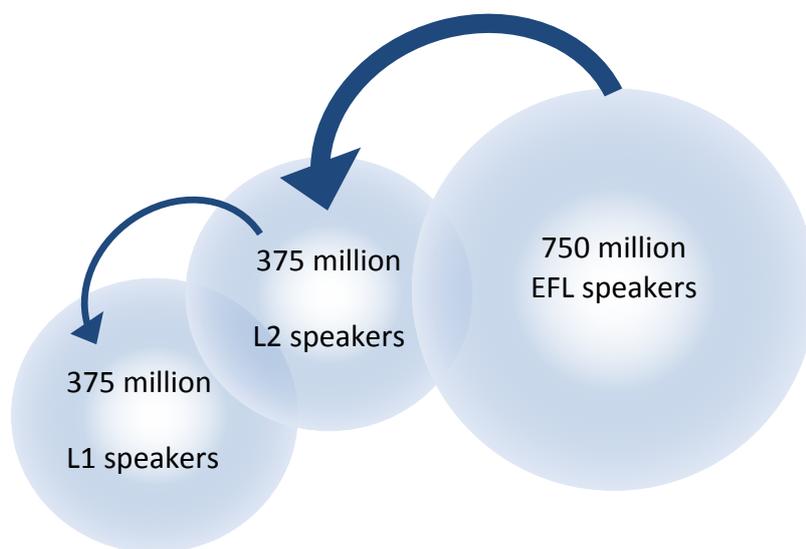


Figure 1.7: Graddol's model of English usage in the 21st century (Graddol, 1997:10)

This model is what he claims to be an alternative way of visualising the three communities of English-language and yet again bears evidence to the multiplicity of well-founded research in this area of language study.

1.6 Reactions to the global spread of English

Now, apart from the profusion and inconsistency in perspectives and terminology demonstrated in the sections above, all of which can understandably cause confusion, there have been other significant issues that simultaneously emerged

and brought about much discussion alongside the description of the spread and use of English internationally.

One issue that was brought up had to do with the increasing enthusiasm for English and the motives for such an interest. Was there in fact anything behind this seemingly irresistible spread or did this intense acceleration take place naturally?

Another question worth considering has to do with the shift described, for instance, in the previous model (Figure 1.7). First of all, if it is true that it is among non-native speakers of English where the use of English is truly expanding, then it is evident that the 'ownership' of English has shifted from the centre to the periphery. These are two key issues I would like to address separately even though they are both part of an overall reaction to the acceleration of English as a global common language.

1.6.1 The global spread of English as a form of linguistic imperialism

The extraordinary, world-wide growth of English and consequent escalating growth in English language teaching is undeniable and since its acknowledgement it has frequently been the source of distinct reactions and intense debates. One of these critical views on the global spread of English has long regarded the promotion of this language around the world as a neo-imperialist project. The theory of linguistic imperialism, for instance, has since the early 1990s attracted the attention among scholars in the field of applied linguistics, particularly since the publication of Robert Phillipson's (1992) influential book *Linguistic Imperialism*. Before then, there was no serious challenge to the idea of English as an international language serving as a lingua franca as well as offering access to global knowledge, science and technology. However, in this book Phillipson attempts to explore the contemporary phenomenon of English as a world language and sets out to analyze how the language became so dominant and why, which subsequently led to considerable disputes about the merits and shortcomings of the theory.

He begins by provocatively stating that "whereas once Britannia ruled the waves, now it is English which rules them" and that the "British Empire has given way to the empire of English" (Phillipson, 1992: 1). Phillipson claims that he is determined to contribute to an understanding of the ways in which English rules, who makes the

rules, and what role the English teaching profession plays in promoting the 'rules' of English and the rule of English. His theory is extremely innovative in the sense that it provides a powerful critique on the historical spread of English as an international language and how it continues to maintain its current dominance, particularly in postcolonial contexts, such as India, Pakistan or Zimbabwe, but also increasingly in what is known as "neo-colonial" contexts, such as Europe. Phillipson defines English linguistic imperialism as "the dominance asserted and maintained by the establishment and continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages" (1992: 47). By using the word "structural" he is in fact referring to "material properties" such as financial allocations and institutions. On the other hand, the term "cultural" is used to refer to "ideological properties" such as attitudes and pedagogic principles. What is trying to be expressed in this view is that English linguistic imperialism involves both material and ideological domination of English over other languages and cultures. He then explains that, in addition to the earlier spread of English due to colonialism, the US and Britain further promoted the spread of English through government agencies, such as the British Council or the Fulbright Program, and raises probing and uncomfortable questions which led English language teachers, in what he calls the "periphery", to ask themselves if they are in fact a part of this "neo-colonialism", seeing that they are implicated in teaching the language of the former colonial masters. Phillipson's considerations brought about several consequences, one of which has to do with the concern that inevitably afflicted English language teachers, who were unexpectedly involved in this debate, and eventually this provoking suggestion led to what is known as "the guilt complex" among EFL teachers (Rajagopalan, 1999).

Phillipson was not alone in his endeavour as Cooke (1988) before him had already used a familiar metaphor to describe English as a Trojan horse, in the sense that it may be welcomed initially in a country but then cause concern as it dominates the native language(s) and cultures, thus concluding it is a language of imperialism and of particular class interests.

As you would expect this issue of linguistic imperialism sparked general interest among the linguistic community and other scholars took part in the debate. Pennycook (1995) declared to be suspicious of the view that the spread of English is natural,

neutral and beneficial. He claimed that the current paradigms of the aforementioned spread have failed to problematize its causes and implications and ultimately stated that

English language teachers have, therefore, been poorly served by a body of knowledge that fails to address the cultural and political implications of the spread of English. More critical analyses, however, show that English threatens other languages, acts as a gatekeeper to positions of wealth and prestige both within and between nations, and is the language through which much of the unequal distribution of wealth, resources and knowledge operates. Furthermore, its spread has not been the coincidental by-product of changing global relations but rather the deliberate policy of English-speaking countries protecting and promoting their economic and political interests.

(Pennycook, 1995: 86)

However, he does go beyond the idea of imperialism and explains that during the colonial period, the English language was not only imposed but to a certain extent withheld, which often led colonized people to demand access to English (Pennycook, 1994). Pennycook and Canagarajah (1999) soon after, therefore, suggest that users of English contest the imperial supremacy of English by appropriating the language for their own purposes. They additionally encourage language teachers to empower students so as to assert their ownership of English and subsequently use the language as a means of resistance instead of rejecting it.

Although Phillipson competently maintains his so-called conspiracy theory that English has been cleverly promoted around the world by the British and American agencies, with the sole intention of increased profit and continued domination of third world countries, at one point his work was said to be patronising, given that it treated vast areas of the non-English speaking world as somehow being passive recipients of linguistic imperialism (Karmani, 2003). In fact, the relationship between the global spread of English and its impact on other languages did attract different views and Crystal (1997a) deemed the linguistic imperialism theory a hopelessly inadequate explanation of linguistic realities. Widdowson (1997) and Davies (1996) confront Phillipson's views, arguing that it lacks research on why people choose English and how

they use it. They add that a language does not spread without being transformed seeing that it naturally and inevitably changes to suit its surroundings. Furthermore, Crystal (1997a: 25) challenges Phillipson's position and states that the linguistic imperialism theory is naive as it disregards the "complex realities of a world in which a historical conception of power relations has to be seen alongside an emerging set of empowering relationships in which English has a new functional role, no longer associated with the political authority it once held." Graddol (2006: 112) is but another to oppose this view by stating that the concept of linguistic imperialism "does not wholly explain the current enthusiasm for English which seems driven primarily by parental and governmental demand, rather than promotion by anglophone countries".

Despite the difference of opinion among the academic community, Phillipson's work provoked a vast amount of valuable research, which has inevitably contributed to the changing perceptions of English and provided new directions in the field of applied linguistics and pedagogical practices. The idea that English was, as Graddol (2001: 35) puts it, "a 'clean' and safe export, one without some of the complex moral implications associated with the sale of products such as weapons or military vehicles" had changed. The teaching of English was no longer to be seen simply as an industry which benefits both producer and consumer and to that we owe Phillipson an invaluable debt.

1.6.2 The changing ownership of English

Another debate that has played an important role in the shifting perception of the English language has to do with the concept of ownership. In 1994, Widdowson published "The Ownership of English" in which he takes on a pioneering role. In his view, the status of English as a global language raises important questions about ownership and authority.

In his article he argues that because English is an international language, it no longer belongs solely to its native speakers. As a result, he questions the authority of L1 English speakers to set the language's conventions. Widdowson (1994) states that

The very fact that English is an international language means that no nation can have custody over it. To grant such custody of the language is necessarily to arrest its development and so

undermine its international status. It is a matter of considerable pride and satisfaction for native speakers of English that their language is an international means of communication. But the point is that it is only international to the extent that it is not their language [...] Other people actually own it.

(Widdowson, 1994: 385)

As an international language, English serves a whole range of different communities and transcends traditional cultural boundaries, and thus it is no longer the preserve of native speaker (Erling, 2004). The notion of loss of ownership is, as Crystal (1997a: 141) describes it, "uncomfortable to those, especially in Britain, who feel that the language is theirs by historical right" and may even lead to feelings of resentment. Nonetheless, he adds, this is a predictable consequence of English becoming the world's lingua franca so "everyone who has learned it now owns it – 'has a share in it' might be more accurate – and has the right to use it in the way they want. (Crystal, 1997a: 2). In a well-known quote, Graddol (1997: 5) shares this belief, and states that "[n]ative speakers may feel the language 'belongs' to them, but it will be those who speak English as a second or foreign language who will determine its world future."

Besides the idea of loss or shift of ownership, Widdowson upholds the acceptance of localized varieties of English, breaking away from traditional monolithic views of English and the model of learning and teaching associated with them. Consequently, he opposes discrimination against non-native teachers, and emphasizes that it is neither realistic nor necessary to force learners to conform to a native variety. In due course, this viewpoint contributed greatly in reversing what Rajagopalan (1997: 229) termed the "apotheosis of the native speaker."

Although many scholars share Widdowson's views, certain aspects of his work have received negative comments (Trudgill, 2005 and Sobkowiak, 2005, for instance). All the same, his arguments were acclaimed and they have played an important role in the shifting perception of English, especially in ELT. Take the official discourse of the British Council (2013a), for example, and note how it reflects full recognition of Widdowson's views:

[English] is constantly moulded and altered by new communities of users, whether geographic or digital. In this way it has come to belong to all its speakers – it no longer has a single centre such as the UK which influences its norms of usage, but instead has many centres and hubs around the world which individually and collectively shape its character. It is a global medium with local identities and messages, and this trend will continue as non-native speakers now far outnumber native speakers – already at an estimated ratio of 4:1, which can only grow. Our own forecast is for double digit growth in the demand for English in a swathe of large countries such as Indonesia, Pakistan, Brazil, Mexico and Nigeria.

(British Council, 2013a: 4)

1.7 Summary

In this chapter I have tried to provide an overview - by no means exhaustive - of the worldwide spread of English as well as the relatively new phenomenon of global English in its historical context. I have also briefly addressed particular sociopolitical events which contrived to bring it about. Naturally, all these issues have been well documented and thoroughly interpreted before me, by others who are far more competent to do so than I am. Nonetheless, the aspects I have focused on are essential for a satisfactory understanding of the change that has taken place in the perception of English.

This chapter begins by describing the major international domains of English and the possible motivations for learning the language. It reveals that there are strong social, economical and cultural benefits in learning English as it is spoken worldwide by an ever-growing number of people.

This international status of English must necessarily be regarded as a result of its past, therefore, I highlight what are considered to be the main landmarks in the history of English. These include the most significant events that took place at a local level, such as the Norman Conquest of England, as well as all that has occurred internationally, from the first and second diaspora to the rise of the US as a twentieth-century world superpower.

After this discussion, this chapter explains the three different types of language spread involving English, as well as the resulting three distinct groups of users where English is used as a native language, a second language or a foreign language. However, after analysing a number of models that explain the ways that English is used in different countries around the world, it has become evident that English is also being used a lingua franca. In spite of the diversity of conceptual frameworks and terminology it has been demonstrated that since the 1980s English has been referred to as either an "international language", a "world language," or a "global language." All these labels have essentially the same meaning, and these will be the concern of the following chapter, but what I have pointed out at this stage is that today English is used worldwide because there are English speakers all over the world. Some are geographically tied, whereas others are simply knitted together by invisible strands of Wi-Fi. Whoever they may be, they are using English for a number of different reasons. This fact has promoted invaluable awareness in ELT pedagogy and has shattered the persistent traditional views of English as a monolithic entity.

Finally, this chapter examines two well-known reactions to the global spread of English. One of these views discusses this linguistic dissemination as a form of postcolonial imperialism, whereas another questions the authority and ownership of native speakers concerning the English language. While the theory of linguistic imperialism is still a cause of great debate and controversy, the idea that no one can now claim sole ownership of the English language causes much less friction amongst the academic community. Nevertheless, both reactions, as I have shown, contributed largely to what is perceived as a changing in the perception of English.

Chapter 2

English as a Lingua Franca: Foundations and Development

English as a lingua franca is a child of the postmodern world: it observes no national boundaries and it has no definite centres. In many ways, it is part of a transcultural flow, with its speakers using it in their own ways, constructing their own identities and forming their own groupings.

(Mauranen and Metsä-Ketelä, 2006: 2)

2.1 Introduction

This chapter begins by focusing on the ELT concerns brought about by the global use of English, in particular on the relevance of Standard English (SE) as a teaching model for non-native learners. This prescriptive norm has been critically questioned in the last decades and an understanding of these events is fundamental for a competent understanding of what this concept entails and how it has affected traditional ELT practices.

This chapter also shows that since the concept of the English language has been questioned there are consequently a wide range of terms to describe the contemporary international use of English, and so a broad description of the most widely used terms is provided. *English as a Lingua Franca* is the term that emerges as one of the cornerstones of this study and therefore a comprehensive overview - by no means exhaustive - of research into ELF is presented so as to understand what is withheld in this notion. The need for the systematic study of the nature of ELF will be discussed as well as implications it may bring about for educators and learners. Following from this discussion, this chapter establishes a distinction between ELF and EFL, with particular focus on the different goals these two concepts have.

In the next section of this chapter I will examine the main empirical research findings into ELF, mainly the outcome of the Lingua Franca Core (LFC) and the Vienna-

Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE) project. As I try to show, these results are an attempt for ELF to gain academic recognition and acceptance so as to ultimately change ELT. With the growth of research into ELF, this chapter will move on to explain how traditional theoretical constructs are being challenged so as to better reflect the nature of this framework.

The subsequent section of the chapter deals with the reactions to ELF research and how its followers have responded to incoming criticism, and finally I will address the growing interest of research into ELF worldwide, with a specific focus on what has been done in Portugal so far.

2.2 Defining Standard English

As demonstrated in the previous chapter, the global spread of English has been the source of much controversy among scholars. Apart from the crisis in terminology, the abundance of models of English and lack of consensus in defining a single one, the concerns about linguistic imperialism and the reactions against the ownership of English, other polemics have hitherto remained unmentioned, such as the *English Today* debate or the discussions over the notion of *Standard English*. The former has to do with the controversy, between Randolph Quirk and Braj Kachru in the early 1990s, over the legitimacy of non-native varieties of English and it is perhaps one of the most memorable and widely cited, but it is an issue which is beyond the scope of this study at this stage. As an English teacher, I would rather focus on the latter - the definition of SE - a central affair that has emerged due to the rise of English as a global language.

Since the 1980s, the concept of SE has undergone careful scrutiny and consequently become an exceptionally controversial topic within linguistics. One of the key issues that have been debated has been "the question of which national standards to use in teaching English as a foreign language" (Crystal, 2000: 110). To begin with, Gnutzmann (2005) claims that

[t]hough there is by no means a generally accepted definition of Standard English (SE) with regard to its linguistic and functional

features, there is a strong consensus that SE is the variety that should be taught to learners of English as a Foreign or Second language.

(Gnutzmann, 2005: 107)

However, he explains that "the actual relevance of Standard English as a teaching model for non-native learners has been critically questioned in the last decades largely due to the rise of English as a Lingua Franca" (Gnutzmann, 2005: 112). Therefore, and before we go any further, it is imperative that we have a clear understanding of what SE actually is (something undoubtedly easier said than done as we shall see).

Finding a generally accepted definition of SE has been a task that has entertained a great number of linguists over the past⁴ and, as a result, numerous definitions have been proposed. One of the most cited definitions was put forward by McArthur, who cautiously states that SE, with or without an initial capital S, is "a widely used term that resists easy definition but is used as if educated people nonetheless know precisely what it refers to" (McArthur, 1992: 982). He goes on to explain that the meaning of the term is self-evident to some and that it is frequently associated with the English of educated speakers of North America and Britain. He adds that Standard English may be viewed as a monolithic entity, possessing a set of strict conventions or alternatively it may also be regarded as a range of varieties of English that overlap. McArthur notes that while this term is negative for some people, most accept it in a positive or neutral way.

While focusing on the same issue Jenkins (2015) lists the main definitions of SE that have been proposed in recent years by different linguists. These descriptions appear summarised below in chronological order of their first appearance in print:

1 The dialect of educated people throughout the British Isles. It is the dialect normally used in writing, for teaching in schools and universities, and heard on the radio and television (Hughes and Trudgill 1979, repeated in the 2nd edition, 1996).

2 The variety of the English language which is normally employed in writing and normally spoken by educated speakers

⁴ See Jenkins (2015: 24) for a comprehensive listing.

of the language. It is also, of course, the variety of the language that students of English as a foreign or second language (EFL/ESL) are taught when receiving formal instruction. The term 'standard English' refers to grammar and vocabulary (*dialect*) but not to pronunciation (*accent*).

3 Standard English can be characterised by saying that it is that set of grammatical and lexical forms which is typically used in speech and writing by educated native speakers. 'It... includes the use of colloquial and slang vocabulary as well as swear words and taboo expressions' (Trudgill 1984)

4 The term 'standard English' is potentially misleading for at least two reasons. First, in order to be self-explanatory, it really ought to be called 'the grammar and the core vocabulary of educated usage in English'. That would make plain the fact that it is not the whole of English, and above all, it is not pronunciation that can be labelled 'Standard', but only one part of English: its grammar and vocabulary (Strevens 1985).

5 Since the 1980s, the notion of 'standard' has come to the fore in public debate about the English language... We may define the standard English of an English-speaking country as a minority variety (identified chiefly by its vocabulary, grammar and orthography) which carries most prestige and is most widely understood (Crystal 1995, repeated in the 2nd edition, 2003b).

6 Traditionally the medium of the upper and (especially professional) middle class, and by and large of education... Although not limited to one accent (most notably in recent decades), it has been associated since at least the nineteenth century with the accent that, since the 1920s, has been called Received Pronunciation (RP), and with the phrases the Queen's English, the King's English, Oxford English, and BBC English (McArthur 2002).

7 The kind of English in which all native speakers learn to read and write although most do not actually speak it (Trudgill and Hannah fifth edition, 2008).

(Jenkins, 2015: 24)

Although there are apparent differences among these definitions, there are also certain similarities that enable a fair degree of consensus. For instance, there is general agreement accent is not involved in SE and that it is for the most part a case of

grammar and vocabulary. This specific language variety is commonly promoted through the education system and it is associated with social class, according to some definitions (Jenkins, 2015). However, despite the attempts above, Trudgill (1999: 117) notes that "language varieties do not readily lend themselves to definition as such" and consequently attempts a characterization of SE, rather than a strict definition. He innovatively does so not by stating what SE is but rather what it is not and the following is a brief summary of his findings.

To begin with Trudgill claims that *SE is not a language* seeing that it is only one variety of English among many. Although it may be the most important variety of English, and is undoubtedly associated with the education system in all the English-speaking countries in the world, it is not *the* English language (original emphasis) but simply a variety of it.

In this author's view, *SE is not an accent* and has nothing to do with pronunciation. He too acknowledges that most linguists agree upon this premise but points out the existence of Received Pronunciation (RP), the high status and widely described accent associated with British upper-class and upper-middle-class speakers. Although this social accent is standardised, it is not Standard English itself, rather a standardised accent of English which, when seen from a global perspective, is sociolinguistically unusual as it is not associated with any geographical area.

SE is not a style but can be spoken in formal, neutral and informal styles, as Trudgill demonstrates in the set of well-known sentences concerning an old man who felt "bloody knackered after his long trip" (Trudgill, 1999: 120). This example seeks to prove that SE may very well be stylistically neutral or range from the ridiculously formal to tabooed informal.

Another point that Trudgill makes clear is that *SE is not a register* given that a speaker may acquire and employ technical registers without using SE and vice versa, thus proving that there is no connection between the two.

Finally, the author states that *SE is not a set of prescriptive rules*, meaning it can tolerate certain features which prescriptive grammarians do not consent to, mainly because of the great number of their Latin-based rules. He illustrates this claim by providing examples such as "It's me" or "He is taller than me", alternative constructions which SE does not necessarily exclude.

Trudgill concludes his characterization of SE by arguing that it is no more than a social dialect. However, it diverges from other dialects in the sense that it does not have an associated accent, it certainly has greater prestige than its counterparts, and it does not form part of a geographical continuum (Jenkins, 2015).

On the other hand, and despite this effort of the linguistic community in trying to define a concept as complex as SE, there are others who have listed several main arguments against SE as a concept. Davies (1997), for instance, claims that

as a language, it doesn't actually exist. As Quirk said many years ago (in *The Use of English*), it is not a variety of English: it is not a dialect, and it is not a register of English. Standard English exists "as an ideal"; and he adds, like all ideals, it is "imperfectly realised". I take this to imply that it only exists as an ideal.

(Davies, 1997: 1)

Preisler (1999) is aware of this perspective and broadly lists what he calls the main arguments against the usefulness of Standard English as a concept:

1 In countries where English is a native language, Standard English is often synonymous with the arbitrary norms of purists wishing to assert their own social and intellectual superiority as 'guardians' of the language (compare, for example, Milroy and Milroy 1998; Leith 1997).

2 Standard English is not even a linguistic reality. 'Standard' presupposes invariability, but Standard English is anything but invariable. At best the term should be reserved for functionally reduced or simplified variety (see Bex 1993).

3 In an international context, Standard English is associated, in particular, with the standards of Britain and North America. Thus, by implication, it challenges the autonomy of all the other Englishes in the world (compare, for example, Verma 1982; Kachru 1992b: 53; Singh et al. 1995).

4 By the same token, as an instrument of cross-cultural communication Standard English is too culture specific. A functionally reduced model is preferable (compare, for example, L.Smith 1983a; Johnson 1990) —or even diversity, in the hope that cross-cultural 'empathy' (compare Hübler 1985) can make up for any problems of communication among local and

nonnative-speaker varieties—perhaps aided by a survival kit of pragmatic ‘dos and donts’ (compare, for example, L.Smith 1983b).

(Preisler, 1999: 239)

As cumbersome as it may be to ascertain a consensual definition of the concept of SE, the truth is, traditionally, it has been essential in the teaching of EFL throughout the past decades (Preisler, 1999; Gnutzmann, 2005). Nonetheless, and despite the controversy in defining the concept, British linguists do not hesitate in claiming that SE "is the variety taught to non-native learners (Trudgill, 1999: 118). Hence, at this stage it would be important to understand what this notion has entailed in the history of ELT. The following section will, therefore, succinctly outline traditional language teaching and learning practices with a particular emphasis on the European context.

2.3 Traditional ELT practices

Preisler (1999) emphasizes that until 1945 Standard British English (SBE) was practically the only EFL norm at the majority of European universities. He adds that despite the growing influence of American Standard English (ASE), the teaching of English in the European context is still traditionally based on SBE and RP. Modiano (2000) describes the traditional view of foreign language learning (mainly in Europe) as one that encouraged the belief that learners were best served by teachers who used BrE with RP pronunciation. The construction of lexical registers focused on the usage of BrE native speakers and the use of prescriptive BrE grammars was the rule. In order to attain full integration, English language students were encouraged to acquire near-native BrE proficiency and avoid the mixing of other varieties, American English (AmE) for instance, as this was frowned upon and even deemed "incorrect" or sub-standard" English. British culture, history and reading were a central part of ELT and "the learning of English was traditionally seen as an attempt to 'become' English in the sense that it was a given that students attempted to *join* the culture *through* language" (Modiano, 2000: 29).

The need for change in traditional ELT practices

Nevertheless, in the early 90s the subject of SE became the object of increased interest due to the ever-growing globalisation of English, as was described in the previous chapter. As a result of this revival, the ELT community began to critically question the actual relevance of SE as a teaching model for non-native learners as a result of the rise of English as a lingua franca and the increasing number of non-native speakers of English across the world. The basis for this argument, as Gnutzmann (2005) points out, is the development of English as a global language, and the new forms and functions this will necessarily entail.

Azuaga and Cavalheiro (2015: 105) point out that the model traditionally implemented by ELT teachers regarded learners "as those who use the language as 'foreigners', as outsiders who wish to belong to a community they will never entirely be an integrated part of". Consequently, as they explain, setting the native speaker model as the aim to be achieved may lead to a sense of frustration in learners who realise they are unable to "mimic" a language which is not their own. Crystal (1997) adds that learners in this situation make a considerable effort to master a small part of the English and in fact end up resenting that effort, which could eventually lead to what Gnutzmann (1999: 160) refers to as an "inferiority complex".

However, the increasing amount of communication among and between speakers who have English as an L2, i.e. as an additional language that is being or has been learned to an adequate level, has understandably led to significant changes in the field of ELT (Erling, 2005). Modiano (2000) describes these inevitable shifts in teaching practices as a result of the growing number of students who found that traditional practices failed to meet their communicative needs. In fact, he argues that these practices have lost credibility due to such phenomena as Americanization or the legitimization and codification of indigenized varieties (e.g. postcolonial Englishes, such as Indian English or Kenyan English) that have ultimately influenced the usage of both native and non-native speakers in many parts of the world. Despite this lack of faith in traditional ELT, Graddol (2006) acknowledges that there are more people than ever who want to learn English and English learners are increasing in number and decreasing in age. However, he is very clear when he claims that "what is going on now

is *not* just 'more of the same'" (Graddol, 2006: 11). Students are fuelled by what Modiano (2000: 29) calls "utilitarian motivation" given that they perceive English as a tool which can be used to their benefit, and a medium which enables them to participate. Graddol (2006: 11) admits that "(...) this is not English as we have known it, and have taught it in the past as a foreign language. It is a new phenomenon".

This significant qualitative change, that began steering English in a new direction, attracted major attention in the field of applied linguistics and consequently brought about a shift in terminology. Having fully recognized the plurality of English and the fact that it is no longer the property of its L1 speakers, ELT specialists acknowledged that the term "English" was uncomfortably tied to the national language of Britain and its colonial past. In view of that, it was "consequently perceived as too narrow a categorization for a postcolonial, global language" so, in an effort to out forward a more accurate descriptor of English in the world, renowned linguists provided a wide-ranging selection of labels, definitions and ideologies thought to illustrate the global use of English in a contemporary context (Erling, 2004: 53).

2.4 English and the name game

Rajagopalan (2012: 375) explains that "[t]his need for a new name was first felt in the wake of the growing disenchantment with the now-outmoded idea of dividing the Anglophone world into so-called native speakers on the one-side and everyone else on the other". Additionally, Erling (2005) explains that

[t]he reasons behind so many proposals for a new name for the English language in recent years include:

- the increase in the use of English globally
- the emergence of scholarship that critically assesses the spread of English
- the attempts of ELT professionals themselves to counter the perceived dominance of English

(Erling, 2005: 42)

Furthermore, this researcher argues that the many names for English that have been proposed in recent years, alongside the more traditional terms ESL and EFL, are a response to claims and fear that English is an imperialistic language, as I discussed earlier on. Many of these new terms and concepts that emerged in connection with the world-wide spread of English have been compiled and/or explained by different linguists (McArthur, 2001; Seidlhofer, 2004; Erling, 2004, 2005; Gnutzmann, 2005; Bolton, 2006; Rajagopalan, 2012) and they include, alphabetically, such names as: English Around the World, English as Global Language, English as an International Language, English as a Lingua Franca, English as a Medium of Intercultural Communication, English as a World Language, Englishes, English Languages, Global English(es), Global Language, International Auxiliary Language, International English, International Language, International Standard English, Lingua Franca English, Nuclear English, World English(es) and World Standard (Spoken) English. One could certainly add many more labels to this list seeing that, as Rajagopalan (2012: 377) indicates, "other names (...) most probably have already been, proposed".

As I have pointed out at different moments in the previous chapter, any accurate description of the worldwide spread and use of English will undoubtedly come across a recurring terminological inconsistency. The issue of the many names of English is but another area in which this feature is present. Having said this, it must be clear that there is no consensus as how to accurately term the global use of English. Erling (2004: 247) is clear to state that this abundance in terms "has resulted in confusion in the field and there is no single definition of English that can be applied universally". Gnutzmann (2005: 112) tries to simplify the issue by claiming that "[s]ome of these terms refer to the same thing, others have slightly different meanings" but overall they aim at describing a use of English that has developed since the middle of the twentieth century, a period of time which is naturally associated to an increasing awareness of globalisation (Erling, 2004).

In the pages that follow, I will present a broad description of various terms that have gained more recognition among the scholarly community, although alternative orthographical representations of these names may be found in existing literature. As I do not intend to provide an in-depth characterization of each term, I have chosen to leave them in upper case whenever it does not conflict with the original orthography.

The purpose of the description below is merely to identify what Erling (2004:54) calls the "commonalities among the proposed terms", which in turn might help understand this language that simultaneously holds a national and/or official status, is taught in schools worldwide and is used as a global lingua franca by millions of people.

Global English

According to McArthur (2001) this is a term that first surfaced in the 1990s owing to the popularity of the words, *global*, *globalize*, *globalization* and the like. At the time innovative expressions such as *global village* or *global warming* were the trend and as an analogy the term *Global English* evolved to express the language which accompanies globalization. However, Erling (2004: 63) notes that "[a]lthough the term 'global English' is in common use, the concept is often accepted as a given and no precise definition of the concept is provided". Nonetheless, she is able to provide a summary of its various meanings, one of which states that overall this label "simply refers to the use of the language worldwide and not necessarily a specific form of English" (Erling: 2004: 63).

Toolan (1997) went a step further and chose to eliminate the head noun *English* and use the adjective *Global* as a noun. This resulted in a term which refers "to the English used worldwide by people of any ethnicity in any kind of international setting", for instance, in business meetings, airports, trade fairs or conferences worldwide (Erling, 2005: 42). What is noteworthy in his usage of the term Global is that he regards it as a variety that L1 speakers of English will have to forcefully acquire in order to "accommodate their speech so as to conform to it when they talk to each other, thereby meeting on comparatively neutral linguistic ground" (Toolan, 1997: 7). As Erling (2005: 42) points out, this is a significant attempt to break with the current "bias towards L1 norms in English communication and pedagogy".

World English

This term, used interchangeably with or without a capital *w*, emerged in the 1920s and is, in McArthur's (19992: 1128) words "[a]n increasingly common term for

English as a world language" in all its variety. It is the earliest of the universalizing terms and though it has been the choice for many publishers and authors (e.g. Brutt-Griffler, 2002), McArthur explains that there are others who "use the term cautiously or avoid it, because for them it suggests global dominance by English and English-speaking countries, with an attendant downgrading of other languages" (McArthur, 1992: 1128). Rajagopalan (2012: 383) builds on this definition and argues that World English belongs to the whole world and, therefore, "cannot claim any native speakers". He adds that the expression World English (in the singular) emphasizes the unity of the language. In his opinion, if one should call World English a language, it is because there is no better term for designating it and alternatively suggests that 'linguistic phenomenon' would be the best possible option seeing that it would "reflect (...) the fact that we are still involved in the business of sizing it up or figuring it out" (Rajagopalan, 2012: 383). In the same vein, Brutt-Griffler (2002) argues that World English should not be perceived as a new language, but rather as a phase in the history of the English language in which the vast majority of English speakers belong to bilingual speech communities. As she sees it, other features of World English include the fact that it is economically and commercially dominant, with an undeniable cultural and intellectual influence in the global community, and is used a lingua franca as well as a means of empowerment and resistance.

World Englishes

Another term that has gained popularity is World Englishes (in the plural), which refers to the varieties of English used throughout the world, be they standard, dialect, national, regional, creole, hybrid or 'broken' (McArthur, 2001). This label is closely linked to the journal edited by Kachru and Smith, under the name *World Englishes: Journal of English as an International and Intranational Language*, which aims at documenting and discussing varieties of English, and has been used since the 1980s. These editors justify their choice of the plural form by claiming that

"Englishes" symbolizes the functional and formal variation in the language, and its international acculturation, for example, in

West Africa, in Southern Africa, in East Africa, in South Asia, in Southeast Asia, in the West Indies, in the Philippines, and in the traditional English-using countries: the USA, the UK, Australia, Canada, and New Zealand. The language now belongs to those who use it as their first language, and to those who use it as an additional language, whether in its standard form or in its localized forms.

(Kachru and Smith, 1985: 210)

Bolton (2006: 240) explains that this term "is capable of a range of meanings and interpretations. In the first sense, perhaps, the term functions as an umbrella label referring to a wide range of differing approaches to the description and analysis of English(es) worldwide". Accordingly, the terms discussed above (Global English and World English) would fall under this view, as would the long-established ESL and EFL terms or the more recent new varieties of English, non-native varieties of English or second-language varieties of English.

Another meaning encompassed by this label has a narrower sense for the reason that it refers specifically to "new Englishes" found in the Caribbean, East and West Africa and Asia. Bolton (2006: 240) points out that "[t]ypically studies of this kind focus on the areal characteristics of national or regional Englishes, with an emphasis on the linguistic description of autonomous varieties of Englishes.

Finally, this author reveals that

[i]n a third sense, world Englishes refers to the wide-ranging approach to the study of the English language worldwide particularly associated with Braj B. Kachru and other scholars working in a "world Englishes paradigm." The Kachruvian approach has been characterized by an underlying philosophy that has argued for the importance of inclusivity and *pluricentricity* in approaches to the linguistics of English worldwide, and involves not merely the description of national and regional varieties, but many other related topics as well, including contact linguistics, creative writing, critical linguistics, discourse analysis, corpus linguistics, lexicography, pedagogy, pidgin and creole studies, and the sociology of language.

Bolton (2006: 240) [my emphasis]

While this and the second interpretation of the term seem to overlap (Jenkins, 2006a), this tripartite view implies awareness of the multiple varieties of English in the

world and regards English as belonging to all who use it, no matter how they do so (McArthur, 2001).

World Standard (Spoken) English

This concept has previously been discussed very briefly in section 1.5.2 and is McArthur's (2001: 4) proposal for what he describes as "Standard English as used worldwide". In an early article on this matter, McArthur (1987) suggests the existence of a core variety of World Standard English, which he then contrasts with the wide range of geographical "Englishes" used worldwide (see Figure 1.3). This contrast between a common core of international "English" and geographically distinctive "Englishes" is currently upheld by a number of other scholars, namely Görlach (1990) and Crystal (1997a). Despite criticism regarding a deficiency in the description of this form of English, Crystal (2000: 111) indicates that should "we read the newspapers or listen to newscasters around the English-speaking world, we will quickly develop the impression that there is a World Standard English (WSE), acting as a strong unifying force among the vast range of variation that exists". Drawing on McArthur's label, Crystal (1997a) modifies it by inserting an adjective - "spoken" - which in turn produces his version of an emerging international form of English: World Standard Spoken English (WSSE). In his view, WSSE embodies "the core of English grammar, vocabulary and orthography in widespread use and suggests that its use requires that the speaker consciously avoid words, phrases, grammatical constructions and/or pronunciation which will not be understood in an international context (Erling, 2004: 62). This hypothetical, monolithic form of English, as Jenkins (2006a) describes it, is supposedly developing steadily and, in the future, will prevent communicative breakdowns caused by variation in vocabulary, idiom or grammar. Crystal supports the notion that WSSE would be the response to the unlikely event of Englishes becoming too different to enable successful communication among its speakers; should this setting ultimately become a reality "the consequences for world English would not necessarily be fatal. A likely scenario is that our current ability to use more than one dialect would simply extend to meet the fresh demands of the international situation" (Crystal, 1997a: 136). Thus, he foresees a time when L1 English speakers will become "bidialectal", in the

sense that they will maintain their dialect for use within their own country, but will resort to a rather formal variety of spoken English - WSSE - whenever they find themselves in an international context. In view of the above, it is clear why the ability to use both dialects is then regarded as an indisputable advantage.

As an aside, one might add here the same dual tendencies that can be seen on the Internet, seeing that people "who are 'talking' on the Internet have probably already felt the pull of this new variety" (Crystal, 1997a: 137). Indeed, it is a different type of "speech" but this researcher is not alone in this understanding of a medium which simultaneously presents us with a range of informal identifying personal varieties and a corpus of universally intelligible standard English:

The extraordinary growth and speed of cross-cultural online communication, combined with the emergence of global English varieties, is creating a new dialect of English for the web: let us call it English 2.0, the unofficial language of the internet. Here, the rules of the language are relaxed, grammatical and structural purity have become far less important than flexibility and openness to change, and new loan words are put to immediate and global use. Those who use it can be immediately heard, seen, read and understood by far greater numbers than ever before.

(British Council, 2013a: 6)

That being said, and on the subject of WSSE, Crystal (1997a: 138) reminds us, by way of caution, that "it is too early to be definite about the way this variety will develop" on the grounds that "WSSE is still in its infancy. Indeed, it has hardly yet been born". This, in turn, might explain on the one hand why there is no functional empirical corpus of WSSE or a description of what it factually consists of and, on the other, why this model is found wanting in terms of functioning as a teachable or practicable corpus of English (Erling, 2004). However, Crystal (1997a) believes that US English, rather than UK English, is most likely to have an undeniable influence in the development of WSSE as already many US spellings and grammatical forms are currently evident in contemporary British usage.

2.5 Defining English "as a(n) x"

Let us now turn to the concepts that refer to English as an auxiliary lingua franca in order to understand the underlying features that distinguish them from their counterparts. In recent years it has been pointed out by several authors (Seidlhofer, 2004; Burt, 2005; Erling, 2005) that in addition to the terms discussed in the sections above, it is increasingly common to encounter proposals that label English "as a(n) x": *English an International Language* (e.g. Modiano, 1999a, 1999b; Jenkins, 2000, 2002), *English as a Lingua Franca* (e.g. Gnutzmann, 2000; Seidlhofer, 2001), *English as a Global Language* (e.g. Crystal, 1997a; Gnutzmann, 1999), *English as a World Language* (e.g. Mair, 2003) and *English as a Medium for Intercultural Communication* (e.g. Meierkord, 1996). The reason for this addition is explained by the linguistic community as a means of placing "emphasis on functional uses of the language instead of geographical varieties and recognize that English can be used as a language of communication without necessarily being a language of identification" (Erling, 2005: 40). In other words, the denomination *English* undergoes this modification "wherever it is referred to as the preferred option for communication among people from different first language backgrounds" across linguacultural boundaries (Seidlhofer, 2004: 210). Taking into consideration this clarification, a discussion of the terms below will attempt to shed light on this terminological distinction.

2.5.1 English as an International Language (EIL)

The first point worth considering is that the term *International English* (IE) is at times used as shorthand for EIL seeing that the latter is "more unwieldy" (Seidlhofer, 2004: 210). However, preference for the longer term is justified by claiming it "highlights the international use of English rather than suggesting, wrongly, that there is one clearly distinguishable, unitary variety called 'International English'" which is certainly not the case (Seidlhofer, 2003: 8). As important as this distinction may be, at this stage it would go beyond the scope of this research to elaborate on the significant ways in which IE differs from EIL, but to put it briefly it is a label that "has been used in several different, even contradictory, ways" (Erling, 2004: 58).

As shown in section 1.5, Modiano (1999b) is largely accountable for one of the first descriptions of EIL, "a *lingua franca* that combines the features of English which

are easily understood by a broad cross-section of L1 and L2 speakers" (Erling, 2004: 69, my emphasis). As a lingua franca, EIL is then a language used by native and non-native speakers alike in order to engage in successful communication in international interactions (Guerra, 2009). However, the use of the term EIL is ambiguous seeing that, according to Jenkins (2007), it describes different communicative contexts, namely the English of Inner Circle and/or Outer Circle countries. It is, in sum, used to describe a completely different linguistic and cultural context from what ELF deals with.

More recently Seidlhofer (2011a: 3) maintained that EIL is commonly regarded "as covering uses of English within and across Kachru's 'Circles', for intranational as well as international communication. However, she makes a critical observation concerning the way English has become international. On the one hand it has been "exported" by its native speakers throughout the world as the result of colonial rule, subsequently developing into distinct post-colonial varieties with specific independent identities. This development is what she calls *localized EIL* and naturally refers to what took place in countries enclosed in Kachru's (1985) Outer Circle. On the other hand, English has been increasingly "imported" by speakers worldwide who wish to learn English in addition to their first language(s) for practical purposes, i.e. *globalized EIL*, and can be observed in distinct situations such as the customary conference discussions, business meetings, tourist encounters and so forth. This form of EIL is recognized for its "continuously negotiated, hybrid ways of speaking" and its speakers are "involved in de-territorialized speech events, so that establishing common linguacultural background (...) becomes an intrinsic part of every encounter" (Seidlhofer, 2011a: 4). Furthermore, she argues that Kachru's model fails to capture this aforementioned distinction between localized EIL and globalized EIL as speakers of the latter use it across all three "concentric circles". It is this specific usage of English - a convenient common means of communication among people who share different native languages - that has been on the rise and is used massively around the world. Moreover, Seidlhofer adds that increased mobility along with the significant advances in electronic communication have played a crucial role in globally establishing the English language as the predominant international language, or as she prefers to call it *English as a Lingua Franca*.

2.5.2 English as a Lingua Franca: *primus inter pares*

Considering that the central feature of ELF has been unveiled in the section above, it is of paramount importance, at this stage, that I clarify issues relating to the terminology used in this research. As I have tried to show, a number of terms can be used to describe the new role English has taken up and the literature on ELF has shown (see, e.g., Seidlhofer, 2003; Gnutzmann, 2005) that when the focus is on "English used for cross-cultural communication", these particular labels may be used more or less interchangeably as synonyms to refer to the same concept, although they may regard the global status of English from slightly different perspectives. Be that as it may, I have chosen to use the term ELF not only for ease of reference but also "because of the potential for confusion of the word *international*" which has led ELF researchers to prefer the term *English as a lingua franca* to *English as an international language*" (Jenkins, 2006a: 160). Initially, though, Jenkins was hesitant about fully embracing the term for it remained to be seen whether ELF ultimately caught on (Jenkins, 2000: 11). This insecurity about the future of the term ELF led her to stay with the EIL designation for some time longer. However, currently ELF is the accepted terminology and is being used predominantly in many publications seeing that it holds a number of advantages which are not shared by other terms. Seidlhofer (2004: 212), for instance, argues that ELF is favoured for the reason that "it best signals that (...) nonnative users (...) provide the strongest momentum for the development of the language in its global uses". All things considered, I follow the term adopted by these two scholars, who add that ELF is the preferred term for a somewhat new form of appearance of English since it is different from both ESL and EFL. Jenkins (2007: 4) claims that it is, unlike ESL varieties, "not primarily a local or contact language *within* national groups but *between* them." Additionally, it is, unlike EFL, more of a language of communication among its non-native speakers than between native speakers and non-native speakers.

It is important to stress that despite the lack of consensus⁵ in naming English in a globalizing world, many of the labels discussed above do have features in common.

⁵ To add to the confusion it is important to note that Erling (2005: 43) views this abundance in terminology as adding "unnecessary complications to an already complex discussion". On the other hand, Rajagopalan (2012: 376) has a different view and argues that "the choice of the name matters a

Erling (2004) reveals, for instance, that they no longer view English as the domain of a specific country since it is used increasingly to communicate internationally. More than that, they agree upon the notion of greater flexibility in terms of standards of English for the reason that it is no longer dominated by native speakers. This acknowledgment is essential in shaping "a new ideology for ELT which more accurately reflects the global nature of the language and its diverse use and users" (Erling, 2005: 40) and will rightly serve as a cornerstone for the remainder of this research.

2.6. Defining *lingua franca*: from past to present

Etymologically speaking, House (2003: 557) argues that the original term *lingua franca* is a translation from the 9th century Arabic word *lisan-al-farang*, which referred to "an intermediary language used by native speakers of Arabic with travellers from Western Europe". In time this term came to "describe a language of commerce, a rather stable variety with little room for variation" (*ibid.*). On the other hand, McArthur (1992) explains that the term *lingua franca*⁶ finds its origin in seventeenth-century Italian and literally stands for "Frankish tongue" or "language of the Franks", i.e. Western Europeans who, at the time, ruled most of Europe (Crystal, 1997b). This particular mixed language was based on Italian and Occitan and served its purpose as a bridge language for commercial and military purposes in the Mediterranean in the Middle Ages. This was a special case of contact language, different from the previous uses of *linguae francae* in Asia or Africa (Dakhliya, 2008). Apart from its hybrid nature, the original *lingua franca* is regarded as a fluid language that adapted to the needs and origins of its users:

the *lingua franca* was a sort of corrupted Italian, with loan words from other Romance languages, as well as from the other languages spoken in the Mediterranean, like Arabic, Ottoman Turkish and Greek. Being a very fluid tool, adapted to the contingent needs of the speakers, it varied from one place to

good deal" on the grounds that "every appellation is actually a different *representation* of the phenomenon it seeks to designate (...)". [original emphasis]

⁶ This term is italicized whenever I am referring to its original sense, "Frankish tongue".

the other, Spanish being a stronger influence in the Western version, Italian more evident in Tunisia, and Greek loans more numerous in the Eastern Mediterranean.

(European Commission, 2011: 19)

Dakhliya (2008) argues that the most important feature of the *lingua franca* used in the Mediterranean until the 19th century is what she calls its "non-territoriality". In accordance with House's (2003: 559) terminology, the French historian describes *lingua franca* as a "language for communication" and not a "language for identification" seeing that is a useful instrument for making oneself understood in international encounters, namely with others who do not speak one's own L1. Regardless of the differences discussed above, when it comes to linguistic features all scholars tend to agree on the following aspects:

[...] its oral character, its very simplified structure, the use of the verb in the infinitive, the absence of inflection, the lack of concord between noun and adjective, and the lack of person, gender, number and case for nouns and pronouns. Although lexically quite poor (the use of the *lingua franca* was mainly restricted to specific fields), synonymy was well developed, with the same concept being expressed through words of different origins.

(European Commission, 2011: 19)

However, in a second more generic sense, McArthur (1992: 605) states that a *lingua franca* may, by extension, refer to "a semi-technical term for any additional (often compromise) language adopted by speakers of different languages, as a common medium of communication for any purposes and at any level". He goes on to explain that a *lingua franca* may be either a pidgin or creole or even a fully-fledged language such as the use of Latin during the Roman Empire. Other examples of *linguae francae* throughout time are, most notably, French (the *lingua franca* of diplomacy in the 18th and 19th centuries), Greek, Portuguese, Spanish and Arabic (Crystal, 1997a). Let us not forget that English itself has served as a *lingua franca* at various times in history, in many of the countries that were colonized by the British (e.g. the Outer

Circle countries, such as India and Singapore) from the late sixteenth century onwards (Jenkins, 2014).

As enlightening as these definitions⁷ may be, their meanings are clearly not applicable to the concept of today's English, a globalizing phenomenon of interconnectedness that has spread across countless domains, features functional flexibility and is used by far more non-native English speakers (NNEs) than natives (House, 2003). Note that a lingua franca is somewhat of a functional concept on the grounds that it designates verbal communication between speakers of different languages irrespective of the number of speakers using a particular lingua franca, the range of use or the quality of communication. Consequently, it must not be compared with an international language such as English (Ammon, 1994), in other words, the current use of ELF is fundamentally different due to the extent of its reach. Jenkins (2014: 22) adds that while other *linguae francae* performed their function in "relatively narrow spreads, both geographically and domain-wise" (including the earlier lingua franca uses of English), ELF encompasses interactions from a far greater potential first language pool.

2.7 In what ways is ELF different?

Seidlhofer (2004) emphasizes the importance of distinguishing English use which involves no L1 or L2 speakers of English from that which does and attempts to describe it independently. In defining this kind of English, she chooses the term ELF to distinguish it from other uses of English. Earlier, in an attempt to define ELF from a formal perspective, Firth (1996: 240) portrays it as "a 'contact language' between persons who share neither a common native tongue nor a common (national) culture, and for whom English is the chosen foreign language of communication". By the same token, House (1999: 74) outlines ELF exchanges "as interactions between members of two or more different *linguacultures* in English, for none of whom English is the mother tongue. What is striking about these two views is that both disregard native

⁷ For a more detailed explanation of the term "lingua franca", see Meierkord and Knapp (2002), and Dakhli (2008).

speakers of English, which fundamentally implies that the latter could not be part of lingua franca communication in English. Despite this assumption, and in view of the global spread of English, the original definitions have been expanded and can also include native speakers. Gnutzmann (2009: 534) explains it is consensual that ELF interactions certainly do include speakers from Kachru's Inner and Outer Circles when they engage in intercultural communication, "in particular if the cause and topic of the communication are of a non-native nature and are situated in neither of the communicators' country of origin, i.e. on neutral territory". Thus, and in light of the clarification above, it is believed that these definitions are able to capture the essence of ELF in its purest form (Seidlhofer, 2004; Jenkins, 2006a) although more recently Seidlhofer (2011a: 7) admitted to thinking of ELF "as any use of English among speakers of first languages for whom English is the communicative medium of choice, and often the only option". More importantly, she adds that this conceptualization of ELF is a functional and not a formal one, which, as we shall see, makes all the difference.

2.7.1 Opening up conceptual space for ELF

Once it has been established that ELF communication does not typically involve L1 speakers of English, it is understandable that communication norms may undergo specific changes. Studies by Seidlhofer (2004: 212) have found that numerous interactions in English take place between speakers who do not fully control standard grammar. Furthermore, their lexis and pronunciation do not conform to any recognized norm, all of which she describes as a process of internationalisation and destandardization. In essence, she claims ELF has taken on a life of its own, breaking away, to a considerable degree, from the norms established by its native speakers. As Erling (2004) pertinently points out, compelling research (see, e.g., House, 1999; Jenkins, 2000; Seidlhofer, 2001) has demonstrated that relying exclusively on native speaker norms does not fully ensure successful communication. On that account, the aforementioned scholars uphold "the use of a type of English that is not based on any particular national linguistic standard, i.e. the teaching of ELF instead of English as a native Language (ENL)" (Erling, 2004: 67).

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

However, despite the realization of the global role of English, Seidlhofer (2004: 212) expressed her concern that it had "not so far led to any reconceptualization of this English". Moreover, the scarcity of descriptive ELF data which would enable researchers to determine in what respects ELF differs from ENL resulted in what Seidlhofer (2002) defined as a conceptual gap. She specifies that this space should have been, by now, taken up by ELF, where it would be firmly established in peoples' minds, not in replacement of but alongside the notions of ENL. Therefore, the need for the conceptualization of ELF is important not only because it will bridge this gap but because there is, to an extent, a degree of uncertainty concerning "what to teach, how to define English and how to set pedagogical goals" (Erling 2004: 50).

A chief motive for the existence of this gap has to do with the fact that English is closely and automatically bound with its native speakers. The notion of nativeness is so very deeply ingrained that it affects language theorizing, description and, consequently, teaching. This notion, which can in fact be involuntary, has made the opening up of a conceptual space for ELF extremely difficult. Seidlhofer (2004) explains this by taking up the words of Bamgbose (1998) below. Although he is referring to the *status quo* in the Outer Circle, Seidlhofer argues that the same applies to ELF more generally:

[I]n spite of the consensus on the viability of non-native Englishes, there are issues that still remain unsettled. These include the status of innovations in the nativization process, the continued use of native norms as a point of reference, the ambivalence between recognition and acceptance of non-native norms, the adequacy of pedagogical models, and the overriding need for codification. Underlying these issues is the constant pull between native and nonnative English norms. Innovations

in non-native Englishes are often judged not for what they are or their function within the varieties in which they occur, but rather according to how they stand in relation to the norms of native Englishes

(Bamgbose, 1998: 1)

Rather than acknowledging the plurality of ELF, this nonrecognition has perpetuated a defective view of ELF in which non-native speakers are, correspondingly, regarded as defective communicators. Additionally, any variation in ELF is perceived as deviation from ENL norms and consequently described in terms of errors or fossilization (Seidlhofer, 2004). This specific situation has been described as a period of "conflicting tendencies" (Seidlhofer, 2001: 139) or "an inverse relationship" (Seidlhofer, 2004: 213), in the sense that linguistic description insists on focusing on the core native-speaker countries even though it has had to acknowledge the relevant role of English throughout the world.

To prove her point Seidlhofer (*ibid.*) provides the significant example of the International Corpus of English (ICE), self-described as "the first large-scale effort to study the development of English as a world language". As she interestingly points out, ICE was one of the first corpus-based studies to study more than British and American English since its study includes regional varieties from Australia and New Zealand Nigeria and Singapore, to name a few. Yet the ICE description fails to encompass a description of the use of English by those who use it as a lingua franca, and are in truth the vast majority. Hence, the "world language" ICE proposes to describe is evidently lacking. This linguist goes on to show that another example of this state of conflicting tendencies is found in the literature about teaching. Although there is now a wide range of titles in the fields of EIL or intercultural communication, the "linguistic models as targets for learning" have been overlooked which in turn has led native-speaker models to have remained, for the most part, unquestioned (Seidlhofer, 2011a). In the same vein, Jenkins (2006a) reveals that although extensive research in these areas (particularly linguistic imperialism) has been carried out in recent years, it has failed to lead to significant changes in English teaching and teacher education policy. What has been observed to a degree is that teachers and their educators are now aware of the extent to which English works in native speakers' interests and how non-native

speakers are marginalised. The best that can be said is that some teaching materials have begun to include more non-mother tongue speakers in an effort to reduce what she calls the "native-speakerist" element (Jenkins, 2006a: 169). Overall, however, until very recently it was still quite clear that the situation regarding "the discourse about English teaching has changed, but the actual content of courses has not". (Seidlhofer, 2011a: 13).

This linguist shows how the state of affairs described above is evidently contradictory and oddly paradoxical, especially when it is understood that the two developments are in fact interdependent and reinforce one another:

The more global the use of 'English' becomes, the greater the motivation, and of course the market, for descriptions of it, which, for historical and socio-economic reasons, are largely provided by the 'Centre'. The more such products on offer, the more these are regarded, quite rightly, as promoting the dominance of (L1) English, and thus the more forceful the attempts in (or on behalf of) the 'Periphery' to resist 'linguistic imperialism'.

(Seidlhofer, 2001: 140)

Over a decade ago Seidlhofer (2004) predicted, cautiously no doubt, that the paradoxical relationship could change and that one way of counterbalancing the situation would depend on the availability of descriptions of ELF. In order to accurately do so, there is the need for conceptual clarity and this can be achieved, first off, by distinguishing the notions of ELF and traditional EFL. Although I have touched on the subject of EFL features earlier (see section 2.3), it is imperative at this point that we examine the conceptual differences between EFL in contrast to ELF in more detail.

2.7.2 The ELF and EFL relationship and how they differ

The increasing use of English as a global language, in particular its use as a means of communication among non-native speakers of English, makes it necessary to draw a distinction between *English as a Lingua Franca* and *English as a Foreign Language*. This issue has been the source of much debate over recent decades and there is already abundant literature on the topic. Gnutzmann (1999: 162-163), for

instance, covers this topic in depth and, in short, his findings state that traditional EFL primarily prepares learners to communicate with native speakers of English in English-speaking countries. As a result, EFL builds its foundations on the linguistic and sociocultural norms of native English speakers and, for that reason, on their cultures. Overall, communication in EFL is based on SE, by and large British and American English. Successful communication with native English speakers depends largely on well these learners are able to handle the grammatical rules and lexis of the standard language under study.

The description Gnutzmann provides of ELF is comprehensibly quite distinct to the one discussed above. First and foremost he states that ELF prepares its learners to communicate with non-native speakers of English from all over the world. Additionally, he finds that ELF is neutral to interlocutors' diverse cultural backgrounds and that if the communicative interaction is long enough, they are able to 'negotiate' and establish some sort of common intercultural basis. Finally, unlike EFL, communication in ELF is not based on any specific national linguistic standard. Gnutzmann adds that relying on native or near-native speaker norms per se cannot fully guarantee successful communication. In fact, the use of highly structured linguistic structures and elaborate vocabulary may even prove to be a hindrance to successful interactions, in particular if one of the interlocutors does not share the same linguistic repertoire.

Seidlhofer (2011a: 17) takes on the same issue and suggests a number of distinctions which have been summed up in Table 2.1. Unsurprisingly, this scholar's approach to the debate shares similarities with the distinction put forth by Gnutzmann (1999). In her view of EFL she highlights that English may be conceived of as a foreign language much like French or Spanish. When this is the case, there is particular focus "on where the language comes from, who its native speakers are, and what cultural associations are bound up with it" (Seidlhofer, 2011a: 17). Moreover, when learning and using English as a foreign language, one is encouraged to 'do as the natives do', i.e. to mimic the native English speaker. In doing so, the authority of the native speaker is recognized by the foreign language learner who views the former as a distributor of English. Seidlhofer is by no means judgmental in the 'conceiving' of English in this way and maintains that many times this is the obvious option for learners and users of English seeing they have a clear objective in mind. Among other examples, she points

out that some might have a particular interest in one of the many English-speaking cultures, and therefore aspire to identify with the community that speaks it whereas others may want to study or emigrate to a country where English is a dominant/majority/official language. Should this be the case, then understandably the linguacultural norms of native English speakers may be the relevant model and the EFL learner will strive to abide by these norms so as to fit in as member of this native speaker community.

Table 2.1: Seidlhofer's (2011a: 18) conceptual differences between EFL and ELF

	<i>Foreign Language (EFL)</i>	<i>Lingua Franca (ELF)</i>
<i>Linguacultural norms</i>	pre-existing, reaffirmed	ad hoc, negotiated
<i>Objectives</i>	integration, membership in NS community	intelligibility, communication in NNS or mixed NNS-NS community
<i>Processes</i>	imitation, adoption	accommodation, adaptation

On the other hand, Seidlhofer suggests that the case with ELF is quite distinct in that "[i]t is spreading in various and varied manifestations and adapted to the needs of intercultural communication" (Seidlhofer, 2011a: 17). As an example she provides two of countless possible scenarios that take place around the world on a daily basis: an international business meeting or a European Union (EU) Commission press conference in Brussels. The point she is trying to make is that when a NNS or mixed NNS-NS community wish to interact, they will need to rely on a language shared by all participants in order to achieve the fullest communication possible. In these situations English is, more often than not, the only common language among the interactants and plays its role as an invaluable lingua franca. In millions of events such as the ones described above speakers will display a diverse use of English that may range from a minimal to an expert level of proficiency yet they consider themselves capable of establishing successful communication. This self-awareness, in other words, means that "speakers have decided for themselves that they can meet the requirements of participation in a particular speech event" (Seidlhofer, 2011a: 18). What is distinctive

of ELF interactions (and in striking contrast to EFL) is that interlocutors "negotiate" for that specific speech event (ad hoc) a level of language at which they can communicate adequately. It is as if speakers have settled on short-term norms that respect each others' common linguistic resources so as to efficiently carry out a task, in place of adhering strictly to what a native English speaker would find correct. Seidlhofer and Gnutzmann share analogous views when it comes to following ENL linguacultural norms at any expense, as she points out that doing so may prove to be counter-productive, mainly if there are no ENL speakers present. The purpose of ELF interactions is above all to achieve a communicative goal by means of co-constructing a common linguistic resource and this may involve overlooking particular ENL norms, such as highly idiomatic language, which is prone to causing misunderstandings and ultimately failure in adapting to the ELF situation.

On the whole, the main point Seidlhofer draws from her framework is the need to acknowledge ELF users' crucial contribution to the development of the English language. In her view, by appropriating the language ELF users undertake the role of active contributors and therefore have an unquestionable role and authority.

We turn now to the distinction Jenkins (2006b, 2014) proposes between ELF and EFL and which are listed in Table 2.2. To begin with, this scholar refers to the native speaker normative tendency in second language acquisition (SLA). As stated by Jenkins (2006b) this notion has become so profoundly ingrained within the research community that the conceiving of any form of correctness that does not live up to native speaker norms is something easier said than done. Consequently, the acceptance of ELF is hindered by this suspicion and for that reason she proposes to distinguish it from EFL.

Firstly, she places ELF within the Global Englishes paradigm, "one which recognizes that the majority of the world's English speakers are NNEs and accepts the sociolinguistic implications of this fact, namely that the majority have the right to determine the kind of English they wish to use" (Jenkins, 2014: 26). Hence, ELF is seen from a *difference perspective* in the sense that ELF speakers find some forms of ENL communicatively important and deem others to be less significant (Cogo and Dewy, 2012), and as a result deviations from L1 norms become *differences* rather than *deficits*.

Hence, ELF users are seen as taking on the role of agents in the spread and development of English (Brutt-Griffler, 2002).

Table 2.2: Jenkins' (2014: 26) distinction of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) and English as a Foreign Language (EFL)

<i>ELF</i>	<i>EFL</i>
1 Belongs with Global Englishes	1 Belongs with Foreign Languages
2 Difference perspective	2 Deficit perspective
3 Its metaphors: contact and change	3 Its metaphors: interference and fossilization
4 Code-switching seen as a bilingual resource	4 Code-switching seen as error resulting from gap in knowledge
5 Goal: successful intercultural communication	5 Goal: successful communication with NESs

However, from what is evident in Table 2.2, EFL has been placed under the (Modern) Foreign Languages paradigm, meaning people who learn English as a foreign language are doing so in order to be able to communicate with native English speakers. Furthermore, differences from ENL are noticeably regarded as errors in EFL, i.e. from a *deficit perspective*, so conformity to a NS standard variety is encouraged whereas the use of the L1 is not.

Jenkins (2014: 26) highlights yet another distinction concerning the metaphors that underpin the ELF and EFL paradigms vis-à-vis their approach to difference: whereas ELF is founded on metaphors of language contact and change, EFL has its roots in metaphors of interference and fossilization. This means that bilingual ELF users may resort to code-switching, which in turn is perceived as a practical resource "used primarily to project identity, promote solidarity, and engage in creative acts, rather than to compensate for gaps in knowledge" (Jenkins, 2006b: 140). In the case of EFL speakers, code-switching is disapproved of and typically considered an error - a sign of the aforementioned gaps in knowledge. Consequently, in the case of EFL, native English provides the proverbial yardstick against which NNEs' use is measured, and wherever it differs from native use, it is considered to be deficient.

To conclude, Jenkins points out the distinct goals these two concepts have and which are in line with the views proposed by Gnutzmann and Seidlhofer. On the one hand, ELF is aimed at successful intercultural communication, mainly NNS-NNS interactions, and on the other EFL aspires to successful communication with native English speakers. All things considered, Jenkins (2014: 2) draws on the work of fellow researchers to present a concise distinction between these two terms:

Thus whereas ELF fits in with a view of globalization as neither "fixed nor certain" (Dixon, 2006: 320) producing a "dynamic, hybrid environment (Jackson, 2010: 3), the conventional approach to English (i.e. standard native English, known as English as a Foreign Language, or EFL, when taught to non-native speakers) fits in with a view of globalization as "standardization across cultures" producing "greater levels of sameness" (McCabe, 2001: 140).

(Jenkins, 2014: 2)

What she is trying to emphasise is that ELF is not the same as EFL, nor is it failed ENL. If one should attempt to graphically visualize the place of ELF, then one could say it occupies its own space between ENL and EFL, a 'third space' (Jenkins, 2006b: 155).

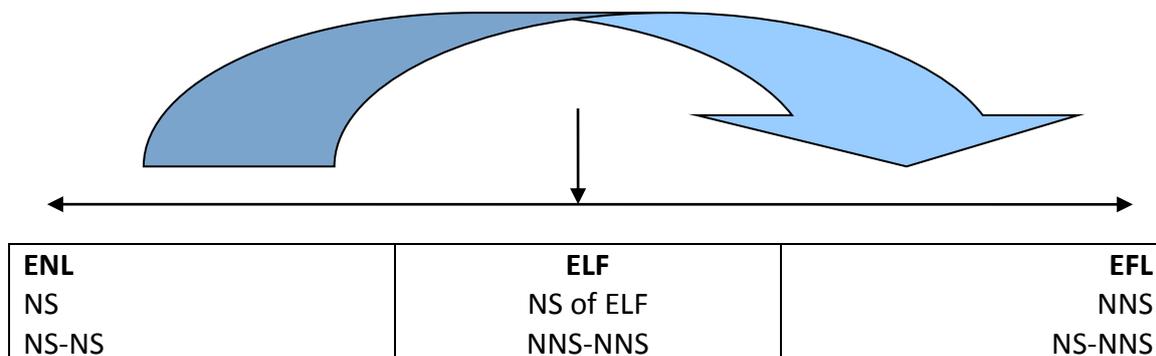


Figure 2.1: Locating ELF in a third space (Jenkins, 2006b: 155)

This visualization is demonstrated in Figure 2.1, where Jenkins (*ibid.*) suggests that "the arrow linking ENL and EFL indicates their interrelationship and the dependence of the latter on the former, while ELF floats freely and independently in the space between". By incorporating ELF in the middle, and interpreting it as occupying a third space, one may then open up the possibility of accepting norms

which differ from those of native speakers rather than simplistically defining all that differs from native speaker English as wrong by default.

In essence, the differences described above arise from one fundamental motive: whereas EFL communication assumes that NNEs learn English in order to use it with NESs, ELF communication, in contrast, assumes that NNEs learn English in order to use it so as to communicate successfully in intercultural communication which may or may not include NESs (Jenkins, 2015).

2.8 Seeing is believing: providing a descriptive basis of ELF

Now that we have already considered the conceptual differences between ELF and EFL, we can return to the issue brought up at the end of section 2.7.1 and which has to do with the need for descriptions of ELF.

As Firth (1996: 240) noted almost two decades ago, ELF "interactions have been overlooked by conversation analysts" and, by the same token, in the late 1990s House (1999:74) found fault in the fact that "studies of intercultural communication in the scientific community have practically ignored ELF interactions". She goes on to explain that

[I]t seems vital to pay more attention to the nature of ELF interactions, and ask whether and how they are different from both interactions between native speakers, and interactions between native speakers and non-native speakers. An answer to this question would bring us closer to finding out whether and in what ways ELF interactions are actually *sui generis*.

(House, 1999: 74)

Considering that the vast majority of verbal exchanges in English do not involve any native speakers of the language at all and that there is still a tendency for these native speakers to be regarded as custodians over what is acceptable usage, the need for the concept of ELF to gain acceptance alongside ENL became a matter of utmost importance. Therefore, those who recognized ELF as a legitimate, and not a "deviant", linguistic code of intercultural communication (Hülmbauer, 2008) sought to carry out

empirical work on the linguistic description of ELF at a number of different levels. One of the first and most prominent scholars to do so was Seidlhofer (2011a), who explains why there is an urgent need for rich, empirically well founded descriptions of how ELF speakers use the language in and on their own terms:

This is how ELF can be made a linguistic reality for academics and educators who are socialized into paying heed to 'linguistic facts': people believe what they see, so they should be enabled to see ELF in action. Detailed accounts of ELF interactions are necessary to counter the pervasive myth that adherence to ENL norms is necessary for effective intercultural communication.

Seidlhofer (2011a: 23)

That is to say, solid and reliable descriptions of salient features of ELF are vital if it is to eventually gain recognition and acceptance and ultimately change the teaching and learning of the language.

In truth, a significant amount of empirical work on various levels of linguistic description has been carried out since the turn of the century. The main empirical research findings to date relate to phonology (Jenkins, 2000; Deterding and Kirkpatrick, 2006), pragmatics (Firth, 1996; House, 1999; Pitzl, 2005) and lexicogrammar (Seidlhofer, 2004; Breiteneder, 2005; Dewey, 2007). While space prevents summarizing the complete findings of this research here, two illustrative examples can be mentioned.

2.8.1 The Lingua Franca Core (LFC)

As phonology is a relatively "closed system" (Seidlhofer, 2003: 15) it is understandable that the first in-depth description of ELF features should be carried out in this specific area, namely by Jenkins (2000), who investigates which phonological features are fundamental for mutual intelligibility in ELF. She suggests that non-L1 Englishes differ most at the phonological level and, therefore, is concerned about preserving mutual intelligibility as English spreads. Her research involved the recording of interactions among non-native speakers of English from a wide variety of first-language backgrounds in order to establish which aspects of pronunciation cause

intelligibility problems when English is spoken as a lingua franca. After establishing these pronunciation features in her empirical studies, Jenkins (2000: 123) proposes a "pedagogical core of phonological intelligibility for speakers of EIL" which she terms her Lingua Franca Core. This core, a set of pronunciation features thought to contribute to ELF intelligibility, is fundamentally a more relevant and more realistic pronunciation syllabus for ELF speakers which stresses difference not deficit vis-à-vis L1 English norms. The core areas thus established are as follows:

- All the consonant sounds with the exception of the dental fricatives /θ/ (e.g. *think*) and /ð/ (e.g. *this*), and of dark 'l' /ɫ/ (e.g. *hotel*), none of which caused any intelligibility problems in the lingua franca data.
- Additional phonetic requirements: aspiration of word-initial voiceless stops /p/, /t/, and /k/, which were otherwise frequently heard as their lenis counterparts /b/, /d/, and /g/; and shortening of vowel sounds before fortis consonants, and the maintenance of length before lenis consonants, e.g. the shorter /æ/ in the word *sat* as contrasted with the phonetically longer /æ/ in the word *sagd*.
- Consonant clusters: no omission of sounds in word-initial clusters, e.g. in *proper* and *strap*; omission of sounds in word-medial and word-final clusters only permissible according to L1 English rules of syllable structure so that, for example, the word *friendship* can become /frenʃɪp/ (*friendship*) but not /frendɪp/ (*friendip*) or /fredʃɪp/ (*friedship*).
- Vowel sounds: maintenance of the contrast between long and short vowels, such as the long and short *i*-sounds (/ɪ/ and /i:/) in the words *pitch* and *peach*; L2 regional vowel qualities otherwise intelligible provided they are used consistently, with the exception of the substitution of the sound /ɜ:/ (as in *bird*) especially with /ɑ:/ (as in *bard*).

- Production and placement of nuclear (tonic) stress, especially when used contrastively (e.g. the stress indicated by capital letters in the following: *He came by TRAIN vs. He CAME by train*).

This is a groundbreaking contribution for the description of ELF since the LFC does not include, for example, a number of sounds so typical of English and for that reason tenaciously taught in L2 or EFL classrooms, such as the voiceless and voiced *th*-sounds. These phonemes are especially difficult to pronounce and, other than those from Spain and Greece, nearly all continental Europeans (the Portuguese included) have a problem in producing them (Jenkins and Seidlhofer, 2001). However, as one can see from the first bullet point above, this research found that the dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ could easily be substituted by other consonant sounds such as /d/ and /t/ or /z/ and /s/ respectively without causing any phonological intelligibility. What Jenkins argues is that divergences from native speaker realization such as these "should be regarded as instances of acceptable L2 sociolinguistic variation" (Seidlhofer, 2003). Jenkins excluded most other areas of pronunciation from the LFC and designated them non-core. These include numerous features on which teachers and learners regularly expend a significant amount of time and effort, "such as the exact quality of vowel sounds, word stress, or the 'typical rhythm of British English', with lots of 'little' words such as articles and prepositions pronounced so weakly as to be hardly audible" (Jenkins and Seidlhofer, 2001: 78). In sum, it is on the core features she has proposed that the teaching of English for international communication should truly concentrate on.

2.8.2 The Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE)

Another research initiative, but this time at the level of lexicogrammar, is the Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English. This project, based at the University of Vienna under Seidlhofer's direction and supported by Oxford University Press, is using computer technology to compile a sizeable and feasible corpus of actual speech employed by non-native users of English in Europe, from which to derive a model. Like

the data referred to so far, what is captured in VOICE is a number of spoken ELF interactions in the form of audio recordings and transcriptions that take place over a variety of settings and functions with different participant roles and relationships. These participants are described as fairly fluent speakers of English whose upbringing and education took place through another language (Seidlhofer, 2004). This research, which now numbers over a million words, was able to produce a set of features or observed regularities that most English teachers would consider "errors" but which Seidlhofer (2004: 220) deems "generally unproblematic and no obstacle to communicative success. These features are summarised as follows:

- 'Dropping' of the third person present tense *-s*;
- 'Confusing' the relative pronouns *who* and *which*;
- 'Omitting' definite and indefinite articles where they are obligatory in ENL, and inserting them where they do not occur in ENL;
- 'Failing' to use correct forms in tag questions (e.g., *isn't it?* or *no?* instead of *shouldn't they?*);
- 'Inserting' redundant prepositions, as in *We have to study about...*;
- 'Overusing' certain verbs of high semantic generality, such as *do, have, make, put, take*;
- 'Replacing' infinitive-constructions with *that*-clauses, as in *I want that*;
- 'Overdoing' explicitness (e.g. *black colour* rather than just *black*);

Although the features listed above do not seem to prevent smooth communication, Seidlhofer has found evidence that being unfamiliar with certain vocabulary items can unsurprisingly lead to problems, especially if speakers possess poor paraphrasing skills. What she does emphasize, though, are cases of unilateral idiomaticity, "where particularly idiomatic speech by one participant can be problematic when the expressions used are not known to the interlocutor(s)"

(Seidlhofer, 2004: 220). Such cases are metaphorical language use, idioms, phrasal verb, and even fixed ENL expressions. The expressions *this drink is on the house* or *can we give you a hand* are prone to misunderstandings if one of the speakers in an ELF interaction are not familiar with their meaning. To paraphrase Cogo and Dewey (2012), this shows that it is evidently not the case with ELF that anything goes; however, Seidlhofer does suggest that the abovementioned observed regularities should be considered ELF uses in their own right rather than automatic errors according to the ENL yardstick. In addition to research relating to phonology and lexicogrammar, general findings at the level of ELF pragmatics to date have shown that establishing mutual understanding takes precedence over desire for conformity to ENL norms. Furthermore, mutual cooperation has been identified as a main feature of this kind of communication and speakers negotiate non-understanding by resorting to a number of accommodation strategies such as repetition, clarification, self repairs, paraphrasing and accommodative dovetailing (Jenkins, 2013: 34). More interestingly perhaps is the fact that research at this level has revealed that on the whole misunderstanding is less likely to occur in ELF communication than in EFL interactions (i.e. NES-NNES). House (2003) acknowledges that no misunderstandings mean no repairs, which is in stark contrast to the NES/NNES interactions. However, should these misunderstandings arise in ELF, then it is common for the interlocutors to solve them discretely so as to not interrupt the flow of the conversation. This is then what Firth and Wagner (1997) describe as the tolerant 'let-it-pass' behaviour of ELF, which in turn lends it its 'robustness' and makes ELF talk conform to standards of normality despite its *seemingly* linguistic lawless nature. Seidlhofer (2010b), in turn, shares her view of what these descriptive findings reveal:

They reveal that the widespread assumption that one cannot communicate effectively without adhering to the norms of native English is a myth. So, even at this relatively early stage of analysis, it is immediately evident that ELF usage cannot be dismissed as defective or deficient English, or as just a few deviant words here and there. On the contrary, corpus findings reveal how its users appropriate and exploit linguistic resources in complex and creative ways to achieve their communicative purposes. Thus they use the language at their disposal to negotiate meaning and personal relationships and so co-

construct mutual understanding and establish the common conceptual and affective ground of a 'third space'. They engage in banter and troubles-telling and language play. The very linguistic 'abnormalities' of ELF talk in reference to ENL norms draw attention to the essentially normal functions they realize as a natural and actually occurring use of language.

(Seidlhofer, 2010b: 157)

Jenkins (2013: 34) sums it up clearly by claiming that "speakers make strenuous efforts to avoid potential communication problems, seem skilled in doing so, and perhaps, for this reason, miscommunication is reported as being relatively rare in ELF".

2.9 Rethinking conventional concepts

The growing body of descriptive ELF research that is now becoming available has also offered fresh perspectives on several theoretical constructs central to ELF, such as 'community', 'variety', 'lingua franca' and even 'language' (Seidlhofer, 2009).

In conceptualising and researching ELF, it has become seemingly evident that there is the need to rethink these concepts and find new definitions for what Jenkins (2013) describes as some of the most taken-for-granted terms. She argues that this requirement is the result of the way we are looking at ELF - an entirely new, communication focused way of approaching a 'language'. A traditional approach to ELF will not be able to fully describe the status of English as a lingua franca so there has been strong opposition to "the way the crucial terms 'community' and 'variety' are, by and large, still used in the same way as they were long before the days of the Internet and mass intercontinental air travel" (Seidlhofer, 2010b: 152). As these two concepts have not yet been discussed in detail, it is no doubt prudent to examine them so as to understand why they are lacking and how their reconceptualization might benefit ELF in its quest for acceptance and recognition as a linguistic reality.

ELF, community and variety

While it has been established that we are currently witnessing a reshaping of the English language as it naturally adapts to the new values and relations in global communication, Seidlhofer (2009; 2011a) notes that these changes should also affect the way we traditionally consider the notion of 'community' or 'speech community', to be more precise. What is generally accepted by academics is that this term developed out of specific conditions and relationships between language and society. However, owing to the dramatic effects of globalisation, it no longer makes sense to regard a 'community' as "a local unit, characterized for its members by common locality and primary interaction" (Hymes, 1962: 30). In other words, a community is commonly understood in a predominantly physical, local sense as a shared territory. Moreover, this physical proximity is generally associated with some degree of social cohesion. Seidlhofer (2009: 238) argues that "at a time of pervasive and widespread communication, the old notion of community, based purely on frequent face-to-face contact among people living in close proximity to each other, clearly does not hold". As a result, ELF researchers have moved away from the notion of bounded speech communities, each with its own discrete language variety. In response to this outdated notion, she proposes, as an alternative, Wenger's notion of 'communities of practice' (CoPs). According to this view, interactions are "characterised by 'mutual engagement' in shared practices, taking part in some jointly negotiated 'enterprise, and making use of members 'shared repertoire'" (Wenger, 1998: 72). Thus, this approach portrays ELF communication as devoid of any *conventional* speech community identity value, in contrast to territorialised Englishes, which seems to make sense "at a time when many of us, and particularly those who are regular users of ELF, tend to spend more time communicating with people via e-mail and perhaps Skype than in direct conversations with participants in the same physical space" (Seidlhofer, 2010b: 153).

The reconceptualization of 'speech community' explained above consequently deems the question as to whether or not ELF constitutes a 'variety' irrelevant. From a sociolinguistic point of view, Seidlhofer (2010b: 152) claims that "what defines a variety is primarily the identification with a particular, fairly stable community" and it is "primary interaction, i.e. frequent face-to-face contact, that brings about the conditions for the development of distinct varieties of a language"; however, in marked contrast to what takes place in local speech communities, ELF users

communicate *across* physical and linguistic boundaries and ELF usage is not tied to interactions among speakers who "share a piece of land" (*ibid.*). It therefore differs radically from the traditional evolution of postcolonial Englishes and may be defined as accordingly: "ELF is not a variety of English but a variable way of using it: English that functions *as* a lingua franca" (Seidlhofer, 2011a: 77, original emphasis).

In light of the clarifications provided above, it is then clear why Seidlhofer (2011a: 81) conceptualises ELF as variable, fluid and creative and, more importantly, why she chooses to describe it functionally, and not formally, "as a means of intercultural communication not tied to particular countries and ethnicities, a linguistic resource that is not contained in, or constrained by, traditional (and notoriously tendentious) ideas of what constitutes 'a language'".

2.10 ELF and the (ir)relevance of nativeness

In the discussion of ELF usage the notion of nativeness has unpreventably been brought into the limelight. Should we, as Jenkins (2013: 38) suggests, choose to view ELF speakers as rightful members of an imagined ELF community and acknowledge their physical role as participants in shared CoPs, then there is no point at all in distinguishing native speakers from non-native speakers. Since ELF is acquired by all of its speakers, there are consequently no native speakers of ELF. Furthermore, ELF is not about how closely a speaker approximates ENL but how skilfully he communicates in intercultural settings. Therefore, the traditional native/non-native dichotomy loses its relevance and has no validity for ELF. Jenkins mentions that although this distinction may continue to serve the purposes of EFL seeing that learners of EFL are not native speakers of the language they are learning, for ELF it is of no value. Scholars justify this claim by stating that when English is used by NNEs as an international lingua franca rather than a traditional foreign language, these speakers 'own' their lingua franca. Hence, it makes no sense to regard them as 'non-native' speakers of it. Seidlhofer (2012: 397) argues that ELF

is not the same place as a native language but, as has often been pointed out, a third place, or even a Third Space. And a lingua

franca has no native speakers by definition, but all its speakers have to learn how to use it.

(Seidlhofer, 2012: 397)

What is being argued here is that since the contexts and purposes of the use of English, as well as the numbers and kinds of its users, have changed so dramatically over recent decades, then it is inevitable that the terms *native speaker* and *non-native speaker* are bound to change too (Seidlhofer, 2011a). Even though not many alternatives have been put forward so far, it is worth considering Rampton's (1990) suggestion, which innovatively proposes the use of the terms *expert/expertise*. These labels are meant to describe all accomplished users of English and offer a number of advantages over the terms *native/nativeness* as Jenkins (2015) points out:

1. Although they often do, experts do not have to feel close to what they know a lot about. Expertise is different from identification.
 2. Expertise is learned, not fixed or innate.
 3. Expertise is relative. One person's expert is another person's fool.
 4. Expertise is partial. People can be expert in several fields, but they are never omniscient.
 5. To achieve expertise, one goes through processes of certification, in which one is judged by other people. Their standards of assessment can be reviewed and disputed. There is also a healthy tradition of challenging experts.
- (Jenkins, 2015: 98)

In line with this reasoning, House (2003: 573) argues that "the yardstick for measuring ELF speakers' performance should (...) rather be an 'expert in ELF use'" seeing that ELF is a hybrid language, derived from heterogeneous sources. Jenkins notes that Rampton's proposal is not flawless because the description of fluent speakers of English as 'experts' will necessarily imply the use of the term 'non-expert' for less fluent speakers. This, in turn, may impose "something of the value judgment of the term 'non-native'", a perception ELF advocates would rather avoid (Jenkins, 2015: 98). Therefore, another noteworthy proposal was later put forth by this researcher (Jenkins, 2000) who prefers to reconceptualise the issue by suggesting the alternatives of Monolingual English speaker (MES), Bilingual English Speaker (BES), and Non-

Bilingual English Speaker (NBES). MES refers to speakers of English who speak no other language whereas BES describes proficient speakers of English and at least one other language, regardless of the order in which they learned the languages. Finally, an NBES is a speaker who is not bilingual in English but is nevertheless able to speak it at a level of reasonable competence. Although Jenkins (2013: 39) now admits "that these categories are too tight and do not in themselves incorporate the crucial element of intercultural communication skills", she still argues that they are all the same an improvement on the old dichotomy for the reason that they offer two main advantages:

1. MES as an epithet is considerably less favourable than BES given that it signals the greater linguistic competence of the BES and the lesser of the MES. Thus, this system of labelling reflects the fact that monolingualism is not the preferable condition - and neither is it the world norm.
2. BES removes the artificial distinction - in an international context - between speakers of L1 and L2 varieties of English. This should, in turn, eventually lead to the end of discrimination against teachers of English on the grounds that they are not 'native speakers' of English.

(Jenkins, 2015: 98)

In addition to the weakness pointed out above, Jenkins notes this proposal has other limitations. In her view, there is the pertinent question of what counts as bilingual competence and where to draw a line between a BES and a NBES. Consequently, and due to the arbitrary nature of the distinction, Jenkins decides that it would be better to abandon the NBES category altogether.

In the same way, Seidlhofer (2011a: 5) considers the terms 'native speaker' and non-native speaker' in need of attention, much like other terms we have discussed above, owing to the connotations - "the considerable ideological baggage" - they have come to gather over time. Although she regards these designations as provisional and conceptually problematic, Seidlhofer, in contrast to Rampton (1990) or Jenkins (2000), claims not to adopt alternative labels at this point. In her opinion, not only does this decision avoid further confusion in the mixture of terminology but it also simplifies her own reasoning; thus, she takes the terms to mean very simply what they denote rather

than what they may come to connote for others: "a native-speaker of English is somebody whose L1 is English, and a non-native speaker of English is somebody who has an L1, or L1s, other than English" (Seidlhofer, 2011a: 6). In a rather optimistic observation, she brings this problematic to a close and claims it is a non-issue seeing that "the problem will actually resolve itself in that new and appropriate words will emerge" (*ibid.*).

2.11 Criticism and misconceptions of ELF

In light of the innovative ELF research paradigm and the pioneering views it upholds, it comes as no surprise that a fair amount of criticism has arisen among scholars who share different perspectives. Phillipson (2007, 2008), for instance, questions the apparent neutrality of the term *lingua franca*:

I would claim that *lingua franca* is a pernicious, invidious term if the language in question is a first language for some people but for others a foreign language, such communication typically being asymmetrical. I would claim that it is a misleading term if the language is supposed to be neutral and disconnected from culture.

(Phillipson, 2008: 262)

He argues that English may be seen as a *lingua franca* owing to the fact that it is used for a vast range of intercultural communication, detached from traditional British and US contexts. Nonetheless, he notes that we should not be misled into believing that "English is disconnected from the many 'special purposes' it serves in key societal domains" (Phillipson, 2007: 130). The inaccuracy of the term might be improved, in his opinion, if it were described not as a *lingua franca* but as a *lingua economica* (in business and advertising contexts), a *lingua cultura* (in the context of entertainment), a *lingua academica* (in academic settings), and so forth.

Prodromou (2007: 48), on the other hand, claims that "the arguments put forward in favour of a separate norm-generating international variety of English along the lines of indigenized varieties of English, are based on a number of fallacies". He

criticises the dismissive attitude towards the 'native-speaker' in relation to ELF as well as the critical position regarding Standard English.

MacKenzie (2009) is another scholar who voices criticism concerning ELF as he does not agree with the endonormative approach to ELF, which considers ELF as norm-developing instead of norm-dependent. He also accuses Jenkins of contradictory comments considering she refers to English used internationally as a hypothetical, monolithic form of English (see section 2.4) but then denies it is such a thing (see below).

In addition to these critical views, Rubdy and Saraceni (2006) criticise the LFC and VOICE findings and question if what Jenkins and Seidlhofer might be doing is replacing one prescriptive norm (Standard English) with another (ELF).

In view of the unenthusiastic reactions to ELF research, Seidlhofer (2006), Jenkins (2005, 2007,) and Dewey and Jenkins (2010) address this criticism by regarding it in the form of what they call misconceptions. Seidlhofer outlines and eloquently responds to five main misconceptions about ELF research in thorough detail, and is later assisted by Jenkins in the same undertaking. The first misunderstanding is that ELF research ignores the polymorphous nature of the English language worldwide. This theory is refuted by Seidlhofer who argues that by no means do ELF researchers ignore the diversity of English varieties. In fact, they contribute to it, such as in the form of ELF corpora collections (e.g. VOICE). However, this diversity described by ELF researcher often goes unnoticed since the varieties of the Expanding Circle are not accepted as having their own validity. If ELF research can show that Expanding Circle speakers are using English successfully but in their own way, then it will undoubtedly contribute to the acknowledgment of the polymorphous nature of English around the world.

A second misconception is that ELF work denies tolerance for diversity and appropriacy of use in specific sociolinguistic contexts. Seidlhofer argues that this could not be further from the truth for the reason that the work carried out on the phonology of EIL (LFC) has helped to enhance diversity and not deny it. As an example she explains that core features have indeed to be adapted; however, the non-core areas are free for regional and also non-native variation and this in turn allows speakers to maintain their identity while simultaneously ensuring mutual intelligibility.

A third and important misconception these authors would like to discuss is one conveying the idea that ELF description aims at the accurate application of a set of prescribed rules. Although Seidlhofer admits the importance of and the need for prescription when teaching, she also argues that no indications of any type have been put forward by ELF researchers concerning what should or should not be taught to learners as ELF is descriptive by nature. The empirical findings collected to this point that have determined what can be crucial or counterproductive for international intelligibility are not meant to constitute a norm but rather an alternative possibility to the prescriptive and very often native speaker based rules. Therefore, and at this stage at least, ELF research is purely descriptive, and does not prescribe a separate variety.

The fourth misconception to be discussed is that ELF researchers are suggesting that there should be one monolithic variety. Jenkins (2005) sides with Seidlhofer and strongly objects to this perception, claiming it is absolutely untrue that ELF researchers are anti-diversity and wish to see a single version of English in worldwide use for international communication. Seidlhofer explains that there is not a single variety called ELF and that there is plenty evidence of local variation, such as, for instance, in the LFC acceptance of Expanding Circle accents. Hence, and above all, ELF research is in principle against any approach promoting any form of single English for the world.

Finally, a fifth misunderstanding addressed by these two scholars is that ELF researchers suggest ELF should be taught to all L2 non-native speakers. In response to this misinterpretation, Seidlhofer indicates that it that it would be unreasonable to suggest teaching ELF to all learners of English for "it is up to learners and users of English to decide which kind of English they need and want" (Seidlhofer, 2006: 48). Jenkins adds that ELF is only being proposed wherever the target interaction community is an international i.e. NNS community, which will be the most likely scenario for the great majority of learners in our century. In other words, there "is no intention among ELF researchers to patronize learners by telling them that they do not need to learn native-like English" (Jenkins, 2007: 21). This refutation ends with a suggestion for further awareness of the global roles of English by all English users in Kachru's Circles alike, and a reminder that everyone needs to be prepared to make an effort in order to achieve successful global communication.

The reactions to ELF research forced Jenkins and Seidlhofer to question their own work and the former eventually admits to some shortcomings. She acknowledges that "as far as insecurity about ELF is concerned, its researchers may to some extent be part of the 'problem' in that they have taken some of these issues for granted, explained too little" (Jenkins, 2007: 249). Therefore, initial criticism, which was originally regarded as a number of misconceptions, eventually led to a broadening of the debate on ELF's main arguments. Consequently new studies by other researchers have been taken up as well as their suggestions for an alternative approach to the conceptualization of ELF in a broader perspective. Currently it is increasingly being accepted in its entire complexity and there is an effort to adopt structured methods in dealing with it. Moreover, researchers are trying less to see ELF as a definable entity (let alone an emerging variety), but rather as a feature of today's complex and globalised world which is undermining long-established theoretical frameworks and concepts (Jenkins *et al*, 2011; Mortensen 2013).

2.12 Growth of interest in ELF research

Taking into account the abovementioned focus shift that current ELF research is taking, the two examples of ELF descriptions illustrated earlier (LFC and VOICE), as well as the re-thinking of conventional notions such as 'community', 'variety', 'native-speaker' and 'non-native-speaker', it is then clear that this field of study has undergone dramatic developments, particularly in the last decade. Apart from the VOICE corpus, further interest in ELF corpora led Mauranen (2003a) to set up the corpus of English as Lingua Franca in Academic Settings⁸ (ELFA), which is based in Tampere and Helsinki, and similarly now numbers over a million words. Subsequently, Kirkpatrick (2010b) set up his Asian Corpus of English as a Lingua Franca (ACE) in Hong Kong. What is interesting to note is how widespread these initiatives have become - much like the

⁸ Jenkins (2013: 8) explains that whereas ELF refers to how the majority of English speakers use this language in their daily lives, ELFA is all about how people use English in their academic lives. Mauranen (2003a: 514) adds that the ELFA corpus aims to describe and legitimize a sub-variety of ELF where the aim is efficient and adequate communication by speakers who "manage important parts of their lives using ELF fluently [and] are not construed as learners as if they were on the way toward the (unattainable) goal of nativeness".

establishment of the ELF conference series that have been held annually since 2008. These events have taken place in different venues around Europe and Asia and are naturally dedicated to the most up-to-date ELF research. Much of this research is the outcome of a growing number of PHD theses, yet another indication that this theme is flourishing. Other signs that confirm this tendency have been the launch of the *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca* and the *Developments in English as a Lingua Franca* book series, both of which published by De Gruyter Mouton, as well as a vast number of publications on ELF. More recently, the English as a Lingua Franca Research Network (ELF ReN) was set up so as to serve as forum for debate, discussion and more extensive collaboration among researchers and applied linguists who are actively involved in ELF research. According to the ELF ReN, its members currently include participants from more than 20 countries who have various areas of expertise within ELF research. They include scholars at different stages of their careers, ranging from PhD students to very experienced academics, all of whom are expected to help advance ELF research and applied linguistics by bringing in their different disciplinary and cultural perspectives (ELF ReN).

All of these efforts illustrated above have enabled researchers worldwide to carry out important work into the exploration of the ELF phenomenon at all linguistic levels, in a wide range of domains and in different geographical regions (Jenkins, 2015).

Alternatively, should we shift from an international to a national perspective, it is evident that ELF research is, in the same way, coming to be an increasingly discussed and interesting topic in Portugal and to date a significant amount of work has been carried out by Portuguese researchers. One of the earliest attempts to explore the international role of English in Portugal was conducted by Guerra (2009), who focuses on identifying and analyzing the theory and practice of ELT in Portugal as far as EIL issues are concerned. In the same vein, Gonçalves (2008) claims that despite an ongoing change caused by the growing number of non-native English speakers, a native speaker bias is still operative in the 'gate keeping' role, and consequently argues for an ELF approach to teaching rather than the conventional EFL practices. For some time now, Azuaga and Cavalheiro (2011, 2012a, 2012b, 2015) have explored issues concerned with ELT policies and the need for ELF in teacher training courses in Portugal. More recently, Cavalheiro (2015) expanded on this topic with a study that

analysed pre-service teacher programs in Portugal and additionally involved interviews to trainee teachers. Her study ultimately suggests that an ELF-aware transformative framework be applied in teaching programs. In addition to these examples, there are also a fast growing number of Master's dissertations and PhD theses focused on ELF research, all of which hoping to cast light on this issue as well as reflect the Portuguese status quo⁹.

2.13 Summary

This second chapter is an attempt to capture the current state of discussion about ELF research and the developments towards a new ELF paradigm. Here I demonstrate that it is still a controversial issue that has forced scholars to question traditional labels that we have all taken for granted.

To begin with, this chapter shows that the relevance of SE as a teaching model ELT has been questioned in the recent past and although there is no consensual definition for SE, it has been central in the teaching of EFL. However, the development of English as a global language and the recognition of the plurality of English led ELT specialists to acknowledge that a new term was needed, one that could aptly illustrate the use of English in its contemporary context. Here it will be demonstrated that there are a plethora of terms to describe the contemporary international use of English. Whereas some scholars argue for a specific label, others consider this discussion brings unnecessary complications to an already controversial matter. Despite the controversies, the term English as a Lingua Franca has gained considerable critical acclaim and it is, therefore, the ELF paradigm that forms the basis of this study.

After considering the term lingua franca in detail, this chapter then establishes a definition of ELF that is upheld by its advocates. These researchers argue that in order for the concept of ELF to gain acceptance it is then crucial to determine the salient features of ELF alongside ENL. As a result, there is a growing interest in the nature of ELF, and how people are using it successfully. More importantly, as I have shown, the academic community is eager to understand what implications this brings

⁹ See Cavalheiro (2015: 3-4) for a more detailed list of Portuguese research into ELF.

about for the teaching and learning of the language. Therefore I have provided a detailed analysis of the conceptual differences between EFL and ELF, which show that ELF is aimed at successful intercultural communication, largely NNS-NNS interactions, whereas EFL aspires to successful communication with NESs.

The next section of this chapter explains that the scarcity of descriptive ELF data which would enable researchers to determine in what respects ELF differs from ENL resulted in a conceptual gap. The conceptualization of ELF will enable the bridging of this gap, and shed light on the uncertainty in ELT, as there is still concern over what to teach, how to define English and how to set pedagogical goals. An outline is provided of the most important empirical research on the linguistic description of ELF at a number of levels. This work involves projects in diverse fields of linguistics, such as lexicogrammar, phonology, pragmatics, as well as the compilation and analysis of ELF corpora. Findings reveal there may be commonly used features of English which are ungrammatical in Standard L1 English but generally unproblematic in ELF communication. What is argued is that these results may force us to reconsider language teaching and language policies, seeing that learners who intend to use English mainly in international settings would benefit significantly from acquiring more general language awareness and communication strategies rather than attempting to master the native-speaker model, which in most cases cannot be achieved in the classroom alone.

After discussing the variants that are 'crucial' and 'non-crucial' for mutual intelligibility, this chapter explores the reconceptualization of central linguistic concepts such as community and variety. It is established that increased mobility, migration and integration, combined with rapid growth in the use and capabilities of electronic communication, (mobile phones, e-mail, chatrooms, websites, Skype, social media) have led to radical changes in English language use and practices. The concept of nativeness is also discussed seeing it is regarded, in terms of ELF research, as traditional or anachronistic.

This chapter also reveals that while the ELF research paradigm is firmly established in the academic community, it has ignited a fair amount of criticism. The reactions to these contributions are provided as well as the measures adopted to promote further ELF development.

Finally, in the last section I focus on growth of interest in ELF research around the world and give particular attention to what has been done in Portugal seeing that it is the context in which I have carried out my case study, a topic to be discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

Chapter 3

English Language Teaching across the European Union

The new Europe, under the banner of 'unity through diversity', requires an internationally orientated lingua franca which has the potential to support the acquisition of cross cultural communicative competence, act as a counterweight to Anglo-Americanization and operate as a carrier of a common European culture.

(Modiano, 2009: 75)

3.1 Introduction

While the first two chapters provide a theoretical background to the notions of the spread of English and the emergence of ELF, this third chapter narrows the scope of this research by situating the discussion in a context where English is assigned unique positions (Berns, 1995). Firstly, the tension between a plurilingual Europe and the spread of English as a global language are described, followed by an in-depth analysis of how English is being used and taught in Europe and especially in Portuguese schools.

To begin with, this chapter focuses on the linguistic diversity that markedly characterises the European setting and how English has managed to remain afloat by serving its users in very distinct ways despite the promotion of multilingualism in the European Union (EU). The notion that ELF may rightfully be the lingua franca of the EU is a major concern to which attention is dedicated in the following section and subsequently an outline of present ELT in Europe is provided. After considering the situation in Primary, Secondary and Tertiary Education, the issue of English language proficiency is addressed based on studies conducted worldwide by means of standardized measurement of adult proficiency. The final section draws attention to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR); its international

recognition is highlighted as are its limitations, which researchers have exposed in light of the current status of English as the world's lingua franca.

3.2 Linguistic diversity in Europe

A general understanding of European linguistic diversity is without a doubt a prerequisite of any study on the international role of English. To begin with, this diversity has its roots in the vast number of countries that are part of this continent. Historically, Europeans have been living in a multilingual setting for at least 2.5 millennia (Green, 1998), and the Council of Europe official website states that there are currently 50 internationally recognized sovereign states with territory located within the common definition of Europe (although transcontinental countries such as Russia and Turkey are included on this list). It is not surprising then that we find fifty distinct languages recognized across (Western) Europe, 33 as official state languages and 17 as officially recognized regional languages (Berns *et al.*, 2007). *Ethnologue*¹⁰, however, acknowledges the existence of 286 living languages across the whole European continent, home to over 735 million people. The complexity and dynamics of such linguistic diversity in Europe have also been intensified due to increasing patterns of immigration. Berns *et al.* point out that the existence of open borders, the rise in mobility for professional and academic purposes, as well as recent changes brought about by political and economic developments in Central and Eastern Europe have introduced new languages into an already diverse linguistic setting. For the purpose of this study, however, I will be restricting my research to the countries that comprise the EU as well as its language policy. Nonetheless, while this chapter attempts to address issues that are relevant for the EU, what is said will be true for the most part of the whole of Europe.

¹⁰ According to information available on the website, *Ethnologue: Languages of the World* claims to be a comprehensive reference work cataloguing all of the world's known living languages. Established in 1951, it states that it has been "an active research project involving hundreds of linguists and other researchers around the world and is widely regarded to be the most comprehensive source of information of its kind" (Ethnologue).

3.3 The use of English in the EU

Since its foundation with six countries in 1952, the EU has continuously expanded and changed its name several times. At the time of writing (2015), there are 28 EU Member States (see Table 3.1) and six EU candidate countries: Albania, Iceland, Montenegro, Serbia, Turkey and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. Alongside these countries there are still Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo, two EU potential candidate countries. Table 3.1 below lists the full EU member states as well as their entry dates.

What this means is that, in line with declared policies of the EU, there are currently 24 official and working languages within the union (Table 3.2), which is now estimated to have over 500 million citizens.

Table 3.1: EU member states and EU entry dates

Austria (1995)	Germany (1952)	Poland (2004)
Belgium (1952)	Greece (1981)	Portugal (1986)
Bulgaria (2007)	Hungary (2004)	Romania (2007)
Croatia (2013)	Ireland (1973)	Slovakia (2004)
Cyprus (2004)	Italy (1952)	Slovenia (2004)
Czech Republic (2004)	Latvia (2004)	Spain (1986)
Denmark (1973)	Lithuania (2004)	Sweden (1995)
Estonia (2004)	Luxembourg (1952)	United Kingdom (1973)
Finland (1995)	Malta (2004)	
France (1952)	Netherlands (1952)	

Besides this multitude of languages, some of them with worldwide coverage, there are three different alphabets¹¹ and, according to the European Commission, approximately 60 other languages which are also part of the EU's heritage and are

¹¹ On the topic of writing systems, currently most official EU languages are written in the Latin script. There are two exceptions, however. The first is the Greek language, which is written with the Greek script and secondly we have Bulgarian, which is written in Cyrillic script. With the accession of Bulgaria to the European Union on 1 January 2007, Cyrillic became the third official script of the European Union, following the Latin and Greek scripts.

spoken in specific regions or by specific groups. It is estimated that at least 175 nationalities are now present within the EU borders so it is crucial to take into account the wide range of languages that immigrants have brought with them into this politico-economical organisation, making it increasingly more diverse.

Table 3.2: The estimated number of speakers of each of the 24 official and working languages of the EU (after Wilton and De Houwer, 2011)¹²

Official EU language	EU country/countries where the official EU language is a national or official language	Estimated number of speakers in millions
Maltese	Malta	0.3
Irish	Ireland	0.5
Estonian	Estonia	1.3
Slovenian	Slovenia	2.0
Latvian	Latvia	2.3
Lithuanian	Lithuania	3.3
Croatian	Croatia	4.2
Finnish	Finland	5.0
Slovak	Slovakia	5.4
Danish	Denmark	5.5
Bulgarian	Bulgaria	7.6
Swedish	Sweden, Finland	9.5
Hungarian	Hungary	10.0
Czech	Czech Republic	10.5
Portuguese	Portugal	10.6
Greek	Greece, Cyprus	12.0
Romanian	Romania	21.5
Dutch	the Netherlands, Belgium	22.9
Polish	Poland	38.1
Spanish	Spain	45.8
Italian	Italy	60.0
English	United Kingdom, Ireland, Malta	65.8
French	France, Luxemburg, Belgium	68.7
German	Germany, Austria, Luxemburg, Belgium	90.6

Phillipson (2007) points out that Article 22 of *The Charter of Fundamental Rights of the EU*, which forms part of the constitutional treaty endorsed in 2004, and represents principles that all member states are committed to, states that "[t]he Union

¹² The information compiled in Wilton and De Houwer's table did not originally include data relating to Croatia seeing it was published in 2011, before Croatia joined the EU. Therefore, the missing data was obtained from the European Commission website.

shall respect cultural, religious and linguistic diversity" (European Commission, 2010). Linguistic diversity is likewise enshrined in Article 3 of the *Treaty on European Union*: "It shall respect its rich cultural and linguistic diversity, and shall ensure that Europe's cultural heritage is safeguarded and enhanced" (European Commission, 2008). In similar vein, the information on the official European Commission website reveals its strategic framework:

The European Union's aspiration to be united in diversity underpins the whole European project. The harmonious co-existence of many languages in Europe embodies this. Languages can build bridges between people, giving us access to other countries and cultures, and enabling us to understand each other better.

Foreign language skills play an increasingly important [*sic*] in making young people more employable and equipping them for working abroad. They are also a factor in competitiveness; poor language skills cause many companies to lose contracts and hamper workers who might want to seek employment in countries other than their own.

(European Commission)

Thus, it is clear that the EU is committed to promoting language learning and linguistic diversity across Europe so as to improve its citizens' basic language skills. By emphasising this multilingualism strategy, the EU recognises the importance of linguistic diversity as a compelling force in support of the European economy. Although it has limited influence because educational and language policies are the responsibility of individual Member States, the EU is committed to safeguarding this linguistic diversity and promoting knowledge of languages so as to meet an ambitious long-term objective: to enable citizens to communicate in two languages in addition to his or her mother tongue. A recent survey requested by this commission with the purpose of examining the current level of multilingualism in the EU determined that in accordance with the EU population, the most widely spoken mother tongue is German (16%), followed by Italian and English (13% each), French (12%), then Spanish and Polish (8% each). Additionally, for the majority of Europeans their mother tongue is one of the official languages of the country in which they reside. Meanwhile, the five most widely spoken foreign languages in the EU are English (38%), French (12%), German (11%), Spanish (7%) and Russian (5%). In fact, English is the most widely

spoken foreign language in 19 of the 25 Member States where it is not an official language (i.e. excluding the UK and Ireland) (European Commission, 2012a: 5).

However, the same 2012 European Commission survey uncovered evidence which conflicts with the multilingualism strategy: whilst just over half of all Europeans are able to speak at least one other language, there are no signs that multilingualism is on the increase. In fact, there has even been a small increase in the proportion of Europeans saying they cannot speak any languages in addition to their mother tongue.

As if predicting this outcome, Phillipson (2007: 127), one of the most fervent critics in Europe of English as a global and European lingua franca, described the fundamentally paradoxical situation in the EU by noting that despite the rhetoric proclaiming "support for multilingualism and cultural and linguistic diversity in official texts, and the equality of all official and working languages in the EU", the English language is expanding and is increasingly the dominant language both in EU affairs and in many societal domains in continental European countries. As Ammon (2006: 321) points out "the idea is widespread that all of these languages are equal in status on the EU level, but they never have been in reality".

It was noted that "a time-consuming, expensive and increasingly intractable translation machinery" (House, 2001: 1) was being maintained by the language policy of the EU so it was with no surprise that the European Commission (2015) stated that in order to trim down costs to European taxpayers, it is now "increasingly endeavouring to operate in the three core languages of the European Union – English, French and German – while developing responsive language policies to serve the remaining 21 official language groups". According to Ammon (2006) these three languages have come to be referred to, informally, as the *EU working languages*, which implies that the remaining majority of the official EU languages are to be classified as *merely official languages*. Nonetheless, he explains, there was no doubt about the growing predominance of a single language, English, inside and outside the EU institutions. In light of this, it is the outside context of these institutions I would like to focus on at this time.

The truth is that English has been on the rise for some time now and years before this awareness was fully comprehended, Graddol (2001b: 47), in an oft-cited quote, had already claimed that "[n]o world region has been more affected by the rise

of English than Europe". Nowadays the unique role of English in Europe has been fully accepted and it is consensually regarded as "the de facto 'extraterritorial' lingua franca throughout Europe" (Seidlhofer, 2010a). This particular situation has been succinctly summed up by Breiteneder (2005) who explains that

[i]n terms of the speed of its spread, the number of its speakers as well as the range of functions that English fulfills in the multilingual setting of Europe, its place is indeed unique in history. In present-day Europe, English is employed by a continually rising number of speakers and no longer restricted to an educational elite but the language of bus drivers and intellectuals alike (cf. Preisler 1999: 241). English is assigned an increasing number of uses and functions and has become an indispensable *modus operandi* throughout Europe in a large number of domains such as politics, science, education, information technology, economics and culture. English in Europe is also exceptional in that so-called non-native speakers greatly outnumber native speakers (House 2002: 246). Additionally, when Europeans use English they do so in the majority of cases entirely among non-native speakers (Beneke 1991: 54), often in settings far removed from native speakers' linguacultural norms. It follows then that if one speaks of English in Europe, what one is predominately referring to is English as a lingua franca (ELF), i.e. English as "an additionally acquired language system that serves as a means of communication between speakers of different first languages" (Seidlhofer 2001b: 146).

(Breiteneder, 2005: 3)

It is important to note, however, that Europe is a very heterogeneous area concerning the use and knowledge of the English language, and there are significant differences in the knowledge of English among EU citizens. Gorläch (2002), for instance, points out an example that compares the English of Albanians and Norwegians, and reveals that there is a great discrepancy between them not only in terms of number of speakers, but also in terms of the range, expressiveness, fluency as well as correctness of the English produced. Consequently there is a wide range of speech communities (i.e. *communities of practice*) in Europe where knowledge of English is essential for citizens of the member states to move freely across the union in order to live, work or acquire training outside their homeland, which in turn makes the EU a unique sociolinguistic situation (Fenyö, 2003).

According to Berns (1995), this distinctive state of affairs can be characterised by three key features. Firstly, it is fundamental to point out that the multiple roles English plays for a number of citizens living in the EU. In this specific region English can be a mother tongue, a foreign language or an international language. As expected, it functions as a mother tongue and a second language for citizens of Great Britain and Ireland. However, in other EU countries it is regarded as a foreign language or ultimately an international language although there are countries which regard it as a primary language. Such is the case in the Netherlands, Germany or Luxembourg, but in Portugal, which is my main concern, English still functions as a foreign or international language.

Another feature of English in Europe is what Berns (1995) describes as nativization or 'Europeanization', meaning that innovations are being introduced in the language by European users on the basis of their mother tongue simultaneously de-Americanizing and de-Anglicizing English. Berns identified the linguistic processes involved in this nativization of English and points out lexical borrowings and discursial nativization (the process through which common expressions of European languages make their way into English) as the most common.

A third and final feature she points to is the similar contexts and patterns in which Europeans acquire and are exposed to English. Whereas the acquisition of English (as a mother tongue) takes place in natural circumstances in Great Britain and Ireland, Berns indicates that in other EU countries (i.e. continental Europe) English is studied both in and outside the classroom. Not only is English present in education at all levels but it is also possible for union members to have contact with English outside the formal classroom environment. In most of mainland Europe learners are exposed to the English language by means of the media, which are well established and available in all forms - to a greater or lesser extent - to most Europeans in such domains as television, film, music, advertising, popular youth culture and entertainment, and obviously the Internet. Additionally, there are emergent opportunities for interaction with native as well as non-native speakers of English.

These opportunities are not simply restricted to interactions between EU officials seeing that anyone involved in diverse areas of life, such as business, trade or tourism, might feel the need to rely on English to communicate. Hence, unlike previous

lingua francae, English is used by people from all social classes with varying levels of education (Berns 1995: 6).

In addition to the different functions and uses of English described above, she argues that this language is also used for intra-European communication, in other words, situations in which "users of English are neither native speakers living in Great Britain nor the English speakers of one particular EU country" (Fenyő, 2003: 60). As a result, there is a European-English-using speech community within the European territory. Now, this theory led Berns to two separate outcomes: firstly, she points out that the non-native English spoken within the aforementioned speech community should be taken as *European English* or *Euro-English*, and gives the following definition for the term:

The label European English identifies those uses of English that are not British (and not American or Canadian or Australian or any other native variety), but are distinctly European and distinguish European English speakers from speakers of other varieties.

(Berns, 1995: 7)

Secondly, she views the EU as a single complex sociolinguistic unit, claiming that it "is quite similar to India in terms of multiculturalism, multilingualism, and the function English plays there, as the language of wider communication" (Klimczak-Pawlak, 2014: 20). Thus, she provides a consideration of the nature and use of the language in the EU in terms of Kachru's (1985) model of the inner, outer, and expanding circles of world Englishes on the grounds that the European context is so unique that it can no longer be integrated within the three clearly demarcated circles originally proposed. Accordingly, and because the place of English is not adequately accounted for by reference to the Kachruvian circles, she adapts this model to the case of Europe and assigns a place to each of the 12 EU Member States at the time (1995).

After considering the multiple roles English plays across countries in the EU and related to it the amount of opportunities to use English in every-day communication, Berns places Great Britain and Ireland in the Inner Circle. In the Expanding Circle, she chooses to place Belgium, Denmark, France, Greece, Italy, Portugal, and Spain. The Netherlands, Germany and Luxembourg represent a different case seeing that English functions as primary language in these territories and is therefore positioned between

Outer and Expanding Circle use. Since they cannot clearly be put into one of the categories, Berns creates an area for the overlap of the two circles, as illustrated by the dotted line in Figure 3.1 (Berns, 1995: 9).

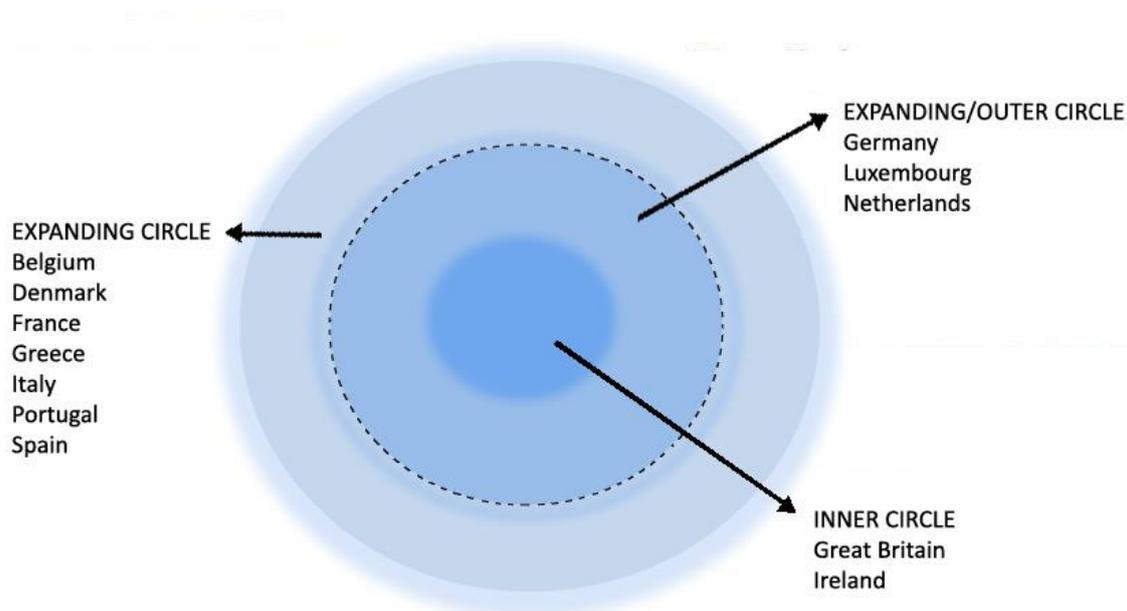


Figure 3.1: The Concentric Circles of European Englishes (after Berns, 1995: 9)

Although Berns' extension of the Kachruvian model is noteworthy, it is possibly not the model one should adapt to describe the linguistic situation in the European Union seeing that it places "those in the Inner Circle on the top of the hierarchy with everyone in the EU either using a sub-standard variety or trying to achieve the prestigious British standard" (Klimczak-Pawlak, 2014: 21). As Great Britain and Ireland are placed in a more advantageous position, it is likely to destabilise the power relations, and this is why Modiano (1999b: 27) later states that "the understanding that the international variety of the English language is defined by native speakers must become a thing of the past". The fact that English needs to stop being placed in the centre, on the top of the linguistic hierarchy, is a largely recognized issue among the linguistic community. However, and despite numerous attempts to do so, no single model which would satisfy all has been presented to date (Klimczak-Pawlak, 2014).

As for the concept of Euro-English, initial enthusiasm prompted a number of other renowned researchers (see McArthur, 2003; Modiano, 2003; Mollin, 2006) to

question if European lingua franca communication was possibly evolving into a new, independent variety of English in Europe. Modiano (2001:13) believes that "[b]ecause of the current role of 'Euro-English' in the EU, it would be naive, certainly, to assume that legitimatisation, codification, and standardisation processes will not take place". Attempts to describe Euro-English were considered by Jenkins, Modiano and Seidlhofer (2001b: 16), who in the end confess that because "'Euro-English' is in its infancy, it is not yet possible to describe its accents with confidence.

Nevertheless, there are certain indications as to the direction in which 'Euro-English' accents are evolving". Mollin (2006: 1) interestingly notes that "Euro-English seems to be the Yeti of English varieties: everyone has heard of it, but no one has ever seen it" and for this reason is keen to conduct empirical research on the variety status of English in Europe. However, since then the debate on whether the concept of Euro-English will wither or thrive has somewhat settled. Recently Jenkins (2015: 45) claimed that although there was, at the start of the twenty-first century, the belief that a pan European English variety might be emerging and that the use of ELF would lead to sufficient stability for it eventually to be codified, this belief has largely been abandoned in light of subsequent empirical findings of ELF's fluidity and contingent nature. Therefore, it is very unlikely that in the future "we will ever be able to talk of a pan 'variety' of English or of individual European 'varieties' (*ibid.*: 51).

Nonetheless, Berns (2009) maintains that Expanding Circle Englishes are world Englishes in their own right and that Europe is a distinctive example of the Expanding Circle where the use of English continues to increase serving four broad purposes for its users:

- innovative, e.g. the exploitation of creative English language use in advertising, but also in popular music, films and games, and online blogs, chatrooms, or messaging;
- interpersonal, e.g. social contact between people of all ages and in all settings, such as travelling; using English might also be seen as prestigious, apparently demonstrating educational achievement;

- instrumental, e.g. in the use of English as a medium across all levels of education to attract students from both within and beyond Europe to EU universities;
- institutional, e.g. as one of the designated official languages of the EU and frequently as the default language in inter-governmental, private and third-sector meetings.

This widespread use of English that has permeated the lives of EU citizens in numerous domains means it is no longer a conventional foreign language. Despite the pervasiveness of English in Continental Europe, Berns *et al.* (2007: 39) show that "enthusiasm for using or learning English does not, however, imply widespread acceptance and positive attitudes toward the pervasive presence of English".

This tension was identified by Breidbach (2003: 22) who indicates that "the fact that English is the most widely-taught foreign language in the countries of Europe does not imply that the teaching of English is always embedded in a holistic concept of language education for democratic citizenship".

Many scholars, most vociferously Phillipson (e.g. 2007; 2008), believe it hinders multilingualism in Europe and this researcher actually refers to English as *lingua frankensteinia* or *the English monster* (Phillipson, 2008: 251). Additionally, he admits that because "English is such a chameleon in the modern world (...) it can serve countless purposes and be learned in countless ways" (Phillipson, 2007: 134).

Be that as it may, the overwhelming extent to which English is spoken (and written) in EU citizens' public, professional and private lives has led him to ask whether English is "no longer a foreign language in Europe" (*ibid.*: 125). He makes clear his concern that "[t]he elimination of linguistic diversity has been an explicit goal of states attempting to impose monolingualism within their borders: linguistic policies favour the *lingua frankensteinia* and lead to linguisticide" (Phillipson, 2008: 251). In his opinion, the learning and use of English should aim to be "an additive process, one that increases the repertoire of language competence of individuals and the society" in place of a subtractive process through which English would threaten "the viability of other languages through processes of domain loss and linguistic hierarchization" (Phillipson, 2007: 126).

This growing concern of how English can be perceived as threatening European multilingualism at the same time as it serves a purpose of communal integration is an issue that Seidlhofer (2011b) tackles assertively. The solution to this problem would be, in line with what I explained in section 2.7.1, a reconceptualization of English that is not subject to established native-speaker norms but can be, and is, appropriated by all its users. Should this process be carried out, then the dilemma of linguistic diversity on the one hand, and the creation of a sense of communal integration on the other would be solved and English would come to be seen as an enrichment of the linguistic repertoire of Europe, not a threat to its diversity. English is regarded as the most appropriate choice given that

(...) in the European setting, there is no elemental link between centre, power and English. The majority of those in positions of authority using English within elite networks are not native English speakers. They have acquired English as a second language and use it as a lingua franca.

(Wright, 2009: 105)

What Wright is arguing is that there are no colonial issues tied to the use of English in the EU. Moreover, as Jenkins (2015: 51) puts it "the notion that if a language is dominant, the nation that owns it dominates, would no longer hold". The reason for this is because, as I explained in the previous chapter, ELF is in no way the same kind of English as ENL. If the EU chose to conceptualise English as ELF and rather than the native language of British and Irish NESs one other advantage would arise: the heavy use of translation and interpreting that the EU makes use of would become obsolete. In addition, the hypocritical and ineffective EU recommendation, as House (2001; 2003) puts it, that all members should learn two foreign languages would not pose as critically essential. Wright (2009), who also advocates for the acceptability of ELF as the lingua franca of the EU, duly notes that

[a]t present, the linguistic side effect of current social phenomena is linguistic convergence towards a single lingua franca. Language policy cannot work against these social currents and impose multilingualism from the top down. It alone will not reverse the trend to use English as a lingua franca. If the move to English is halted, it will be because

of other, external factors that we cannot yet foresee. We can do little to influence this and the lesson that we should take from the nation-state experience is not that language policy can be imposed from the top down but that this only works when it is in harmony with other social, political and economic developments.

(Wright, 2009: 107)

Drawing on Wright's outlook on ELF and on her words of warning towards the EU's language policy, the following section will thus present a brief but indispensable outline of present ELT in Europe.

3.4 Current ELT in the EU

Chapter 1 explores the wide range of areas, or domains, in which the English language is currently the global lingua franca. Evidently, education is a major one of these domains and it has played a central role in the spread of English as a global language. In Chapter 2 I also considered the increasing discussion of the quandary that involves "upholding 'standard' native-speaker English as a goal for English language teaching and learning, and the realities of non-native speaker use of English as a lingua franca" (Hall and Cook, 2015: 8). These are key aspects we need to take into account when focusing on the EU setting seeing that the most widespread method used to learn a foreign language in this region is through lessons at school.

This information was made available by the European Commission (2012a) in a survey which claimed that over two thirds of Europeans (68%) have learnt a foreign language in this way. Unsurprisingly, this study shows that a much smaller proportion of Europeans have learnt a foreign language by talking informally to a native speaker (16%). Even smaller proportions of EU citizens have learnt a foreign language with a teacher outside school in group language lessons (15%), and by going on frequent or long trips to the country in which the language is spoken (15%).

This survey adds that Europeans are most likely to think that school language lessons are the most effective way they have learnt a foreign language. Let us not forget that when we talk about learning a foreign language, for the most part we mean English, given that it is the most widely spoken foreign language in the EU.

In the past English "was taught primarily for integrative purposes with the expectation that learners would become proficient in English solely to interact with British subjects" (Berns *et al.*, 2007: 23) or as Phillipson (2007: 124) puts it, it "was learned for external communication purposes and familiarity with the cultural heritage associated with 'great' powers". This is markedly no longer the case in a multicultural and multilingual Europe as we have seen, for English is now used as a lingua franca, enabling interactions among speakers of different linguacultural backgrounds. In consequence of this fact, ELT is justifiably widespread in the EU. A Euridyce/Eurostat report¹³ published in 2012 found that English is a mandatory language in almost all countries or regions within countries and it is by far the most taught foreign language in virtually all countries at all educational levels.

ELT in Primary Education

In the last decade there has been an increase in the percentage of pupils learning English at all educational levels, and particularly at primary level. Looking at the situation in the European Union as a whole, in 2009/10 on average, 73% of pupils enrolled in primary education in the EU were learning English. In all European education systems for which data are available, with the exception of the Flemish Community of Belgium and Luxembourg, English is the most widely taught foreign language in primary education. Berns *et al.* (2007) show that already in the 1990s a number of German schools began offering a few hours of language instruction per week as early as Year 1 at all Basic Education institutions. This ongoing trend is partly related to the fact that in several countries, steering documents specify that English should be taught as the first foreign language. In truth, English is the only language

¹³ This fairly recent report is the outcome of a joint Eurydice/Eurostat publication produced in cooperation with the European Commission. Its main objective was to combine statistical data and qualitative information on European education systems. The publication includes indicators based on data from several distinct sources so although the publication *Key Data on Teaching Languages at School in Europe* gives an exhaustive picture of the language teaching systems in place in 32 European countries, information on the actual practice of foreign language teaching was collected from sixteen countries or country communities that took part in the survey (French, German-speaking and Flemish Communities of Belgium, Bulgaria, Estonia, Greece, Spain, France, Malta, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Slovenia, Sweden, the United Kingdom – England, and Croatia). As data for England were not available during the preparatory phase of the report, the present publication only includes data on 15 education systems.

with recommendations or regulations applying to all three education levels in nearly all countries. The yearning for English is such that even pre-school foreign language instruction is available on a limited basis throughout mainland Europe and as a result in many child care centres and pre-schools, English may be introduced, for example, through songs and nursery rhymes (Wilton and De Houwer, 2011: 9).

ELT in Lower Secondary Education

According to the Eurydice/Eurostat (2012) report, in virtually all countries English is the most widely learnt foreign language at ISCED¹⁴ level 2 and has become increasingly so over several years. In Lower Secondary Education, the percentage of students learning English in school was beyond 90%. At this level of education, however, Belgium (French and Flemish Communities) and Luxembourg are the only

¹⁴ The Eurydice/Eurostat (2012: 136) report makes use of the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED 1997) terminology. For ease of reference I will be using the same terms for which I have provided an explanation below:

ISCED 0: Pre-primary education

Pre-primary education is defined as the initial stage of organised instruction. It is school- or centre based and is designed for children aged at least three years.

ISCED 1: Primary education

Primary education begins between four and seven years of age, is compulsory in all countries and generally lasts from five to six years.

ISCED 2: Lower secondary education

This level continues the basic programmes started at primary level, although teaching is typically more subject-focused. Usually, the end of this level coincides with the end of compulsory education.

ISCED 3: Upper secondary education

This level generally follows the end of compulsory education. The entry age is typically 15 or 16 years. The basic entry qualification is usually the successful completion of compulsory education, but other entry requirements are also usually applied. Instruction is often more subject-oriented than at ISCED level 2. The duration of ISCED level 3 varies from two to five years.

ISCED 4: Post-secondary non-tertiary education

These programmes straddle the boundary between upper secondary and tertiary education. They serve to broaden the knowledge of ISCED level 3 graduates. Typical examples are programmes designed to prepare pupils for studies at level 5, or programmes designed to prepare pupils for direct entry to the labour market.

ISCED 5: Tertiary education (first stage)

Entry to these programmes normally requires the successful completion of ISCED level 3 or 4. This level includes tertiary programmes with an academic orientation (type A) which are largely theoretically based, and tertiary programmes with a vocational or occupational orientation (type B) which are typically shorter than type A programmes and are geared for entry into the labour market.

ISCED 6: Tertiary education (second stage)

This level is reserved for tertiary studies that lead to an advanced research qualification (Ph.D. or other doctorate).

exceptions. A second foreign language may be required at lower secondary level, as it is in Belgium (the Flemish Community), Finland, Greece, and the Netherlands; in Portugal and Spain it is a compulsory option. Nonetheless, in the 14 countries or regions within countries surveyed, the common denominator is that all students must learn English and, in most cases, it is the first language they have to learn. When this is not the case, French is more commonly a second specific mandatory language.

ELT in Upper Secondary Education

Similarly, in General Upper Secondary Education, the percentage of students learning English are very high and were found to be beyond 90%, meaning it is the most widely learnt foreign language at this level in Europe. In Upper Secondary Pre-Vocational and Vocational Education, it reached 74.9%. Given that foreign language learning can be discontinued during this level (Euridyce/Eurostat, 2012), the percentage of students who learn English in Secondary Education is notwithstanding exceptionally high in all countries whether or not it is a mandatory language. Additional data also show that this tendency is on the rise and more and more students are learning English in Secondary Education, especially in the states of Central and Eastern Europe as well as Portugal (Seidlhofer, 2011b: 135). This scholar also points out that English is being "increasingly employed in *content-and-language-integrated learning* (CLIL)¹⁵ mainly at the secondary level (...) – where thus more often than not CLIL equals CEIL (*content-and-English-integrated learning*) in geography, biology, and many other subjects" (*ibid.*). This is significant for the reason that in all countries, except Denmark, Greece, Iceland and Turkey, some schools give students the opportunity to learn non-language subjects in two different languages

¹⁵ CLIL is an acronym used as a general term to designate "educational settings where a language other than the students' mother tongue is used as medium of instruction" (Dalton-Puffer, 2007: 1). Although any second or foreign language may be used to teach non-language subjects, Dalton-Puffer states that in reality English is the most commonly used in such settings in Europe, Asia and Africa. According to the Euridyce/Eurostat (2012: 137) report it is necessary to distinguish two types of CLIL on the basis of the languages used to teach non-language subjects: in the first type non-language subjects are taught through a foreign language, whereas in the second type subjects are taught through a) a *regional and/or minority language* or b) a *non-territorial language* or c) a *state language* in countries with more than one state language, and a second language, which may be any other language.

(Euridyce/Eurostat, 2012). It is a fact that schools offering this kind of provision are very small in numbers, except in Belgium (German-speaking community), Luxembourg and Malta where all schools operate on a CLIL basis; however, in an estimated 95% of all CLIL cases, it "is the highly prestigious lingua franca English" that is used and this should clearly not be overlooked (Nikula, Dalton-Puffer and Llinares, 2013: 71).

ELT in Tertiary Education

With reference to Tertiary Education it is perceptible that the well-grounded presence of English is maintained in school curricula and it is either compulsory or encouraged in numerous degree courses throughout Europe. In juxtaposition to these practices, we have witnessed the emergence of one of the most significant trends in Higher Education: the teaching of courses and degrees exclusively in English (Seidlhofer, 2011b). The increasingly significant position of English at this level is tied to the escalating internationalization of education and student mobility in particular. This budding flow of students (and teaching staff, albeit in lower numbers) across borders is now of paramount importance to universities, many of which are making great efforts to attract foreign students for their degree programmes and further research. English, for instance, is now commonly used on university webpages intended for an international audience. Berns *et al.* (2007) acknowledge this ever-growing number of students who seek advanced degrees throughout the world and, as Jenkins (2014) puts it, are gradually changing the global landscape of Higher Education.

The rise in student mobility in Europe is unquestionably linked to the Bologna Process. With the signing in 1999 of the Bologna Declaration, the main guiding document of the Bologna Process, students and graduates could then move freely between countries, using prior qualifications in one country as acceptable entry requirements for further study in another. The purpose of this mobility was fundamentally "to increase the international competitiveness of European higher education in response to changes and challenges related to the 'growth and diversification of higher education' and expansion of transnational education" (Berns *et al.*: 2007: 28). Consequently, the introduction of common diplomas in EU member states promoted the transnational flow of students within the EU.

Interestingly, as Berns *et al.* point out, the Bologna Declaration takes into account the diversity of languages but does, in any case, suggest that English may be used for bachelor's and master's degrees. Appropriately, numerous universities have designed courses to be taught in English medium so as to attract more foreign students (Jenkins, 2014). According to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD: 2011: 323) "an increasing number of institutions in non-English-speaking countries now offers courses in English to overcome their linguistic disadvantage in attracting foreign students". Although the information compiled by this publication does not focus exclusively on the EU, it is especially noticeable that this trend is increasingly common in countries in which the use of English is widespread, such as the Nordic countries (see Table 3.3). Although the number of international students enrolled in Portuguese tertiary education is below the OECD average, some universities have started offering graduate and post-graduate programmes in English (OECD, 2011: 326).

Table 3.3: Countries offering tertiary programmes in English (2009) (OECD, 2011: 323)

<i>Use of English in instruction</i>	<i>OECD and partner countries</i>
All or nearly all programmes offered in English	Australia, Canada, Ireland, New Zealand, United Kingdom, United States
Many programmes offered in English	Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands, Sweden
Some programmes offered in English	Belgium (Fl.), Czech Republic, France, Germany, Hungary, Iceland, Japan, Korea, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Slovak Republic, Switzerland, Turkey
No or nearly no programmes offered in English	Austria, Belgium (Fr.), Chile, Greece, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Mexico, Russian Federation, Spain

Naturally this trend in tertiary education goes hand in hand with language choice in scientific research, where English is understandably regarded as instrumentally vital in accessing information and communicating with fellow academics in international settings. Such is the importance to secure an international audience that "Publish in English or perish!" has become a slogan frequently heard in non-English-speaking academic contexts all over the world (Brock-Utne, 2007).

3.5 English Proficiency in the EU

In the previous sections I tried to show that data point to a growing tendency in Europe to compel students to learn English. On that account, the percentages of students learning English at both primary and secondary education are indeed very high and studies show that in no level did the percentage of pupils learning English decrease by any significant degree (Euridyce/Eurostat, 2012).

Outside the classroom, however, European students are also exposed to the English medium in one way or another. In a survey conducted by the European Commission (*ibid.*), students were asked how frequently they come into contact with foreign languages through different types of media such as books, magazines, music, movies, television, computer games and websites. As expected results show that students' exposure to English is greater when compared to other foreign languages.

Moreover, the Euridyce/Eurostat (2012) research regarding students' perception of the usefulness of learning English indicates the great majority found it to be useful for their future education and work and even more when it comes to getting a good job. English proficiency thus is perceived as an advantage seeing that students value English for getting not only a job, but for getting a good job. In opposition, English seems to have a less significant role in students' personal life: only 50.4% of them claim that it is important for this purpose.

In view of the many ways students are exposed to English, Seidlhofer (2011b: 136) forewarns that in the future the competitive edge which the mastery of English used to ensure will become a thing of the past as "proficiency in English is becoming

something like a taken-for-granted cultural technique (...) like literacy or computer skills".

According to the EF English Proficiency Index (EF EPI) (2014: 19), a global survey of English-language skills by Education First¹⁶ (EF), "European adult English proficiency is remarkably strong. Europe has 19 of the top 22 countries in this (...) index, as well as all of the world's very high proficiency countries. Despite its already strong English skills, Europe continues to improve." No standardized measurement of English proficiency which tests high school and university students around the world has yet been conducted, to my knowledge, although EF claim that in 2015 they will publish the results of such a test. Hence, I will rely on data presented in the EF EPI (2011, 2014) reports which ranks the countries in Table 3.4 according to their level of *adult* proficiency in English.

As anticipated, the EF EPI finds that Nordic European countries are at the top of the list although Norway is, unexpectedly, the state that has experienced the greatest decline in English proficiency in the past seven years owing to ongoing problems with the Norwegian education system (Estonia and the Ukraine are the only other countries in Europe to display significant declines). It is also pertinent to note that, with the exception of Romania, Romance-speaking Europe reveals moderate proficiency, with France stagnating and showing little effort to improve. Spain, however, has made a significant improvement, which is the result "of considerable change in attitude toward English language education" (EF EPI, 2014: 19). Alongside Spanish and Maths, English was made one of the seven basic skills by the Spanish government and several

¹⁶ According to information on their website, EF publishes the annual EF EPI, the world's largest ranking of English skills by country. This fourth edition of the EF EPI (2014) ranks a total of 63 countries and territories. To create these country rankings, test data was collected from 750,000 adults, aged 18 and above. EF acknowledges that this was not a statistically controlled study seeing that the subjects took a free test online and of their own accord. Thus the test-taking population represented in this index is self-selected and not guaranteed to be representative of the country as a whole. Only those people either wanting to learn English or curious about their English skills will participate in one of these tests. This could skew scores lower or higher than those of the general population. In addition, because the tests are online, people without Internet access or unused to online applications are automatically excluded. In countries where Internet usage is low, they expect the impact of this exclusion to be the strongest. This sampling bias would tend to pull scores upward by excluding poorer, less educated, and less privileged people. Nonetheless, EF claim that the EF EPI (2014) has value since it is based on the test results of a huge sample and because sample shows results similar to a more scientifically controlled but smaller study by the British Council (Greene, 2012).

regions in this country have turned public primary schools into bilingual schools, in which students spend 30% of their day in English.

Table 3.4: European countries and their level of adult English proficiency

Level of proficiency in English	European countries relevant to this study
Very high	Denmark, Netherlands, Sweden, Finland, Norway, Poland, Austria
High	Switzerland, Hungary, Romania, Latvia, Slovenia, Germany, Belgium, Estonia
Moderate	France, Italy, Slovakia, Portugal, Spain, Czech Republic,
Low	Russia, Ukraine
Very low	Turkey

As for Portugal, the EF EPI reports make no special mention except for the fact that this country has followed the regional trend and its English proficiency has risen 3.21%, from 53.62% in 2007 (where it was ranked in 15th worldwide) to 56.83% in 2014, and currently ranks 21st out of 63 countries and territories examined by the EF EPI.

The tests conducted by EF include grammar, vocabulary, reading, and listening sections and although they might not be uncontroversial from an ELF perspective, the conclusions presented by the report are striking. Firstly it recognizes the need to develop more robust, standardized proficiency assessment methods which can recognize and reward effective communication skills over what is described as "rote learning and grammatical correctness" (EF EPI, 2011: 19). By designing and applying such standardized assessments it will be possible to reduce student frustration and drive higher quality language instruction. On the other hand the EF EPI (2014) claims that

"[p]rivate initiatives by parents, professionals, and companies are responsible for a large portion of the progress in English proficiency worldwide. That so many individuals and companies are funding their

own English training is a clear indication of the shortfall in school systems and public programs".

(EF EPI, 2014: 38)

Reading between the lines, it is clear that there is a need to rethink the EFL approach in ELT and consider an ELF teaching model in classrooms so as to remedy this issue of underperformance identified by the abovementioned study.

The EF EPI (2014) finds that there are strong correlations between English proficiency and income, quality of life, ease of doing business, Internet usage, and years of schooling, and that these correlations are outstandingly stable over time. In addition, there is also a significant correlation between average years of schooling and English proficiency, albeit the wide range of diverse education systems across political, economic, and cultural contexts. This report argues that countries looking for improved English proficiency and consequential benefits it may bring about are required to keep all children in school long enough for them to master the language. There is no mention to the fact whether this mastery of English is viewed in a conventional perspective or if it implies that successful communication as the end goal of English language instruction.

Be that as it may, the EF EPI (2011) does recognize that current English learning is focusing on communication and application to a greater extent than in the past and that ELT in all its forms needs to shift towards teaching successful communication strategies. This publication is up-to-date with the fact that most communication in English today is between non-native speakers, who usually accept non-standard grammar and pronunciation as long as communication remains clear, and it is aware that student performance, as a result, should be measured along those same lines. This acknowledgment seems to be in line with the numerous studies on ELF as is the recognition that "[i]t will take years before this shift can propagate into classrooms and test centres around the world, but students with this type of communication based training will be far better suited to tomorrow's workplace than those memorizing grammar rules" (EF EPI, 2011: 8).

In an effort to do away with underperformance identified in school systems and public programmes, the EF EPI (2014: 38) suggests a list of common elements shared

by successful reforms that might provide considerable leverage in contemporary ELT. Some of these suggestions include:

- A regional and governmental alignment of education systems in coordination with regions and government divisions in such a way that primary school leavers are ready for secondary school, and secondary school leavers can enter university directly without the need for remedial classes.
- Defining English proficiency as a core competency for all graduates. Officially recognizing the importance of English helps align different government entities and generate momentum for reform.
- The implementation of comprehensive training programmes for all English teachers, with an emphasis on communication skills and mentoring.
- The use of English as a medium of instruction at a variety of levels in the public school system. Studies demonstrate that there is a considerable trade-off between learning English and learning the subject being taught. As English proficiency improves, that gap closes.
- The development of assessment standards that evaluate effective communication, providing incentives for students and teachers to focus on the most useful foreign language skills.
- Supporting adults in learning English efficiently. Despite their motivation, adults often lack time and guidance. It is therefore important to provide help in defining their goals and measuring progress toward them so that they will not become discouraged.
- Reducing barriers preventing learners from studying abroad by, for example, negotiating visa agreements with host countries, offering free English tests, organizing scholarships, standardizing credit transfers, and setting up official research partnerships.
- The recognition of companies as key investors in English teaching. Not only is the corporate world driving the demand for English speakers, but also helping to satisfy it. A vast number of companies invest in English training for their employees, often with poor or unknown results. Companies can be encouraged to share best practices, evaluate their English training programmes'

performance, and define their hiring requirements so that educational institutions can make adjustments.

- The use of global events such as the Olympics and the World Cup to launch city- or nationwide English improvement campaigns. When national attention is focused and people are energized, they are more likely to learn.

This detailed list of international strategies that have been put into practice and evaluated by other countries may be taken as valid practices to effectively improve proficiency in English. Although the EF EPI reports cover the status quo worldwide, 24 European countries are on its list, which may well justify taking into consideration the proposed strategies. These practices also provide important support to individuals, governments and companies so they may successfully avoid the most common pitfalls in improving the development of English proficiency. The EF EPI (2014) advises that there is no widespread, universal solution for every situation, but does forecast the emergence of international best practices.

3.5.1 The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR)

Following the claim brought to light earlier that current English competency tests focus on outdated definitions of proficiency, a closer look at the CEFR (Council of Europe, 2001) is in order at this time.

The well-known CEFR is a framework for language learning, teaching and assessment, published by the Council of Europe. Its main aim is to facilitate transparency and comparability in the provision of language education and qualifications. Hence, the CEFR describes the competences necessary for communicating in a foreign language, the related knowledge and skills as well as the different contexts for communication. This document defines six levels of proficiency A1, A2, B1, B2, C1, C2 (where A corresponds to basic user, B to independent user and C to proficient user), enabling the progress of foreign language learners and users to be measured (see Table 3.5). It also defines three 'plus' levels (A2+, B1+, B2+).

As its name suggests, the CEFR is a broad attempt to define the different abilities of *European* language students at different levels of study, and at present over

half of all European countries use the CEFR to establish the minimum attainment levels in foreign language proficiency (Euridyce/Eurostat, 2012). However, this framework has become internationally recognized, and McNamara (2011) notes that since its conception in the last decade, it has been widely adopted by both public and private-sector language teachers well beyond Europe (e.g. North, and South America, Australia and Asia), and is now available in 39 different languages (European Commission).

Table 3.5: Common Reference Levels

Scale of Proficiency	CEF Level	Level name
Proficient User	C2	Mastery or proficiency
	C1	Effective operational proficiency or advanced
Independent User	B2	Vantage or upper intermediate
	B1	Threshold or intermediate
Basic User	A2	Waystage or elementary
	A1	Breakthrough or beginner

Regardless of its initial popularity and influence, doubts have been raised about the adequacy of the current CEFR as an assessment framework. At a time where "linguists and ELT professionals more and more view successful communication as the end goal of English language instruction rather than an inflexible standard of correctness or native-like pronunciation" (EF EPI, 2011: 8), the CEFR still seems to be heavily weighted towards an older notion of proficiency, no longer in sync with the role that English plays in the world. Seidlhofer (2011b) disapproves of the way English is persistently represented by the documents put out by the Language Policy Division of the Council of Europe. In her view, English is regarded just like other foreign languages and consequently defined by its native speakers. These documents ignore the use of English *as a lingua franca* and the fact that it forms an important part of how Europeans conduct their everyday lives (Seidlhofer, 2007). She accurately explains that

the use of English as a lingua franca, and the existence of such a widespread use of English will have to be acknowledged as common and appropriate linguistic behavior. It will, therefore, be inappropriate to simply decry this means of communication as bad English and to dismiss the users of ELF as mere language learners striving to emulate endonormative models of English. Instead, these users of English should have a say in the definition of standards and norms of ELF that are relevant to them.

(Seidlhofer, 2007: 147)

According to Seidlhofer (2011b: 143), the focus of ELT has so far remained very much on 'cumulative' proficiency (i.e. becoming better at speaking and writing English as native speakers do) and on the goal of successful communication with native speakers (and for some levels, approximating native-like command of the language). She does acknowledge that a general shift in curricular guidelines has taken place from 'correctness' to 'appropriateness' and 'intelligibility', but on the whole 'intelligibility' is taken to mean being intelligible to native speakers, and being able to understand native speakers. This orientation is clearly evident in some of the specifications of the CEFR (2001):

Spoken Interaction

B2

I can interact with a degree of fluency and spontaneity that makes regular *interaction with native speakers* quite possible. I can take an active part in discussion in familiar contexts, accounting for and sustaining my views.

Listening

C2

I have no difficulty in understanding any kind of spoken language, whether live or broadcast, even when delivered *at fast native speed*, provided I have some time to get familiar with the accent.

(CEFR, 2001: 27) [my emphasis]

In a similar vein, McNamara (2012:200) discusses how achievement is defined in ELT. Although the majority of users of English in the contemporary world are non-native speakers using the language as a lingua franca, English language proficiency is still defined in reference to the traditional educated speaker of Standard English. So as

to validate this claim, McNamara highlights some of the 'can do 'statements found in the CEFR and that pertain to the two most advanced levels:

Listening

C1

I can understand extended speech even when it is not clearly structured and when relationships are only implied and not signalled explicitly. I can understand television programmes and films without too much effort.

Spoken interaction

C2

I can take part effortlessly in any conversation or discussion and have *a good familiarity with idiomatic expressions and colloquialisms*. I can express myself fluently and convey finer shades of meaning precisely. If I do have a problem I can backtrack and restructure around the difficulty so smoothly that other people are hardly aware of it.

C1

I can express myself fluently and spontaneously without much obvious searching for expressions. I can use language flexibly and effectively for social and professional purposes. I can formulate ideas and opinions with precision and relate my contribution skilfully to those of other speakers.

(CEFR, 2001: 27) [my emphasis]

McNamara (2012) argues that these descriptors do not take into account the concept of ELF communication and that in terms of listening comprehension, the interlocutors are assumed to be native speakers as the reference "a good familiarity with idiomatic expressions and colloquialisms" reveals. In terms of spoken interaction, he finds fault with the fact that any problems are presumed to be caused by 'me' and not by the competence of my native speaker interlocutors (i.e. "other people, "other speakers"), who once again are the apparent targets of such interactions. ELF communication, however, requires "a sensitivity on the part of both interactants to the need to co-operate in the negotiation of understanding" rather than the ability "to convey finer shades of meaning" according to native English standards (McNamara, 2012: 201).

Another example of how native speakers are placed at the top of proficiency scales is revealed by Azuaga and Cavalheiro (2012b: 106), who focus on the descriptors for sociolinguistic competence:

B2

Can sustain relationships with native speakers without unintentionally amusing or irritating them or requiring them to behave other than they would with a native speaker. (...)

C2

Appreciates fully the sociolinguistic and sociocultural implications of language used by native speakers and can react accordingly. (...)

(Council of Europe, 2001: 76 and 122)

Cavalheiro (2015: 96) explains that in view of these descriptors, a language user is "placed in a perplexing situation; as an outsider, who should avoid 'irritating' the 'other', while at the same time trying to 'appreciate' how the 'other' uses his/her own language". What is fundamentally being argued here is that the CEFR criteria for success depend crucially on the concept of 'the native speaker', a concept that has never explicitly been defined (Weber, 2015). In fact, this "concept of native-speaker competence is taken on trust as self-evident, it is constantly evoked but never defined" (Seidlhofer, 2011a: 89), which consequently challenges the CEFR descriptors and their reliability.

In light of the examples provided above, it is clear that the CEFR is only a first step towards standard-setting in language education. Evidently, more detailed definitions of finer-grained skill levels and accompanying evaluative tools are needed, particularly those which take into account current thinking on communication as the primary goal of English study (EF EPI, 2011). Therefore, if the educational policy in the EU "is to take account of reality, English – conceived of as a lingua franca – needs to be taken out of the canon of 'real' foreign languages and recognized as a co-existent and non-competitive addition to the learner/user's linguistic repertoire" (Seidlhofer, 2011b: 143).

Formal acknowledgment of the English as a lingua franca perspective on communication would bring about an additional benefit seeing that when a native speaker is involved in ELF communication, it means his/ her assumed privileges are no

more (McNamara, 2012). The goal for ELF is successful intercultural or cross-cultural communication and rather than trying to aspire to native-like proficiency, it is important that NNEs possess other communication skills, such as flexibility, accommodation, anticipation of communication difficulties and strategies for resolving them on the part of both interlocutors, regardless of their native speaker status (Jenkins, 2015; McNamara, 2012). A fitting understanding of the social, political, and technical systems of a country, as well as the innumerable aspects of daily life that are important to that nation's identity and culture are thus essential so as to develop effective relations between countries and individuals based on mutual respect and trust (Hall and Cook, 2015).

By the same token, Modiano (2009) argues that both EU policy towards English and European ELT should be developed within an ELF framework. Educational and pedagogical standards need to develop cross-cultural communicative competence and the expression of speaker identity within English, which would "offer Europeans an opportunity to learn an English which is viable throughout the world" (Modiano, 2009: 76).

However, Seidlhofer (2007: 148) is right when she says it should be emphasized again "that suggesting that English should be adapted to European needs does not mean the same as suggesting that the language should simply be taught and learned badly, with a kind of 'anything goes' attitude". Although it is crucial to keep this caveat in mind, it cannot be denied that the narrowness of the present CEFR may affect English language learning and assessment in Europe.

This issue has been the subject of discussion for several years now and its shortcomings are becoming increasingly more obvious and pressing as understanding of ELF communication grows. At a time when underperformance has been identified in European school systems and public programmes, it would then be constructive to situate this discussion in a particular environment where ELT and the CEFR operate conjointly. For that reason the following sections will describe English in the current Portuguese context. As Jenkins (2006c) notes,

recent changes in both users and uses of English have become so far-reaching that a major rethink of English language teaching (ELT) goals

is called for (...); however, (...) this will first require a substantial overhaul of English language testing, given that teachers and learners alike will be reluctant to embrace any curriculum change that is not reflected in the targets set by the major examination boards".

(Jenkins, 2006c: 42)

The detailed approach I propose will address ELT and the latest trend in English language testing in Portugal. This will add to a general picture of the role of English in Europe and lend strength to the assertions of limitations in the CEFR and reinforce the need for new ELT goals.

3.6 Summary

This chapter shows that even though Europe is home to an impressive array of countries and distinct languages, it follows global trends since English is the language Europeans will most likely use after their mother tongue. Official EU documents promoting multilingualism are to no avail as English strengthens its position as the continent's lingua franca and is used over numerous domains. This chapter establishes that concerns over the threat this dominance might have on other languages are unjustified on the grounds that English used for purposes of communal integration is fundamentally an enrichment of one's linguistic repertoire and not a threat to language diversity.

The discussion then extends to the profound effect that ELT has had in the dissemination of English in Europe and it is revealed that English is by far the most taught foreign language in all countries at all educational levels. While the mastery of English is still considered an asset, predictions show that it will soon be a skill everyone is expected to possess. Therefore, measuring proficiency in English is another concern of this chapter and recent studies show that Europe's English proficiency remains far higher than other regions and it continues to improve. However, it has been demonstrated that although the majority of users of English in the contemporary world are non-native speakers using the language as a lingua franca, English language

proficiency is still defined in reference to the traditional educated speaker of Standard English.

At a time when underperformance has been identified in European school systems and public programmes, a series of suggestions intended to improve proficiency in English is presented. After discussing development strategies for the improvement of English proficiency, special attention is dedicated to the CEFR. This document conceived for the European setting is now used internationally but as I have shown it can no longer be effectively applied to ELF communication. Thus, taking on an ELF-oriented approach to ELT is increasingly regarded as an alternative that would benefit the vast number of European citizens who use English as a lingua franca in their everyday lives in and out of Europe.

Chapter 4

English Language Teaching in Portugal: Matching Expectations in Education

Language tests have powerful positions in educational systems. Increasingly, those in charge of education policy tie funding for teachers and schools to demonstrated progress by learners in the system from one level of performance to the next. Central to the management of educational systems, then, are the definitions of standards which need to be met, with language tests then being used to demonstrate whether learners are meeting the required standard at successive levels of education. (McNamara, 2012: 199)

4.1 Introduction

From a broader view of the European context described in Chapter 3, the focus in this chapter steers towards the situation in Portugal. By examining the various aspects of English use in Portugal, Chapter 4 will present a picture of its present-day significance and position in relation to the Portuguese language. After understanding how prone Portugal has been to language contact in the past, a description of the many ways in which Portuguese citizens are exposed to English is subsequently presented.

At this stage the chapter targets the structure and different levels of the Portuguese education system and how ELT is carried out in Portugal. Attainment levels by Portuguese students are then discussed in contrast to European counterparts. Special attention is also dedicated to official syllabi and language testing which aims at ascertaining proficiency levels in compulsory education. While there are expected learning outcomes, this chapter shows that attainment levels do not quite match expectations. The latest changes to English syllabi are considered along with the adjustment of attainment levels; whether or not these new targets are realistic or too

ambitious is also debated, showing that there is quite possibly a place for ELF in Portuguese schools.

This chapter will further discuss the presence of English in Tertiary Education, in order to establish the context in which this study has been carried out. Literature shows there are major differences between those students who attend a university or a polytechnic and these are highlighted in the following section. The teaching and learning of English in a specific Portuguese Higher Education institution is examined and an outline is provided of how the Bologna Process has changed the Higher Education scenario. The internationalization strategy adopted by this school in question has granted English an exceptional status which is then considered. Finally, special attention is given to a placement test that is used to measure students' knowledge of English; this is a strategy teachers at this institution resort to and the issue is taken up in detail at the end of this chapter. Such an approach will help situate the research and methodology that follows.

4.2 English in the Portuguese context

Given the importance of English as a common means of communication across the world, and its strength as the first foreign language of choice for most non-Anglophone countries, it is understandable that a considerable number of Portuguese studies have been dedicated to this issue in various forms and extensions. A wide-ranging list of perspectives on English in Portugal has been adopted and some of these include:

- ELT in Portugal (Gomes da Torre, 1995; Mata, 2001; Azuaga and Cavalheiro, 2012a,);
- ELT in Portugal from an EIL/EFL perspective (Guerra, 2009; Cavalheiro, 2008, 2015; Azuaga and Cavalheiro, 2015);
- Attitudes towards English in Portugal (Leslie, 2009; Cavalheiro, 2008; Azuaga and Cavalheiro, 2011);
- A sociolinguistic profile of Portuguese users of English (Cavalheiro, 2008)

- The perception of standard BrE and AmE in Portugal (Barros, 2009);
- English proficiency in Portugal (Pereira, 2012)
- The spread of English and its effects on the Portuguese language, (Gomes, 2008; Leslie, 2009; Cabrita and Mealha, 2012)

Although there is undeniably still much to be done, the abovementioned works have, in different ways, provided thorough descriptions of how English has seeped into this part of Europe, becoming a central part of school curricula and people's linguistic repertoire. For the sake of brevity I will refrain from replicating a detailed historical overview which can be found in much of the research above. Instead, I have chosen to provide an indispensable yet concise description of English in Portugal with a major focus on its present-day status and its position in relation to the Portuguese language. This account will naturally converge upon the education sector, which is where foreign languages are commonly taught and learnt, but additional attention will be given to language policies and practices in the Portuguese media, public service and spaces, and business.

Portugal and the propensity for language contact

Located in south-western Europe, Portugal, officially the Portuguese Republic, is a country on the Iberian Peninsula and is the westernmost country of mainland Europe. It is bordered by the Atlantic Ocean to the west and south, and by Spain to the north and east. The Atlantic archipelagos of the Azores and Madeira are also part of Portugal and the Portuguese population as per 2011 Census was 10 562 178 inhabitants. Portuguese was instituted as the language of the court by King Dinis in 1297 and is currently the fifth most spoken tongue in the world (Mackenzie, 2012). Portugal has one minority language, *Mirandês* (Mirandese), which was recognised in 1999 as co-official with Portuguese for local matters and is spoken locally by 0.1% of the national population. In addition, Portugal also recognises Portuguese Sign Language as an official language

Portuguese is used as an official language in eight countries (Portugal, Angola, Brazil, Cape Verde, East Timor, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, São Tomé and Príncipe)

and a territory, Macau (a Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China). Moreover, there are sizable groups of expatriate Portuguese speakers in various countries around the world, notably in Andorra, Canada, France, Luxembourg, South Africa, Switzerland, the UK, the US, and Venezuela. The total number of speakers is estimated at around 180-240 million (L1 plus L2 speakers) making it the third most spoken European language (after English and Spanish), and one of the fastest growing languages of Europe (Mackenzie, 2012; British Council, 2013b). It was recently ranked sixth on "a list of ten languages which will be of crucial importance for the UK's prosperity, security and influence in the world in the years ahead" (British Council, 2013b: 3). Portuguese is also used in the following international organisations: European Union, Organisation of Ibero-American States, African Union, Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa, Economic Community of West African States, Organisation of American States, Southern African Development Community and the Union of South American Nations. Portuguese is the fifth largest language on the Internet, with four per cent of online usage¹⁷. European Portuguese and Brazilian Portuguese differ to a certain extent but are mutually comprehensible. With more than 200 million Portuguese-speaking inhabitants, Brazil is the seventh largest economy in the world and is increasingly regarded as one of the world's emerging powers, so it does seem to make sense, in the global economy, to study Portuguese.

Tourism plays an increasingly important role in Portugal's economy as it is among the 20 most visited countries in the world, receiving an average of 13 million foreign tourists each year¹⁸ and exposing Portuguese nationals to a vast array of languages. Consequently, mainland Portugal and its archipelagos have seen growing numbers of tourists visit its resorts, particularly in the Algarve, and it was incidentally rated the sixth most popular holiday destination for outgoing tourists from the UK in 2011 with 1.9 million visits (British Council, 2013b)

All things considered, it is fair to assume that the role of the Portuguese language will become increasingly important in the near future. At the same time,

¹⁷ Top ten Internet languages - Internet World Stats.

Available at : www.internetworldstats.com/stats7.htm (accessed 19 December 2014).

¹⁸ UNWTO - World Tourism Organisation (2005). *World's top tourism destinations (absolute numbers)*.

Available at: http://www.unwto.org/facts/eng/pdf/indicators/ITA_top25.pdf (accessed 19 December 2014).

however, this fundamentally monolingual European state, whose current borders were essentially determined in 1249 and which shows a relatively high degree of demographic and linguistic stability, has always been conscious of the benefits that lie in speaking other languages. Over the course of many centuries, the Portuguese have come into regular contact with other languages both in Europe (predominantly Spanish, English and French) and across the world as a consequence of its colonial past (languages of South America, Africa and Asia). Thus, the Portuguese have naturally gained an acute "awareness of the advantages of multilingualism and successive governments have enshrined both support for the national language and enablement of the teaching of foreign languages in their policies and legislation, in addition to funding education in the Portuguese language abroad" (Mackenzie, 2012: 180). In view of this background, Portugal may rightfully be regarded as a country that is profoundly aware of the status of its national tongue, while also recognising the importance of other languages for Portugal's role in a globalised world. Inevitably, out of these "other languages", there is one that stands out and has deserved unambiguous attention.

Exposure to English in Portugal

Studies show that English has been taught in Portugal as early as the 18th century, although it was only after 1840 that it gained a significant role in the Portuguese educational system (Guerra, 2009). Secondary schools included the teaching of English in their curricula, alongside other foreign languages such as French and German but it wasn't until the middle of the 19th century that this subject achieved a somewhat privileged status in schools due to, as Guerra points out, the growing importance of English in the world, the close historical and political relations between England and Portugal as well as the neighbouring African colonies of both countries. Therefore, these particular factors subsequently reinforced the teaching of English in schools, much to the detriment of German.

As a result, and throughout the past decades, Portugal has not remained impervious to the global role of English. In fact, quite the opposite is true. In a small-scale yet indicative survey conducted by Barros (2009: 35), she notes that currently English "is the language that Portuguese people mostly use in international settings,

the idiom dominating youth culture, science and technology, and a skill generally required in the tertiary sector". Despite the statistical limitations of this study, she is able to demonstrate that English has been taught in Portuguese schools as early as Year 5, over the last three decades and is now compulsory as early as primary education. This means that over the last thirty years, in theory, students in Portugal may have begun attending English classes at the age of six (as a Year 1 students) for a period of eleven or ultimately twelve years (upon completing Year eleven or twelve, respectively). If we compare this period of English exposure in schools to one in a Nordic country, traditionally more proficient in English as we have seen earlier, then a Portuguese student would have the chance of undergoing more years of EFL learning than a Finnish student (ten years) would (Ranta, 2004). This is quite significant given that the only other subjects that Portuguese students will study for this period of time are Portuguese and in some cases Mathematics. Currently, the vast majority of compulsory general schooling in Portugal is provided in Portuguese and English (as a first foreign language) is taught from primary school upwards. In most cases a second foreign language (French or Spanish) is introduced later on. There are, however, a number of private international schools throughout Portugal, although they are mainly located in Lisbon and Porto. In general, a mixture of international and Portuguese pupils attends these private establishments where the medium of instruction may either be English, French, German or Spanish.

English as a foreign language – which is still typically learned in Portuguese schools – "takes the native speaker as a target and encompasses components of English native-speaker culture" (Hülmbauer, Böhringer & Seidlhofer, 2008:28) and, as in most countries, British English has been the preferred model when teaching English language classes in Portugal. According to research conducted by Azuaga and Cavalheiro (2011), both English teaching staff and students surveyed have a positive attitude towards the English language. These teachers considered they speak BrE, but the majority (67%) find both varieties as equally important. In the same study, the great majority of students interviewed consider BrE the norm to be taught in class. Similar results were found by Barros (2009) as her survey highlights that 80% of English teachers still privilege BrE in the classroom.

The importance conveyed to (British) English in schools in Portugal is thus undeniable but the large influx of American mass culture also means that the Portuguese youth is greatly influenced, outside the classroom, by American English (Barros, 2009). Unlike the case of neighbouring Spain, a great many films on exhibition in cinemas, and TV shows running in Portugal are produced in English-speaking countries and are broadcast with their original soundtrack and Portuguese subtitles, although it is manifest that programmes aimed at a younger audience, namely pre-schoolers to pre-teens, are dubbed in Portuguese. English songs are very commonly aired by the most popular radio stations. Therefore, the media have a positive influence on the public's skills in and attitudes to English. However, selected television programmes include an inserted window with an interpreter communicating in Portuguese Sign Language. Cabrita and Mealha (2012) add that exposure to English in Portugal takes place across other areas such as literature and the press, to which I might add the Internet and its applications, namely social media, through which individuals and worldwide communities share, co-create, discuss, and modify user-generated content very often in English. Newspapers and magazines in foreign languages are available in Portugal, primarily to serve the needs of tourists (MacKenzie, 2012).

As for the use of English in public spaces and services, MacKenzie indicates that city councils have some awareness of multilingualism in their communities and make certain services available in English and Spanish but written material produced by councils is typically only in Portuguese, although immigration and tourism services are multilingual.

Despite recognising the importance of business English for interaction with foreign customers and companies abroad, Portuguese business companies reflect a general tendency to favour the use of Portuguese. MacKenzie's survey of Portuguese enterprises shows that other languages tend not to figure prominently, except for businesses with specific interests in particular foreign countries. The promotion of employees' language competencies in the national language, in English as a *lingua franca*, or in other languages is generally not a main concern and on the whole multilingualism is a not priority for Portuguese business companies.

In addition to all the anglophone exposure detailed above, should one ultimately take into consideration the fact that English, from a lexical point of view, is closer to a Romance language (as is Portuguese) than to a Germanic one (Crystal, 1997a), it would be presumable that proficiency in English *as a foreign language* is a national trait. Paradoxically, this is far from the truth as I demonstrate below.

4.3 The structure of the Portuguese education system

In order to fully appreciate the research carried out and described in the next chapter, a comprehensive understanding of the education system and potential pathways in present-day Portugal will be provided in the section that follows (see Figure 4.1). Focus is directed to such issues as the period of full-time compulsory general education, curriculum, students' notional age, teaching time, specific mandatory languages and flexible time allocation from the initial pre-primary level extending to the tertiary level.

Established in 1986 by the Comprehensive Law on the Education System (CLES) (Ministry of Education, 1999), the current structure of the Portuguese educational system comprises three main levels: Basic, Secondary and Higher Education. Prior to the level of Basic Education (*Ensino Básico*), however, there is Pre-Primary Education (*Ensino Pré-Primário*); this level is directed to children between three years of age and the mandatory school age, which is six¹⁹. As of 2009, and in line with Decree Law nº 85/2009, the provision of nursery schooling for children of five has become an obligation of the State. Any education prior to entering compulsory education is provided by the State or by private establishments. The latter may legally operate as private, cooperative or social institutions that are structured as for-profit or non-profit schools. Public kindergartens, however, are free of charge.

Basic and Secondary Education (*Ensino Secundário*), which are also free of charge in state-run schools, correspond to compulsory schooling, given that when

¹⁹ In this outline I will be referring to students' notional age in the school system, i.e. "the normal age of pupils in a particular grade or level of education when early or late entry, grade repetition or other interruptions to schooling are not taken into account" (Eurydice/Eurostat, 2012: 140).

Decree Law nº 85/2009 very recently came into force it established the extension of compulsory schooling to the age of 18, "one of the longest periods of compulsory schooling among OECD countries"²⁰ (OECD, 2014: 4). Basic Education lasts for nine years, from 6 to 15 years of age, and is divided into three sequential cycles of education of four, two and three years, respectively:

- 1st cycle (Primary Education)
- 2nd cycle (Primary Education)
- 3rd Cycle (Lower Secondary Education)²¹

Although these three cycles are enfolded within the same level - Basic Education - the subject areas vary between them. Decree Law nº 6/2001 establishes that the Basic Education curriculum be organised in two main areas: curricular subject areas and non-curricular subject areas (personal and social education). The non-subject areas are common to all three cycles:

- Projects Area
- Accompanied Study
- Civic Training
- Moral and Religious Education (attendance optional)

In addition to these, Citizenship Education is an overall concern and is included in both curricular and non-curricular subject areas. The curricular subject areas, however, vary between cycles and are described below.

The 1st cycle of education is provided by primary schools and aimed at pupils aged six to ten. Children who are six by 16th September are eligible to attend the 1st cycle of Primary Education (*Ensino Primário*). Those reaching this age by 31 December may also be admitted, but priority is given to older children when allocating places. Pupils are expected to study the following subjects in the 1st cycle:

²⁰ Compulsory education in Portugal is two years more than the OECD average (OECD, 2014).

²¹ Alongside the Portuguese terminology, I have also provided the labels specified by the ISCED 1997 (Eurydice/Eurostat, 2012: 136).

- Portuguese Language
- Mathematics
- Environmental studies
- Artistic and Kinetic Expression
- English

1st cycle students have 25 hours of lessons per week with classes beginning at 9.00 am and ending at 3.30 pm. There is only one generalist teacher²² per class although he or she may be assisted by other specialist teachers. Almost all schools have extra-curricular activities as a back up to normal lessons (e.g. English, Physical Education, Artistic Education, Computing), as decreed by the Ministry of Education.

The 2nd cycle of education is for pupils from ten to twelve years of age who typically move onto another school where they will have approximately 30 hours of classes weekly and more than one teacher. The curricular subjects established for the 2nd cycle are:

- Portuguese Language
- A Foreign Language
- Portuguese History and Geography
- Mathematics
- Natural Sciences
- Visual Education
- Technological Education
- Music Education
- Physical Education

²² The Euridyce/Eurostat (2012: 139-140) report defines a *Generalist teacher* as one who is qualified to teach all (or almost all) subjects in the curriculum, including foreign languages. Such teachers are entrusted with foreign language teaching irrespective of whether or not they have received any training in this field. On the other hand, a *Specialist teacher* is only qualified to teach one or two different subjects. For a specialist language teacher, this would include either foreign languages only, or a foreign language and one other subject. While the generalist model is the most common, six countries (Portugal, Bulgaria, Greece, Spain, Slovakia and Turkey) have entrusted foreign language teaching to Specialist teachers.

The 3rd cycle (Lower Secondary Education) consists of the last three years of Basic Education and it is aimed at students aged twelve to fifteen. Similarly, children have more than one teacher and share the same 30-hour weekly class load but take on more curricular subjects:

- Portuguese Language
- Foreign Language I
- Foreign Language II
- History
- Geography
- Mathematics
- Natural Sciences
- Physics and Chemistry
- Visual Education
- Information and Communication Technologies
- Physical Education
- An optional subject (e.g. Technological Education, Drama or Music classes).

At the Basic Education level, children are assessed at the end of each year and cycle. Pupils who pass the assessment will be allowed to continue into the next year of education. If students do not pass, they will be made to re-sit the school year. In Portuguese schools, 1 to 5 grading system is used and students are required to achieve a grade of 3 or higher in order to pass:

- 5 (90-100%) is the best possible grade;
- 4 (75-89%);
- 3 (50-75%) constitutes the formal pass mark;
- 2 (20-49%);
- 1 (0-19%) is the lowest possible grade.

Learners pass with a grade of 3 or higher and those who complete the 3rd cycle successfully are awarded the Diploma of Basic Education.

The last three years of compulsory school represent Upper Secondary Education, and this consists of the 10th, 11th and 12th year of schooling. It is an important stage of students' educational pathway in consequence of the fact that at this stage the secondary system branches out into four different strands. Students must then choose between a General Upper Secondary Education programme (a more higher education-oriented course) and a Vocational Upper Secondary Education programme (more work-oriented due to its technological, specialised artistic and vocational education courses). Students' weekly class load may vary between 18 to 30 hours depending on the programme they have selected. For the most part general education involves the study of Sciences and Technologies, Social Sciences and Economics, Languages and Humanities, and Visual Arts. On the other hand, vocational training focuses on Administration, Computing, Construction and Housing, Electricity and Electronics, Equipment Design, Multimedia, Management, Marketing, Regional Planning and the Environment, Social Services, and Sports.

These vocational programmes are a fundamental element of the Secondary Education tier as they not only target those who wish to pursue a vocational qualification as well as those who have dropped out or are at risk of dropping out. Besides undergoing apprenticeship courses and initial vocational training (both theoretical and practical) so as to extend their education or increase future job prospects, young students who opt for this pathway are still assured transition to Tertiary Education if they so desire. Whatever the pathway chosen by students, they will always share a common core of subjects: Portuguese, a Foreign Language (commonly English), Physical Education and Information and Communication Technologies. The teaching of this core curriculum is, however, adapted to the different education programmes in Upper Secondary Education. Upon conclusion of this Secondary Education level (general or vocational programmes), students with passing grades are conferred a diploma, which will certificate the qualification thus obtained and, in the case of work-oriented programmes, the qualification for specific jobs.

Post-Secondary Non-Tertiary Education programmes straddle the boundary between Upper Secondary and Tertiary Education. They serve to broaden the knowledge of Upper Secondary graduates and are known as Technological

Specialization Courses (*Cursos de Especialização Tecnológica*, henceforth CET). These two-year courses (corresponding to Level 5 in the European Qualifications Framework²³) are designed to prepare pupils for studies in Higher Education or for direct entry to the labour market. CETs are provided by Higher Education institutions, secondary schools or training centres. As of the 2014/15 academic year, two-year specialised Higher Education courses called Technological Specialised Higher Education Programmes (*Cursos Técnicos Superiores Profissionais*, TeSP) replaced the CETs and have focused on areas of skills shortage. These courses will link secondary vocational education and training schools and polytechnic Higher Education institutions with local or regional enterprises.

In Portugal, Tertiary or Higher Education (*Ensino Superior*) is non-compulsory and it comprises two main systems: public or private university and polytechnic institutions. Admission to Higher Education is granted to any student holding a Certificate of Secondary Education and who has passed the entry exams. In privately-run institutions admission is at the total discretion of each school but the normal admission process requires students to sit entrance exams which test their knowledge of the subjects they studied at secondary school. Entrance exam results are then combined with secondary school exam marks to award a final grade. Students are permitted to choose six universities they would like to attend, in order of preference. In addition to passing these exams, students must meet certain demands of the chosen course and university to be admitted. Depending on the outcome of the entrance exams, students will be admitted to one of their university choices.

²³ The European Commission official website states that the European Qualifications Framework (EQF) is a translation tool that helps communication and comparison between qualifications systems in Europe. It has eight common European reference levels that are described in terms of three distinct learning outcomes: knowledge, skills and competences. This allows any national qualifications systems, national qualifications frameworks (NQFs) and qualifications in Europe to relate to the EQF levels. Thus, learners, graduates, providers and employers can use these levels to understand and compare qualifications awarded in different countries and by different education and training systems.

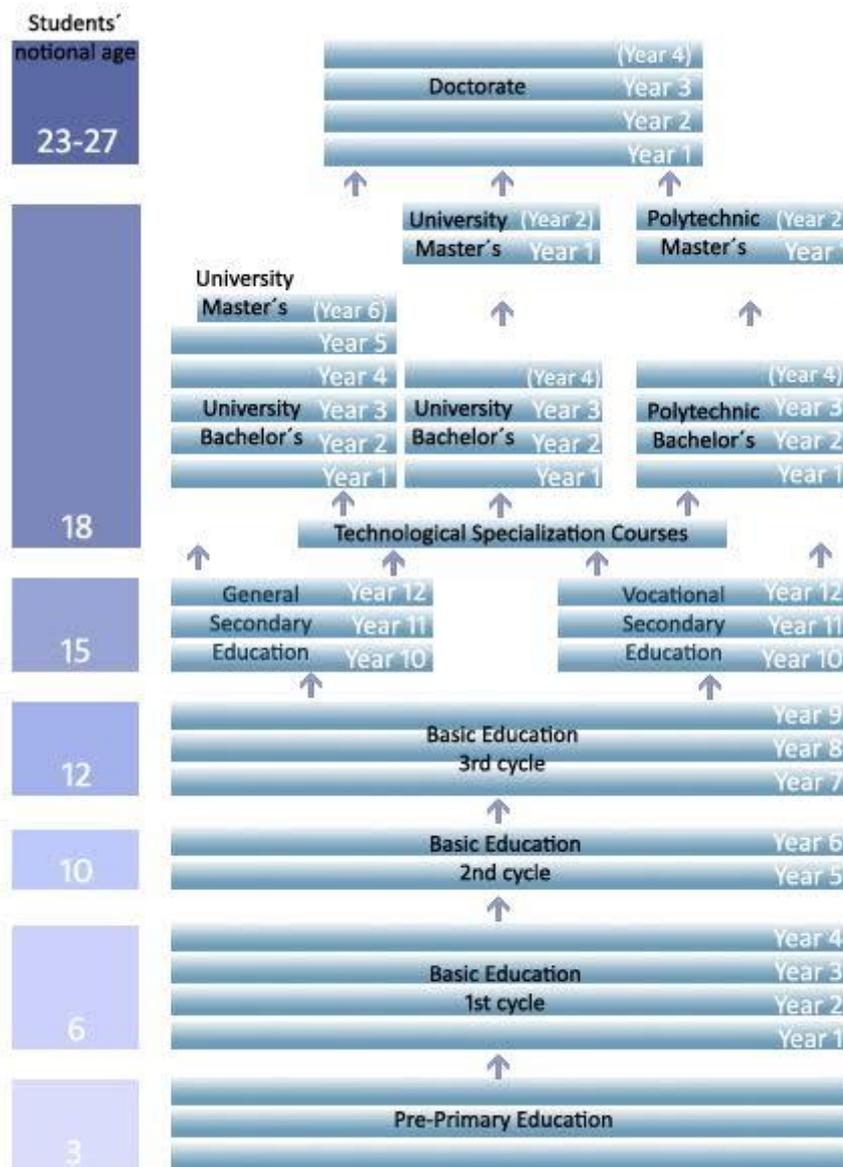


Figure 4.1: The structure of the Portuguese education system (adapted from OECD, 2014: 18)

Students who were unable to conclude their Secondary Education can still be admitted to state universities via an extraordinary exam process. However, this process is only accessible for people aged 23 and over, who are required to sit both a general Portuguese exam and an exam in the main area of the course to be chosen. Additionally, these applicants must attend an interview with the purpose of evaluating their motivation and curriculum vitae. Other extraordinary admission processes

include those for high performance athletes, Portuguese emigrants or students coming from PALOP²⁴ countries, among others.

A series of measures have been introduced in the last decade for the accomplishment of the Bologna Process, and at the time of its implementation the European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education (ENQA) (2006: 18) identified more than 150 Higher Education institutions in Portugal. The public sector includes 14 universities and a non-integrated university institution; 15 polytechnics and a number of polytechnic schools integrated in universities; 9 non-integrated nursing schools; 4 university-level military schools; and 5 polytechnic military schools. The private sector includes 34 university level institutions and no less than 66 polytechnics. The private sector also includes a prestigious Catholic university.

As of the 2005/2006 academic year, a minimum grade of 95 (out of 200) in the national access examinations was enforced for all candidates in every sector of public Higher Education. In practical terms, this rule led to the exclusion of a large number of applicants who otherwise would have been admitted with below average marks. This recent downturn in enrollments has led to a marked imbalance between supply and demand for Higher Education study programmes. Studies show that after large increases between 1990 and 2012, Tertiary Education attainment of 25-64 year-olds in Portugal is at 19%, below the OECD average of 32%. Tertiary attainment of the younger cohorts (25-34 year-olds) is higher (28%), while it remains below the OECD average in 2012 (39%). Although the value of a university degree in Portugal has depreciated it is still a profitable economic investment (Almeida and Vieira, 2012). The most noticeable benefit in pursuing an academic degree is that tertiary-educated 25-34 year-olds in Portugal can expect to earn 56% more than those with an Upper Secondary Education (above the OECD average of 40% in 2011) (OECD, 2014: 8).

New terms for academic degrees and diplomas were set out by Decree Law 74/2006 and brought the degree structure in Portugal into line with the Bologna framework. As a result, Higher Education is divided into three cycles of studies:

²⁴ The nation-states with Portuguese as an official language in Africa are referred to by the acronym PALOP (*Países Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa*). The countries concerned are Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, São Tomé and Príncipe and Equatorial Guinea.

bachelor's degree (1st cycle), master's degree²⁵ (2nd cycle) and doctorate degree (third cycle). Both university and polytechnic institutions confer bachelor's degrees and this cycle entails six to eight semesters of study. A master's degree may range from two to four semesters whereas a doctorate is never less than three years long. Marks are awarded on a scale of 0-20 so in order to pass, one must achieve a mark of 10 or above. Students earn credits on the basis of workload and achieved learning outcomes, in line with the European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System (ECTS) so a typical first cycle (or bachelor's) degree, would consist of 180 or 240 credits (60 credits per semester), whereas a typical second cycle (or master's) degree, would consist of 90 or 120 credits, with at least 60 credits at second cycle level. The use of ECTS at the third cycle (doctorate) varies.

4.4 ELT and attainment levels in Basic and Secondary Education

In 2013 and 2014 the Portuguese Ministry of Education revised the curricula for the three cycles that comprise Basic Education. At the time of writing, Basic Education schools are phasing in these new curricula, which aim to set standards of basic skills to be reached by all students in Portuguese, mathematics, sciences and foreign languages, and to give schools more flexibility over curriculum management. The curriculum for General Upper Secondary education is currently under discussion and new curricular aims are expected in the near future.

Due to the reorganization of the Basic Education syllabus there are currently two English programmes being used by teachers in the 1st, 2nd and 3rd cycles in order that all schools have time to adjust and prepare to meet the requirements of the new legislation. For the sake of this study I will address the earlier programmes in greater detail but will draw on the more recent ones whenever appropriate.

²⁵ In some cases students may voluntarily opt to proceed with their studies and attain a master's degree. However, in other cases, undergraduates are required to enter an integrated master's degree program. These integrated master degrees refer to specific specialisation fields that demand a minimum number of years of study (e.g. engineering, psychology, dental practitioner, veterinary surgeon, midwife, architect, pharmacist and medical doctor).

Attainment levels in the 1st cycle

As stated earlier, full-time compulsory education in Portugal starts at age six with a child beginning primary education although it is common for many children to attend pre-schools beforehand. At this stage the teaching of English may take place, for instance, in specific privately-run pre-schools²⁶. Similarly, and up to September 2015, there has been no compulsory English language instruction in the 1st cycle. However, since 2005, governmental policies have strongly recommended (and provided funds for) schools to offer lessons in English (a 90-minute weekly class load on average) from year three in the framework of 'curricular enrichment'. By 2008, over 99% of schools had put this recommendation into action; over 50% had English from year one (McKenzie, 2012). The English programme that has guided teachers in the past decade was devised in 2005 and it states that although reading and writing should not be ignored, particular emphasis must be given to listening and speaking skills. The aims and topics are thoroughly explained²⁷ but there are no clear regulations or recommendations establishing minimum levels of attainment for English corresponding to the six proficiency levels in foreign languages as defined and described in the CEFR.

Although schools have for some time now provided English in the 1st cycle of primary schools, attendance was not compulsory and children could choose Physical Education or Computing, for instance, over English. However, in 2014 the Ministry of Education required that English become part of the obligatory curriculum for Years 3 and 4 in the 1st cycle (Decree Law 176/2014). It is interesting to note that the Portuguese National Education Council advocates the teaching of English in primary schools for it is an invaluable asset in the global labour market, not only within NES countries but also in many other countries worldwide where English has become a second language. Thus, as of the 2015/16 academic year, English will be taught to all Year 3 students, and in 2016/2017 both Year 3 and 4 students will have English as a

²⁶ Such is the case with the private Kindergarten Schools run by the João de Deus Kindergarten Schools Association (*Associação de Jardins-Escola João de Deus*). Available at: <http://www.joaodeus.com/> (accessed 10 November 2014).

²⁷ See Guerra (2009) and Cavalheiro (2015) for comprehensive descriptions of aims topics and sub-topics in earlier English programmes.

compulsory subject with a minimum weekly class load of 120 minutes. This change in legislation led to the drafting of new Curricular Aims for English in the 1st cycle (Ministry of Education, 2014) which will be implemented in the very near future. This recent proposal shares the same topics as the existing English programme and also states that priority should be given to the same communication skill (speaking) but it innovatively establishes a minimum attainment level in English language proficiency and sets A1 as the exit profile for Year 4 students. This inclusion is of significant importance and is in compliance with EU practices since more than half of all European countries have issued regulations or recommendations establishing minimum levels of attainment for foreign languages (Euridyce/Eurostat, 2012).

Attainment levels in the 2nd cycle

Until September 2015, students who successfully completed Year 4 of Basic Education were admitted to the 2nd cycle (Years five to six), where they were customarily introduced to their first foreign language (however, seeing that English is now compulsory in the 1st cycle, the scenario will naturally change). Furthermore, up to 2012, students were allowed to choose this language (typically English or French) but the Ministry of Education decreed that English should be the first foreign language in Year 5 (Decree Law nº 139/2012). Despite the fact that, in the past, some students may have been exposed to ELT classes in the 1st cycle, English has always been taught at an introductory level in Year 5. In most countries, the starting age of the first foreign language as a compulsory subject ranges between 6 and 9 years of age which explains why Portugal very recently introduced reforms to lower the starting age for the compulsory learning of the first foreign language (Euridyce/Eurostat, 2012). The same Decree Law gives schools more flexibility over curriculum management so it is incongruously possible for some schools to offer 180 minutes of English per week whereas others may provide only 135 for the same level of attainment (the latter time allocation seems to be the most common).

The English programme (Ministry of Education, 1995) used for this level of education in the past decades is now outdated seeing that it was devised in 1995 so as

of 2014/2015 new Curricular Aims for English in the 2nd cycle²⁸ (Ministry of Education, 2013) are also being phased in. Upon analysis, it is evident that the 1995 English programme (Ministry of Education, 1995a) emphasizes the development of students' communicative competence and focuses exclusively on Standard British and American culture. In spite of a detailed list of objectives that Year 5 and 6 students should aspire to achieve, there are understandably no obvious references to the CEFR or levels of attainment in this mid-nineties publication.

The remodelled English syllabus dates from 2013 and although the scope widens faintly in terms of varieties of English, the main concern is still tied to the English of the UK and the US. Generic qualification descriptors are also defined for this of the cycle of studies as are levels of attainment in conformity to the CEFR: an A1 exit profile has been set for Year 5 students and an A1+ for Year 6 pupils. The new English programme for Year 6 was expected to be implemented in the 2014/15 academic year but this measure has been postponed and will take place in the following school year.

Attainment levels in the 3rd cycle

In the 3rd cycle of Basic Education, the study of two foreign languages is obligatory and while the government has traditionally proposed that English be one of these, it is now a formal requirement as I demonstrated above. In current practice, the great majority of pupils combine English (Year 5) with one of French or Spanish (Year 7) although in the past it was possible for students to initiate English language learning only in Year 7. In the same manner, schools are granted the right to manage the amount of time 3rd cycle students will be exposed to English in the classroom but it is of note that teaching time has gradually decreased over the past decades. In year 7 there are currently a total of 270 minutes per week that must be shared between the first and second foreign languages. In general, these subjects are allocated 135 minutes of teaching time each. In Years 8 and 9, the weekly class load for both subjects is reduced to 225 minutes. Most schools tend to allocate 90 minutes per week for the first foreign language (typically English) and 135 for the second. In Year 9 the roles are

²⁸ This same document comprises new curricular aims for both the 2nd (Years 5 to 6) and 3rd cycles (Years 7 to 9).

in most cases reversed with English being allocated 135 minutes. Note that this distribution is by no means enforced and schools may very well decide to favour one foreign language to the detriment of the other. More perplexingly is the fact that students throughout Portuguese schools may conclude the learning of English in Basic Education with disparate backgrounds in terms of English exposure which seems to contradict the recognition of its global status by Portuguese educational policies.

New curricular aims were introduced at the beginning of the 2014/15 school year for Years 7 and 8 and the same will take place for Year 9 in the following year. The previous English programme dates from 1995 and naturally includes a thorough list of objectives that guide both students and teachers in the process of ELT and learning. Important points to be noted are the expected progression in communicative competence, the priority given to the sociocultural contexts of Great Britain and the US, and the lack of proficiency descriptors according to the CEFR. The reason for the latter indication is patently linked to the early publication date of this programme. Conversely, the revised Curricular Aims for English in the 3rd cycle (Ministry of Education, 2013) is organised in keeping with the CEFR and with (UK and US) native speaker content. Students' communicative competence is underscored and the levels of attainment set by this programme are as follows: an A2 exit profile for Year 7, an A2+ exit profile for Year 8 and a B1 exit profile for Year 9. In order to assess students' proficiency in English, Portuguese schools have carried out a specific English language test in Year 9, at the end of which English ceases to be a compulsory subject. This measure was implemented in the 2013/14 academic year and to date two tests have been conducted. Due to the relevance of the test results, these will be discussed in a subsequent section.

Attainment levels in Secondary Education

The English syllabus pertaining to Secondary Education and examined in this section is aimed at students who have chosen very different educational pathways but nonetheless proceeded to study English in Year 10²⁹. Despite the divergence in courses,

²⁹ Note that until very recently it was possible (albeit unlikely) for a student to reach Year 10 without ever having studied English at the level of Basic Education. As stated above, Decree Law 139/2012 has

the document is common for the majority. It was granted ministerial approval in 2003 and it is therefore more recent than its Basic Education counterparts. Consequently, it draws attention to different concerns which are consistent with a more democratic view of English(es), and sets the learning of English in a multilingual and multicultural European context. The international role of English is a chief issue in this syllabus but no explicit reference is made to its lingua franca status especially among NNEs, and it overall privileges English-speaking countries and cultures. Regarding attainment levels it is worth mentioning that although the final version of this syllabus was approved after the CEFR was published, there is no mention of proficiency levels or Framework descriptors. Instead, a customary yet fundamental list of aims and objectives is provided, presenting all those involved in this process with a palpable notion of what has to be accomplished. It seems, however, that these objectives are adapted (i.e. simplified) to suit different classes, namely in the technological courses.

In general this level of education requires that students study English from Year 10 to 11 taking on a weekly class load that may vary though most courses are allocated 150 minutes for English classes. If pupils wish to do so, they may choose to study English in Year 12 voluntarily but this will mean an additional subject to their weekly class load. Only Languages and Humanities students are required to take English classes in Year 12, with a 200-minute weekly class load. As a result we yet again have an unknown number of students graduating with different academic histories regarding English, posing a challenge for all those who aspire to an experience in Higher Education.

Overall, and having looked at what is expected from students at different stages in compulsory education, it is perceptible that the earlier English syllabi for Basic and Secondary Education are typical EFL programmes that aim to prepare students to identify, relate to and interact with Anglo-American (i.e. Great Britain and US) speakers and culture (Ministry of Education, 1995b: 10). Although they lack the official CEFR guidelines, paradoxically these can be found in the Basic Education National Curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2001a), a broad-spectrum document that presents a set of fundamental competences in the Portuguese national curriculum.

changed this by calling for English as the first foreign language in Year 5, and as of 2015, English is a mandatory subject in Years 3 and 4.

These include the general competences to be developed throughout Basic Education as well as the specific competences to be developed in each subject and subject area such as Portuguese Language, Foreign Languages, Mathematics, History, Geography, among others (Guerra, 2009). In agreement with this document it is then possible to accurately determine that the exit profile outlined for the first foreign language (for our purposes, English) is level A2 (end of Year 6). This same document sets a minimum level of B1 for both the first and second foreign language at the end of the 3rd cycle (Year 9). As for the attainment levels in Secondary Education, Moreira and Almeida (2003), who are co-authors of the 2003 English Language Program (Years 10 to 12), put forth an unofficial diagram in which the levels for the secondary programme were devised taking into account the levels specified in the Basic Education National Curriculum for the previous years (Figure 4.2). This diagram indicates that students graduating Year 11 should attain a minimum level of B2 and those who study English in Year 12 are expected to reach level C1.

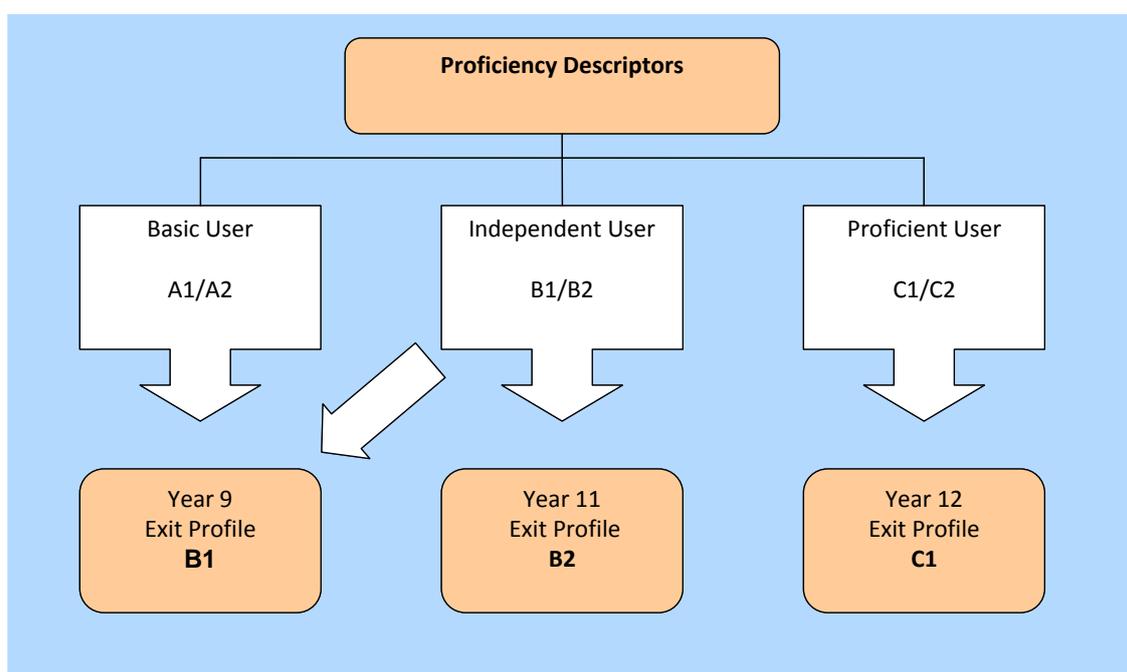


Figure 4.2: Expected levels of attainment for English in Portuguese Basic and Secondary Education (adapted from Moreira and Alves, 2003)

Under the circumstances illustrated in Figure 4.2 there seems to be a general misunderstanding of and misapplication of CEFR levels, according to which students

rapidly progress from one level to the next at regular intervals, independently of learning context, age, learning activities and styles or area of specialization, with the result that everyone enters university at C1 level and rapidly reaches native speaker competence (Moreira and Almeida, 2003). We know that mostly, across Europe, attainment levels are not as ambitious: at the end of compulsory general education, the most frequently cited level of attainment for both first and second foreign languages is A2; at the end of upper secondary education, it is B2 for the first and B1 for the second foreign language (Euridyce/Eurostat, 2012:130).

The challenge for students and teachers is even more demanding when faced with attainment levels set by the new Curricular Aims that will soon be implemented throughout all Basic Education schools. This document was conceived in line with the CEFR regulations and it defines seven domains of reference which are to be articulated in the process of teaching/learning a *foreign language*: Listening, Reading, Spoken Interaction, Spoken Production, Writing, Intercultural Domain and Lexis and Grammar (Ministry of Education, 2013: 4). Regardless of the changes, the teaching of this subject is still unequivocally based on the EFL model. Although there has been a slight adjustment in the attainment level at the end of Year 6 and the inclusion of 'plus' levels, the exit profile for Year 9 remains at level B1.

Table 4.1: Expected attainment levels for English according to new Curricular Aims guidelines

Level of Education	Year	Exit Profile CEFR level	Proficiency Scale
1st cycle	3	A1	Basic User
	4	A1	Basic User
2nd cycle	5	A1	Basic User
	6	A1+	Basic User
3rd cycle	7	A2	Basic User
	8	A2+	Basic User
	9	B1	Independent User

Students enrolling in the Portuguese education system can now expect seven consecutive years of compulsory English language classes, and while this is an improvement from the past, it is imperative to note that Portugal has witnessed an increase in maximum class size: 26 students for primary level and 30 for every other level³⁰. This number is slightly greater than the European average seeing that reforms in several countries have resulted in a reduction in the general class size limits, and other states prescribe smaller class sizes for foreign languages, namely the Czech Republic, Lithuania, Poland and Slovakia (Euridyce/Eurostat, 2012). This increase in Portuguese class sizes is undermining especially when we consider the cutback in teaching time over the past years as well as objectives imposed by the restructured Curricular Aims for the 2nd and 3rd cycles - by and large to learn English as a foreign language (with the degree of correctness it involves) and not as a lingua franca. In 2013 the Portuguese Association of English Teachers (APPI) issued a statement³¹ in which they provided their view on a preliminary version of the aforementioned aims and voiced a number of severe concerns. In this earlier version the attainment levels for Year 6 and 9 were A2 and B1+, respectively; however, among other observations, APPI argued that these goals were far too ambitious ('utopian', to be precise), in light of the asymmetrical weekly class loads due to flexible curricular management along with the high number of students in foreign language classes, which hinders the improvement of students' spoken interaction. These concerns about the overambitious exit profiles were taken into consideration and final attainment levels were readjusted in that same year as illustrated in Table 4.1.

Finally, in December 2014, the Ministry of Education officially regulated the exit profiles for all levels of education in Portuguese schools. This is the first time a ministerial document (Order nº 260-A/2014) has clearly defined CEFR levels for every grade in compulsory education. From what is apparent in Table 4.2, this latest proposal is not as ambitious for Year 12 students, seeing that they are no longer expected to attain the most advanced levels of proficiency. However, level B2 is still the goal set for

³⁰ Maximum class size is set at 20 students if no more than two of these require special educational needs (Order n.º 5048-B/2013)

³¹ http://www.appi.pt/activeapp/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/2013_04_22_-METAS-CURRICULARES-Ingles_PARECER_2013.pdf

the vast majority of Portuguese students as Year 11 more often than not represents their last year of compulsory English instruction.

Table 4.2: Expected English language proficiency in Portugal by years of schooling (as of the 2015/16 academic year)

Year	CEFR level
3 and 4	A1
5	A1+
6	A2
7	A2+
8	B1
9	B1/B1+
10	B1+
11	B2
12	B2+

4.5 Assessing Proficiency: the Cambridge English Language Assessment experience

The Portuguese government is fully cognizant of all the benefits involved in learning English and in order to ensure that English proficiency levels are in keeping with European recommendations, it has, since 2014³², required all Year 9 students to undergo mandatory³³ language testing at the end of the academic year. Additionally, students attending Years 6 to 12 (aged 11 to 17) may willingly take the test, which covers the four main communication skills (listening, speaking, reading and writing). Equal weight is given to all four skills (25%) and assessment is purely diagnostic, meaning test results have no influence over pupils' end-of-term grades.

³² As stipulated by Order nº 2929-A/2014.

³³ Although the test is mandatory (Orders nº 2929-A/2014 and nº 15747-A/2014), there are in reality no punitive measures for absentees.

This compulsory language test was first put into practice at the end of the 2013/14 academic year with the help of Cambridge English Language Assessment, a Cambridge University non-profit organization responsible for devising internationally accredited instruments that assess English proficiency in line with the CEFR. As a result, the "Key for Schools PORTUGAL" (KfS) project was developed to certify proficiency mainly at an A2 level. In the Portuguese school context, it assessed 101,494 students, 92% of which were Year 9 students. This test covered competences in levels A1 to B1 and the official results are displayed in Table 4.3.

In this first test the overall average mark was found to be 66.5% for Year 9 students alone, which corresponds to an A1 level in the KfS grading scale. It must be borne in mind that the attainment level for Year 9 is B1 as stipulated in official Portuguese National Curriculum so these results show that an overwhelming 78,8% of students did not match the expected requirements for English as a foreign language. More disconcerting is perhaps the number of students who were placed at a Pre-A1 level after presumably (almost certainly) having studied EFL for at least five consecutive years.

Table 4.3: Percentage of Year 9 students at each proficiency level according to the Key for Schools PORTUGAL test results (2013/14)

Level	Percentage
< A1	24,3
A1	22,9
A2	31,6
B1	21,1
Total	100,0

At the end of the 2014/15 school year a similar test was conducted but this time levels A2 to B2 were assessed, which denotes a higher degree of difficulty. Similarly, Cambridge English Language Assessment were in charge of devising a language proficiency test that would this time aim at certifying proficiency mainly at a

B1 level. Accordingly, the Preliminary English Language Test (PET) for Schools was then taken on as an alternative to the previous KfS test.

Although 111,534 students enrolled to take the PET (approximately the same number as in the KfS test), more than 23,5% of these ultimately chose not to undergo the assessment process, possibly due to the inexistence of punitive measures for absentees who were theoretically required to take the test. Thus, only 85,287 pupils were tested and these attained the results displayed in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4: Percentage of Year 9 students at each proficiency level according to the Preliminary English Test results (2014/15)

Level	Percentage
≤ A1	26,6
A2	35,2
B1	29,1
B2	9,1
Total	100,0

The Ministry of Education (2015) issued a press release in which the 2014 and 2015 scores are compared. Accordingly, PET results reveal that the percentage of students with a Pre-A1 or A1 level (47% in 2014) plummeted whereas the number of pupils achieving a B1 level increased by 8 percentage points. 9% of students actually surpassed the expected level of attainment and obtained a B2 level. Despite ministerial optimism that notably highlights the higher difficulty of the second test (but does not disclose the actual percentage of Pre-A1 results), 61, 8% of students failed to reach B1 proficiency, which is to say almost two-thirds of Year 9 students failed to meet the linguistic requirements as stipulated in the CEFR. Moreover, government officials have announced³⁴ that as of the 2015/16 academic year, the PET will cease to be a diagnostic test and will be taken into account when calculating students' marks at the year's end. According to this statement, schools will be authorized to autonomously

³⁴ According to information on the Educational Evaluation Institute (*Instituto de Avaliação Educativa, IAVE*) website, the Minister of Education announced this decision in July 2015, during a presentation in which the PET results were revealed.

determine the percentage weight given to this language test, which consequently may contribute even further to the imbalance (i.e. flexible time allocation) previously described.

There are two points worth considering in light of these results: firstly, they are in line with research in English language competence carried out by the European Commission survey (2012b). Although it only tested three of the four skills (Reading, Writing and listening), this survey also showed that the great majority (69%) of Portuguese students performed at an A1 or A2 level. Secondly, a reflection on these test results anticipates problems for students who supposedly must reach Secondary Education with a B1/B1+ level. According to official curricula, they are then expected to rapidly progress to level B2 in Year 11 and eventually level B2+ at the end of Year 12. Apart from the aforementioned survey in language competence, to date there has been no formal attempt to comprehensively assess English language proficiency at the end of Secondary Education, much like the Kfs and PET projects have done in Basic Education, which consequently lends strength to the research described in the following chapter. The 2014 Kfs report (Ministry of Education, 2014b) does mention, however, the intention of applying the First Certificate of English for Schools test in upcoming years, but an official governmental statement has yet to be made concerning this issue.

As laudable as it may be, the decision to make English a compulsory subject for seven years in a row might not turn out to be the answer to these below-target results revealed by the Kfs and PET projects. As the EF EPI (2011) duly notes:

In Europe, countries which start English instruction at an earlier age often have too few hours of second language instruction to make a measurable difference. Although many studies have shown the benefits of being exposed to a foreign language early, it seems that the limited hours of English instruction for young children in the public school systems of Europe are not enough to impact proficiency. For example, between 1984 and 2000 in the Netherlands and Denmark, children started English courses between ages 10 and 12, while in Spain and Italy they started between ages 8 and 11. Spain and Italy have the lowest adult proficiency levels in the EU despite the younger starting age. This lesson is an important one for policy makers: lowering the starting age of English study alone will not raise proficiency. The quality of the instructors, their teaching materials

and methods, and the number of hours of exposure to English are central in determining which skills students master.

EF EPI (2011: 12)

This is possibly a question Portuguese education policies need to consider especially at a time when specific regulations (Ordinance nº 260-A/2014) have been set so as to adequately prepare teachers who will be teaching Year 3 and 4 students in the context of early language learning. As stated earlier on, Portugal requires that specialist teachers take on the task of English instruction so it would be of utmost importance that, for example, teaching materials and methods were conveniently adapted; ideally, this would involve bringing an international perspective of English into classrooms, moving away from traditional native-speaker models of EFL. In my understanding, the quality of the instructors specified in the excerpt above is not a reference to NES teachers but rather an allusion to trained professionals who are not only well qualified but also aware of the role that English plays as an international lingua franca. This would mean teachers and students could be able to focus on aspects of English that the latter need and use in their lives outside the classroom, i.e. primarily as a lingua franca to communicate with NNEs from other L1s (Jenkins, 2015).

Another aspect the much-proclaimed seven years of consecutive compulsory English policy must take into account is that even in full-immersion settings children need four to seven years to be as competent in academic English as their native-speaking peers, and three to five years to be as fluent orally. EF EPI (2011) shows there is broad consensus among the scholarly community that in the partial-immersion environment in which most students learn English (such is the case with Portuguese children), a far longer time frame is necessary. This is perhaps what has led to what Phillipson (2007: 124) describes as "the mushrooming of English language schools" in southern Europe. He claims these schools, largely staffed by native speakers, are mostly a feature of countries in which the learning of English in state education tends to be less successful (as demonstrated by the proficiency tests above). Therefore, educationalists and their policies should consequently acknowledge that complete proficiency in a language is a long-term goal. This in turn "would help students to set realistic milestones for themselves and commit to their study programs accordingly" (EF EPI, 2011: 8). Moreover, greater tolerance towards errors in foreign language

teaching is needed as it has been established that "in the context of teaching English to non-native speakers, an insensitive enforcement of native speaker rules has generally demotivated students and has caused them to become taciturn in the foreign language" (Gnutzmann, 2009: 536). This scholar explains that there are significant benefits for the development of a new ELF paradigm: not only would it enhance the self-esteem and optimism of non-native learners, but also of teachers and researchers seeing that ELF is already used increasingly as a legitimate and functional mode of oral and intercultural communication, revealing that communicative success is not necessarily dependent on linguistic correctness.

All in all, as Seidlhofer (2011) accurately puts it, English that has been imperfectly learnt from a conventional point of view in Portuguese schools may very well be put into communicative use by its students.

4.6 English in Portuguese Higher Education

The tertiary level is the only one in which students voluntarily enroll given that Year 12 is the last year of compulsory education in Portugal. As stated earlier, the Bologna declaration, signed on 19 June 1999, was the first step towards the foundation of a multi-national system of Higher Education. As expected, this occasion clearly reshaped the specific identity of Higher Education within Portugal, namely study duration, certification and assessment of student performance. Both curricula and degrees now converge in the European Higher Education Area and Higher Education institutions have been forced to give their establishments as well as their study programmes a more international profile.

Higher Education participation and enrollment has expanded considerably over the past century, and particularly since 1970. In Portugal this massification reached its peak in 2000, after which the number of new students entering directly from secondary schools dropped, as did birth rates (Almeida and Vieira, 2012). However, as they note, massification is not necessarily synonymous with democratisation. Although Portuguese Higher Education is socially diversified, the fact remains that the possibility for different social groups to place their children in Higher Education is still far from

being equal and studies find that highly qualified professionals have eight times more probability of their offspring obtaining a degree than do industrial workers. Almeida and Vieira note that there are also differences between the university and polytechnic student communities: the most prestigious university degrees are still predominantly taken up by students from families of privileged socioeconomic status, many of which holding a first degree. In opposition, the social background of polytechnic institutions is broader, with an over-representation of students from socially disadvantaged milieux: many are children of 'industrial workers' or of 'manual workers and almost two-thirds of the families of origin have not gone beyond Basic Education. What is more, the academic trajectory of these students tends to involve a lower performance level than that of university students. Almeida and Vieira (2012: 144) claim that "such a profile allows us to grasp how economic factors – regional proximity and reduced expenses that such proximity may imply – as well as academic considerations – lower entrance grades, for instance – influence candidates to apply to polytechnics". Another example that substantiates this view is that when compared to polytechnic students, university students are three times more likely to have had experience of education abroad and in all forms – a study period at a foreign university or college, an internship, language course or similar.

This differentiated social landscape is important to consider when analysing Higher Education syllabi. Although the internationalisation of education flowing from the Bologna Process has led to selected faculties offering courses in English (attended by visiting and Portuguese students alike), Portuguese is almost always the medium of instruction in these institutions (McKenzie, 2012). However, there are commonly two distinct ways English can be taught in Portuguese Higher Education. Guerra (2009) explains that most commonly an English course may be offered as a fundamental component in language teacher training courses for basic and secondary schools; alternatively, it may be designed as an English for Specific Purposes/English for Academic Purposes courses, and in this case it is aimed at students who are studying in non-language related fields (e.g. Engineering, Business, Law). What is important to emphasize, as Guerra does, is that institutions are free to decide on all aspects of the course, such as the topics covered, weekly class load, course duration or attainment levels. Although proposals always require close examination and approval by the

Ministry of Education, this autonomy has led to a large number of more or less diverse English courses taught throughout Higher Education institutions. Understandably, a detailed account of all these courses cannot be accomplished adequately in this study; nonetheless, the English course provided by the School of Technology and Management (ESTG/IPL), at the Polytechnic Institute of Leiria (IPLeiria) presented below may be viewed as representative.

4.6.1 The case of ESTG/IPL

Established in 1980, IPLeiria is currently the leading Higher Education institution of Leiria and one of the largest in the country. It comprises five distinct Higher Education Schools that are strategically located in three different cities: a School of Education and Social Sciences (ESECS/IPL), a School of Health Sciences (ESSLei/IPL), and a School of Technology and Management (ESTG/IPL), all of which to be found in Leiria; a School of Fine Art and Design (ESAD/IPL), in Caldas da Rainha; and finally, a School of Tourism and Maritime Technology (ESTM/IPL), in Peniche. The city of Leiria is located near the western coast, in the central region of Portugal, where its economy relies mainly, but not exclusively, on the plastic injection moulding industry. With multiple schools of all educational levels, this district capital boasts a reputable district hospital making education, health and overall general public administration important contributors to the city's development. Further south, Caldas da Rainha has a long tradition in arts and culture, whereas, on the Atlantic coast, Peniche hosts the largest national fishing port, and a booming tourism industry due to some of the best surfing locations and one of the world's first nature reserves. Although separated by a distance of approximately 30 kilometres, both cities are similarly located in the western region of the country, thus making it possible for IPLeiria and its five schools to maintain their identity. It must also be borne in mind that the geographical location of each of these schools was intentionally thought of as a means to boost regional development as well as to benefit from all that local and regional enterprises could potentially offer graduate students, so rather than a hindrance, having the schools branch out brings in major dividends.

The largest of the five schools is ESTG/IPL, which was originally established in 1989. At the time it modestly offered three bachelor's degrees and no more than 100 students enrolled in the first year. At present, and according to data published on the IPLeiria website, this school has approximately 5,000 students attending 18 undergraduate degrees and 16 master degree programmes, lectured by more than 300 teachers, half of whom hold a doctorate degree. Classes are taught during the day, in the evening or via distance learning and cover distinct topics in the fields of engineering, technology, management, public administration, and legal sciences, to name a few.

This establishment of higher learning also provides a number of CETs and post-graduate courses, all in which engineering takes on a dominant role, as a clear response to the urgent needs of the region's labour market. As can be seen from Table 4.5, in addition to the alternatives in engineering and technology, there are other undergraduate degrees as varied as Biomechanics, Marketing or Solicitorship, which clearly reflects the eclectic nature of the school.

Table 4.5: Undergraduate degrees available at ESTG/IPL (2014/15)³⁵

Accountancy and Finance	Computer Sciences for Health Care	Marketing
Automotive Engineering	Electrical and Electronic Engineering	Management
Biomechanics	Energy and Environmental Engineering	Mechanical Engineering
Civil Engineering	Games and Multimedia	Network Engineering and Communication Services
Civil Protection	Health Equipment Technology	Public Administration
Computer Engineering	Industrial Engineering and Management	Solicitorship

³⁵ I have chosen to use the official course designation in English which is available on the IPLeiria website. It is also important to note that while these degrees were available in 2014, some have since then been discontinued and will be replaced by others.

In an effort to provide the best teaching and learning conditions to its students, ESTG/IPL has not only invested in modern, well-equipped facilities but also required, for instance, that teaching and non-teaching staff be submitted to training in specially designed English courses. With the drop in birth rates and new enrollments, it was apparent that there were economic rewards to be collected from international student recruitment. Attracting international fee-paying students would bring financial rewards as well as boost the institution's international prestige; therefore, this strategy has been one of IPLeiria's policies in the past years, and it is clearly stated in the manifesto of IPLeiria's current President (Mangas, 2009). As a result there is a growing number of incoming Erasmus students as well as other undergraduates who are studying at ESTG/IPL due to partnerships established namely with Central European countries or former Soviet Republics. Both teachers and non-teaching staff are therefore being provided with the necessary tools to interact (in English) with these foreign students, most of whom do not speak Portuguese at all.

The principles of the Bologna Process have had a significant impact on the institution's internationalisation strategy but they mostly challenged ESTG/IPL to adopt an effective language policy. This was achieved by restructuring the curricula for all undergraduate degrees and making English a compulsory course for all students in every field of study. As of September 2006 all undergraduate courses that did not already include English in their curriculum were adjusted so as to provide its students with the opportunity of studying English in this stage of learning. Thus, ESTG/IPL officially recognized the global status of English and it is now a first year subject or curricular unit (CU) as it is so called. It is taught in each of the eighteen undergraduate courses offered by this school, making it yet another accomplice involved in the global spread of English. In addition to this, ESTG/IPL offers master's degrees in English to students, with a grand internationalization strategy in mind: seminars in which foreign (i.e. non-Portuguese speaking) students are enrolled must be lectured in English by teachers who have a certified B1 level (or above) of English.

Before the changes put into practice by the Bologna Process, a limited number of undergraduate students were taught English for Specific Purposes, which meant that each undergraduate degree had its own English CU (e.g. Technical English or Business English). However, after the aforementioned adjustments, it was decided that

a common General English CU would be offered to students so as to make academic degree standards and quality assurance standards more comparable. Hence, over the span of fifteen weeks, students currently attend a two-hour class, once a week, either in the first or second semester of their first year as ESTG/IPL students.

Accordingly, each undergraduate course at the ESTG-IPL currently shares the same syllabus, devised by the Department of Language Sciences (DCL, 2010), which begins by conveying the following information to students:

In the era of globalization, the English language has become the main vector of global communication. The importance of this language relies not only on its role as a *lingua franca*, including among many native speakers of other languages, but also on forces led by groups with particular influence such as the academic, scientific, political or economic circles which have contributed to reinforce the use of language as a working tool. Accordingly, every professional must now have a good level of English, regardless of his/her area of work or specialty. Thus, a high level of competence in the four skills of English (listening; reading; speaking; writing) represents a vital aspect of any professional profile based on competitiveness, competence, dynamism and the capacity to open towards the outside world. This context of growing global mobility justifies in itself the Curricular Unit of English in the Curriculum as a means to prepare the students for both the present reality and the demands of the labour market.

(DCL, 2010: 1)

It is plain to see that the role of English as a *lingua franca* has been acknowledged by the ESTG/IPL as an important tool in a number of other domains of activity apart from the academic sphere, such as the worlds of business, science and politics. Note that on several occasions there is a mention to specific terms - "globalization", "global communication", "the outside world" and "global mobility" – which reinforce the role of English as "a *lingua franca*", another term intentionally used in the description of the CU. To use Seidlhofer's (2003: 12) terminology, ESTG/IPL views the international role of English from a "functional" perspective and visibly acknowledges its existence; as a result the syllabus mentions the global role of English as an econocultural fact and gives the following kinds of motivation for learning it: "the utilitarian one, i.e. importance for international business, and the idealistic one, i.e. the

potential it affords for furthering cross-cultural communication and mutual understanding" (*ibid.*).

At this point it is essential to emphasize that teachers of English in this specific school are evidently aware of the fact that English is a global lingua franca. It would, therefore, be important to understand if this awareness necessarily reflects in their teaching practices³⁶. Understandably, this specific concern cannot be carried out at this time as it would go far beyond the scope of this paper. Nevertheless, there is one practice carried out by English teachers in ESTG/IPL that deserves a detailed analysis: a compulsory placement test (which exclusively tests vocabulary³⁷ and grammar) that all first-year students are required to take, on admission, so as to submit evidence of their language proficiency.

4.6.2 The English placement test

According to the syllabus handed out to students, the purpose of this mandatory test "is to divide students according to their level of language, particularly as far as lexicon and grammar are concerned. Consequently, more homogeneous groups are formed in order to allow a more gradual learning process adapted to their previous knowledge" (DCL, 2010: 1). Entrance tests, levels tests or placement tests bear different designations but serve the same function: to allow teachers to quickly and easily ascribe a learner to the right class, or to assess whether a learner could cope with an activity such as academic study in the foreign language, on the basis of the volume of vocabulary that learners know and can use (Milton, 2009: 170). Although this placement test includes grammar, it does in fact serve the purpose described above. The reason for this instrument is that there is great pressure on DCL staff in ESTG/IPL to test very large numbers of students in a very short space of time in order

³⁶ Although teaching has predominantly been upheld by the use of coursebooks (aimed at professional adults who wish to develop key business language skills) that are published by an ELT company, presently teachers are progressively abandoning them and providing a collection of materials. Nonetheless, many of these are still largely based on exercises from other conventional ELT coursebooks.

³⁷ The term 'vocabulary' refers to words alone whereas 'lexis' is a somewhat wider concept and consists of collocations, chunks and formulaic expressions. Lexis also includes certain patterns that are traditionally associated with the grammar of a language, and that are present in the placement test, which is why I shall be using both terms interchangeably in this study.

to put them into appropriate classes for language teaching. Milton claims that knowledge of vocabulary, for instance, can be a good indicator of overall competence in a foreign language and may, in appropriate circumstances, be a very useful placement indicator and that there does not seem to be any good reason why schools, learners and examination boards should not make more use of this kind of information.

There are other tests that could be used, such as the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL), but this would prove unsuited for the task seeing it would require days or even weeks to mark. The placement test applied to students at this school takes only a few minutes to run, has (according to teachers) proved accurate and reliable in its judgments, and because it is done over the computer it marks itself .

As a result, and despite the limitations of the test (it does not test listening or speaking skills), students are placed into classes that conform to the five of the six levels set out by the CEFR: A1, A2, B1, B2 and C1 (there is no C2 class for lack of sufficient students who are able to demonstrate this level of proficiency). The goal for these undergraduates is to ideally attend B1 classes (or above) and successfully pass the required tests, as the A1 or A2 levels do not grant a passing grade. Students placed in the latter are encouraged to attend remedial courses in order to improve their language skills, which should then enable them to attend B1 classes more competently and successfully in forthcoming semesters. The objective of these 30-hour English courses (regardless of the level) is the development and acquisition of communication competences, which cover the four main communication skills: listening, speaking, reading and writing. All four communication skills are considered equally important and none takes priority over the others.

The need for this placement test arose precisely because students would conclude their secondary education and reveal very distinct English skills, in terms of reading, writing, speaking and listening. As explained earlier, a typical student will enroll at the ESTG/IPL after six or seven years of English. Although there are no explicit references to the CEFR levels in secondary school programmes, it has been demonstrated that the objectives and competencies which secondary students (Years 11 and 12) are supposed to acquire are clearly within the B2-C1 levels. There is, however, no incentive for placement test takers to inflate their scores artificially on this low-stakes test by cheating or cramming, as the results do not lead to certification

or admission to a programme. The test is merely diagnostic and aims at providing both students and teachers with information about undergraduates' proficiency levels. Any student placed within an A1 or A2 level may freely attend B1 classes (or above) and sit any B1 exam, seeing that only this level or higher will grant a passing grade.

It must be noted that except for some master's seminars ESTG/IPL does not generally offer English medium instruction to all of its students. These do not need to be able to attend and participate in lectures, take exams and produce written assignments in English; the main purpose of this placement test is to allocate several hundreds of students in different classes, according to their proficiency and in the least amount of time as possible. The following chapter will show that this is not a typical language test, such as TOEFL, although it does give great weight to linguistic and formal features seeing it plainly assesses knowledge of lexis and grammar.

When this placement test was implemented, the DCL anticipated a specific level of learning outcome by these new students based on aforementioned attainment levels. Despite having undergone at least six years of prior English learning, which theoretically endow students with competencies at a B2 level, since 2006 to present-day it has been observed that the vast majority of these undergraduates struggle with the demands of this language in its Standard British or American varieties. In fact, the vast majority of students in this school are A2 or edging towards B1. Additionally, there are a significant number of A1 students as well.

The fact that these results have been recurrent over the course of time is fundamentally the reason that led to this research, and because of these systematic low results a number of questions instantly emerged: is the placement test reliable?; if so, why are students displaying such low levels of attainment?; is lexis or grammar more problematic for students?; would the 'errors' detected in the placement test cause communication breakdowns or would they be unproblematic, enabling students to communicate successfully with native and non-native speakers of English at an international level?; what kind of EFL background do these students have?; and, most importantly, how should the DCL respond in their teaching to students who have studied English for a considerable number of years and have still not reached the attainment levels predicted by official ministerial curricula?

At a time when a general shift in curricular guidelines has taken place from 'correctness' to 'appropriateness' and 'intelligibility', in other words, from Standard L1 English to ELF (Seidlhofer, 2003), the focus on English Language teaching at the ESTG (and secondary schools alike) is largely based on a student's ability to speak and write English as a native speaker does. For that reason, the answers to the concerns above are the purpose of the following chapter so as to possibly contribute to the establishment of innovative linguistic and pedagogical outlooks in this school.

4.7 Summary

After having highlighted the shortcomings of the CEFR, the scope narrows and attention is given to the role English plays in Portugal. The growing number of studies shows that this topic is attracting increasingly more attention among Portuguese researchers even though the Portuguese language is one of the most spoken worldwide. While Portuguese strengthens its position in the language race, English is paradoxically progressively more influential in Portugal: exposure to English in Portugal happens in and outside the classroom in countless domains. A closer look at how English is taught is the focus of the chapter at this stage. To begin with, a comprehensive view of the Portuguese education system is provided in order to fully comprehend how English takes its place within schools. Subsequently, this chapter reveals that students in Portugal will now have to study English for seven consecutive rows which is the result of a recent ministerial decision. This requirement of students is aimed at improving levels of proficiency and these are discussed in the following sections. Overall, it has become clear that levels of attainment are too ambitious especially when we consider factors such as class size and teaching time. This assertion is confirmed by the compromising results of two language tests which assess Year 9 students' proficiency levels in EFL and show they are far behind in terms of attainment expectations.

Next this chapter concentrates on the role of English in Higher Education. A brief description of the tertiary system is given and an important reference is made to the differentiated social landscape of universities and polytechnic institutions. It is

suggested that among other features, stronger students move on to university whereas lower performance students generally apply to polytechnics. Although this level of education is not compulsory, it is still possible to find English being studied in tertiary institutions. One of these cases is that of ESTG/IPL where all undergraduate students are required to study English for at least one semester. This English course requires that students attain a B1 level in order to pass and the orientation is above all towards job-related proficiencies. Before attending classes, we have seen that students are required to take a placement test. This is a quick and useful method teachers have found to assess the overall level of knowledge and proficiency of foreign language learners. Although students are not obliged to attend classes determined by their test result, the school has found that these give reliable and, most important of all, trustworthy estimates of EFL learners' knowledge. What stands out after several years of testing is that the great majority of students appear to fall short of the kind of standards of knowledge expected by the Portuguese curriculum authorities. If this is so, there is uncertainty whether these learners will be overall less able in English than might be expected or desired. Among other concerns, the empirical study that follows will draw on data collected from placement tests to understand if these learners' "errors" would cause communication breakdowns or if they would be unproblematic, enabling them to communicate successfully with native and non-native speakers of English at an international level.

Chapter 5

A Sociolinguistic Profile of Students of English at ESTG/IPL

Good English is sometimes equated with correct English, but the two concepts should be differentiated. Correct English is conformity to the norms of the standard language. Good English is good use of the resources available in the language. In that sense we can use a non-standard dialect well and can use the standard language badly. By good English we may mean language used effectively or aesthetically; language that conveys clearly and appropriately what is intended and language that is pleasing to the listener or the reader.

(Greenbaum, 1996: 17)

5.1 Introduction

Having provided a detailed description of the ELT background in Europe and in Portugal, it is now the moment to introduce the students of English at ESTG/IPL and examine particular features of their academic background before admission to this establishment of higher learning. In addition, a detailed analysis of students' linguistic skills will be carried out in order to establish a broad sociolinguistic profile of the student body enrolled in an undergraduate degree at this school.

To begin with, it is imperative that the four research questions, around which this study revolves, be presented. Alongside these questions, the four corresponding hypotheses that guided this research are also provided. A general understanding of the setting in which this study took place is essential, therefore, a detailed description of the research context is laid out, and this will help situate the discussion in a particular environment where ELT is carried out in Portugal. The research methods and methodology taken up to establish a student profile are the concern of the next section of this chapter. In consequence, this will provide greater insight to the adoption of the placement test, one of the key elements in this investigation. Special

attention will be devoted to the purpose, design and administration of a questionnaire as well as the ways in which the data generated by the tests and questionnaires were analysed. These analyses disclose relevant background features of Portuguese students of English, namely years of English schooling, problems experienced in previous English education and attitudes towards English.

Students not only share a perception of their own English language competence, but are also required to display their proficiency in a receptive skills language test. The answers provided to this assessment exercise are then examined so as to determine if testees exhibit greater difficulty in the areas of lexis or grammar.

Following this evaluation, a sample of answers are analysed so as to determine whether 'incorrect' choices would hinder effective communication in an international setting, according to what is advocated by the ELF paradigm.

In undertaking this sociolinguistic profile of students of English at ESTG/IPL, I thus capture in microcosm features of language use that may be representative of a larger student population, at a local and national level, and which ultimately may guide educators and language policies towards an ELF approach in ELT.

5.2 Research questions and hypotheses

Before ESTG/IPL undergraduate degree courses were restructured to keep with the principles of the Bologna Declaration, English syllabi at this school stated that although there were no formal prerequisites for incoming students, these were expected to have had five to seven years of English learning in formal language-learning contexts, typically in Basic and Secondary Education. As of 2005/2006, this unofficial requirement was dropped from the new General English syllabus since students would be able to voluntarily take remedial classes (A1 or A2) in order to prepare for the redesigned English CU. I recall that ESTG/IPL has ruled that the minimum level in English for all undergraduate courses is to be B1 of the CEFR. Even so, teachers predicted that the vast majority of 1st year students would have had no less than five years of English language learning before enrolling in ESTG/IPL as this is the most common pattern of acquisition of English (as a foreign language) in Portugal.

Therefore, the General English course would overall require undergraduates to confirm their proficiency at a B1 level at the end of the semester, a skill they would have theoretically acquired in previous educational stages.

All incoming students are asked to take a placement test before attending classes; this is meant to provide teachers and especially testees useful feedback about the specific skills the latter needed to develop in order to successfully complete their course. After having conducted placement tests for seven years (from 2006 to 2013), it was sharply evident that a great number of students fell into the A1/A2 levels, well below the anticipated proficiency level. The test, which teachers believed to have a substantial degree of predictive value, recurrently revealed the same results. This evidence has consequently led to the formulation of four research questions which form the basis of this empirical investigation:

1. What histories of English learning in formal language-learning contexts do incoming students have?
2. What perception do students have of their English language competence in contrast to their placement test result?
3. Which are more problematic to the students who took the placement test: lexical or grammatical items?
4. Will the 'errors' detected in the placement test cause communication breakdowns, as those described in the literature, or will they be unproblematic, enabling students to communicate successfully with NES and NNES at an international level?

In the initial stages of the present study, hypotheses for each research question were put forth and are as follows:

1. Students will have struggled with the subject throughout the course of Basic and Secondary Education.

2. Students will argue they have higher language competence than the one suggested by the placement test.
3. There will be evidence that both lexical and grammatical items are problematic for students.
4. 'Errors' detected in the placement will not prevent successful communication with NES and NNEs at an international level although they might create some degree of disturbance³⁸.

Students' performance in placement tests is persistently below expectations and in an attempt to determine why this occurs, the first question will focus for the most part on students' English-learning histories. However, as I have demonstrated in the previous chapter (see section 4.6), because there is evidence that the academic trajectory of polytechnic students tends to involve a lower performance level than that of university students, attention will also be given to undergraduates' admission average.

The second question aims to "right a wrong", on the grounds that many students find fault with the placement test result and their dissatisfaction is frequently informally expressed to teachers. Many of them choose to disregard the placement information and attend classes at a higher level. Therefore, students' perceptions of their own linguistic competence will be taken into account in contrast to the placement score.

The third and fourth questions contemplate students' performance on the test itself by seeking to understand where problems arise and determining if these problems would prevent smooth communication in an ELF setting. This will be done by

³⁸ There is a significant difference between the terms *breakdown* and *disturbance*, which must be clarified. Breakdown refers to a more severe problem as it traditionally suggests that communication does not take place, whereas disturbance refers to any turbulence during the communication process. Typically this type of problem is overcome by making use of "confirmation checks, repair requests and general requests for clarification through direct questions and repetition of troublesome items" (Björkman, 2013: 63).

making use of features researchers have identified as prone to misunderstandings or generally unproblematic.

Hopefully, the answer to these questions will enable an insight into the context of English in the Portuguese educational system, ultimately leading to the outline of a sociolinguistic profile of students at ESTG/IPL. Frequently used in research of this nature (Kachru, 1985; Erling, 2004), this framework has been used in sociolinguistics to represent situations where English is used around the world. Erling points out that such a profile can also provide a description of the speech community in the social and cultural context. This is "a useful starting point for informed decision making in the pedagogical areas of curriculum development, materials design and the setting of goals and expectations, as well as in the areas of language planning and policy-making" Erling (2004: 84).

Subsequently, in the final chapter, this profile will lead to a proposal of some pedagogical and practical applications of ELF research that can be put into action in Englishes courses at ESTG/IPL.

5.3 The research context

The research context in which I have conducted my investigation was carried out exclusively within the ESTG/IPL institution, a Higher Education school that is part of IPLeiria, in Portugal (see section 4.6). The compulsory English course which is part of the curriculum of all undergraduates at this school is the main setting in which observation and data collection has come to pass. Additionally, it must be said that all the activities that underpin this research took place during a relatively long period of time (2006 to 2013), considering that the four different stages of this investigation were implemented sequentially, rather than concurrently (see Table 5.1).

In order to select a reliable placement test that would present accurate results to the greatest degree possible, preliminary placement testing began in May 2006. At this point, two different tests were conducted by a select group of ESTG/IPL students during a one week time span. These students ranged from Year 1 to Year 4 and were studying in fields as varied as Engineering, Management or Translation. Upon analysis

of the results, this trial testing enabled the DCL teaching staff to select the placement test they considered the most trustworthy. Official placement testing commenced in September 2006 and to date it is still in effect at this school. However, following a period of six years in which testing was conducted at the beginning of each semester (September 2006 to September 2012), a detailed list of all test scores was compiled; this showed that over two thirds of these students had been placed in levels A1 or A2. This concerning result led to the collection of data that comprised a detailed account of students' performance (i.e. individual answers on the placement test). In order to obtain information about students' history in English learning, a specific questionnaire was designed and distributed to students during the examination period in January 2013, with the intention of obtaining full response.

Table 5.1: Research activity timeline

Date	Research activity
May 2006	Placement test trials
September 2012	Compilation of test scores carried out from 2006 to September 2102
December 2012	Collection of data concerning students' individual answers on tests
February 2013	Distribution of questionnaires

Placement tests are mandatory³⁹ so all undergraduate students from every field of study have completed one; this gives us reason to believe that the results obtained are indicative of the whole student body, irrespective of the degree undertaken. On the other hand, questionnaires were distributed randomly to chiefly first-time, first - year students who then filled them out in handwriting. These Year 1 students were taking the first end-of-semester test (*frequência*), which implied that they had attended at least 75% of English classes prior to this test (contrary to subsequent exams that have no such requirement). A smaller number of questionnaires were also distributed at the same time to students who had multiple enrollments (i.e. they were

³⁹ School regulations enforce that all students carry out a placement test; however, there are no disciplinary consequences for students who fail to do so. Therefore, and despite teachers' efforts, every semester there will always be an extremely small number of undergraduates who fail to take this proficiency test.

not first-time students); school rules stipulate that these students need not attend the compulsory amount of English classes. Even so, their answers to the questionnaire were taken into account.

5.4. Research methods and methodology: establishing a student profile

The large number of placement tests cyclically conducted at ESTG/IPL has generated an equally great amount of relevant data, which necessarily require a quantitative analysis approach. This kind of approach is meaningful as there is a need for data summary across many repetitions of this participatory process (placement test); this data summarisation will then lead to the identification of common features that emerge across such repetition (Abeyasekera, 2005).

In this research, the data will be collected through placement tests and questionnaires administered to a substantial sample of the student population in Portuguese Higher Education - the undergraduates attending an English course at ESTG/IPL. As is frequent with quantitative analysis approaches, results may be interpreted to determine the probability that the conclusions found among the sample can be replicated within the larger population (Borrego, Douglas and Amelink, 2009). Therefore, results gathered from placement tests and questionnaires will allow for a legitimate generalization and enable reasonable inferences to be made about students English-learning histories, both at local and national levels.

Although this research relies on the collection of quantitative data to ultimately project findings onto the larger population through an objective process, it does not merely reduce measurement to numbers; for example, the questionnaire has instances of qualitative research, with open ended questions; most importantly, as Allwright and Bailey (1991) argue, qualitatively collected data can be analysed quantitatively. This will be accomplished by analysing students' performance in placement tests so as to establish, with necessary support from the literature, if their lexico-grammatical choices would result in miscommunication or, alternatively, in communicative success. On the other hand, the results collected from questionnaires will undergo single variable frequency analysis and cross-tabulation analysis in order to compare the

relationship between two or more categories and understand how they are related to each other.

In the end, the social and linguistic features collected from tests and questionnaires will provide a sociolinguistic profile of students of English at ESTG/IPL and ultimately in Portuguese Higher Education.

5.4.1 Selecting an English placement test

Before describing the data collected through placement tests, it is essential to understand the process that preceded the implementation of proficiency testing at ESTG/IPL. A brief outline of this course of action will attempt to validate the legitimacy of the test and its findings.

The decision to submit all incoming students to an English placement test was made in early 2006 by the teaching staff at DCL. At the time, two different testing models were suggested and before any informed choice was made, these needed to be trialled. This was achieved by submitting 213 students to at least one of these tests and then comparing results to students' overall performance in class. Testees were ESTG/IPL students attending Management, Computer Engineering, Marketing, Public Administration or Translation degree courses in Years 1, 2, 3, or 4. The wide-ranging fields of study aimed at fully representing the student body in an attempt to obtain the most accurate results possible. Furthermore, these test takers carried out this task in May 2006, at the end of two semesters of English classes. This meant that teachers were fully aware of each student's language skills, thus enabling a more reliable analysis of test scores. It was paramount that tests be taken in a short amount of time and be computer marked so, after some adjustment, both alternatives were able to offer these requisites.

The X_Lex test

The first placement trial relied on the X_Lex test (Meara, 2005), a software programme which is fundamentally a test of vocabulary breadth, i.e. it assesses how many words a student knows in English. It does this by presenting students with a set

of words, one at a time, in a context-free environment. Students then have to decide whether or not they know the meaning of each word. The words are selected from five different frequency bands, and this allows the program to generate a profile showing the proportion of words you know in each broad frequency band.

As the series of words appear in the test window, students must click on the 'smiley face' icon if they know what the word means. If they do not know what it means, or if they are unsure, they must click the 'sad face' button. At the end of the test, the score is displayed in the main panel; the higher the score, the higher the student is placed in the CEFR hierarchy.

What is distinctive in the X_Lex test is that it contains a number of imaginary words that do not really exist. These words are used to check on how reliable test takers' claims are. If they allege to know a large number of the imaginary words, then their claim to know the real words is suspect, so the test score is adjusted downwards. This generally means that the scores produced by X_Lex are conservative scores, which may underestimate learners' true knowledge of vocabulary. The program additionally provides an important caveat: it should not be used in high stakes situations where accuracy and reliability are at a premium.

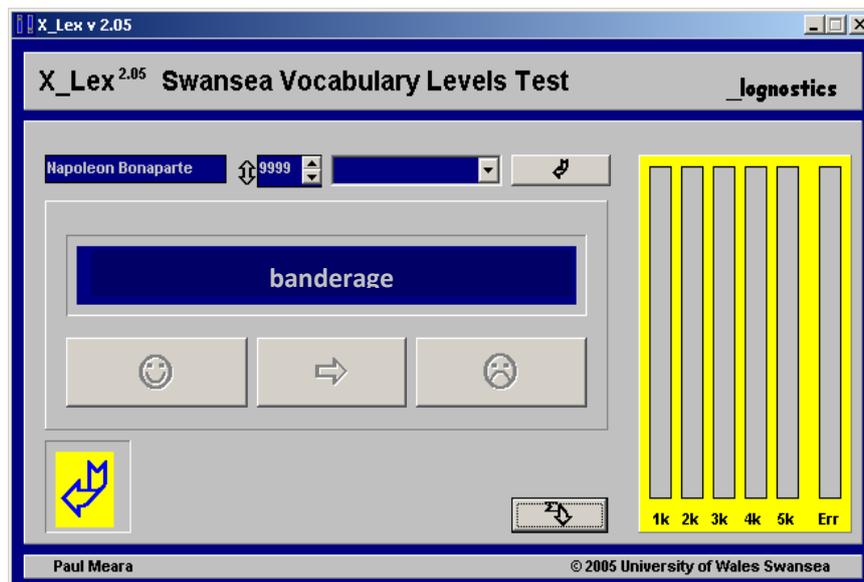


Figure 5.1: The X_Lex test user interface

The *Inside Out* quick placement test

The second placement test (see Annex 1 for the detailed test, and Annex II for the key) is a resource made available by Macmillan Education, a division of Macmillan Publishers Limited, in the form of a five-level English course designed for adult learners of English. This course includes five course books - the *Inside Out* series - aimed at students with different levels of English. In order to place students in appropriate classes for teaching, this course provides a Test CD-ROM containing two placement tests which were designed to place students into groups corresponding to the five levels of the *Inside Out* series. The instructions provided with the CD-ROM state that there is a quick version of the test and a longer version. The quick test is comprised of 60 multiple-choice items and the full test contains the same questions as the quick test, plus reading and writing sections. Both tests are accompanied by an answer key and a conversion table (see Table 5.2), and are also graded to test progressively more difficult items. Students with no previous knowledge of English at all would not normally be required to take either test.

Table 5.2: *Inside Out* quick placement test conversion table

Total Score	Level
0–10	Elementary
11–24	Pre-intermediate
25–36	Intermediate
37–48	Upper-intermediate
49–60	Advanced

The idea of carrying out a full placement test at ESTG/IPL was soon abandoned since it would be a time-consuming activity that would require a large investment of effort by teachers. The quick placement test seemed more reasonable although it only tests students' knowledge of grammatical structures and vocabulary. It comprises a total of 60 multiple-choice test items (36 structure and 24 vocabulary, according to the publishing company which designed it) that are worth one point each and students are

given no more than 30 minutes to complete it. As stated above, items on this test are progressively more difficult and placement according to a student's scores is based on the assumption that they had attempted to answer all the questions. Naturally, there would be no point in requesting students with no previous knowledge of English to take the test even though it involved discrete item testing.

In 2006 the *Inside Out* quick placement test was not developed in the form of a software programme but instead consisted of a Microsoft Word document that had to be copied, handed out to students and then marked manually. However, because ESTG/IPL has access to Moodle (Modular Object-Oriented Dynamic Learning Environment), this test was converted into its current electronic version. Moodle is a free source e-learning software platform designed to facilitate the communications between teachers and students. It enables, for example, the instant and automatic grading of tests, as well as the detailed analysis of students' performance (duration of the test and answers provided, among others). By uploading the *Inside Out* placement test onto the platform, teachers and students were immediately informed of test scores and CEFR levels as soon as answers had been submitted successfully.

As this test was designed to place students into a five-level course, a slight adjustment to the original *Inside Out* conversion table⁴⁰ was made so as to place students into groups corresponding to the six levels of the CEFR.

⁴⁰ Macmillan Education have recently updated this table to keep with the CEFR levels, and made the test available to all over the Internet at the New *Inside Out* website. This update contemplates the six standard levels as well as two plus levels. Given that this new scale was non-existent at the time ESTG/IPL implemented their placement activities, it will be disregarded throughout the course of this study.

Table 5.3: New *Inside Out* quick placement test conversion table

Total Score	Level	CEFR level
0-9	Beginner	A1
10-19	Elementary	A1+ to A2
20-29	Pre-intermediate	A2 + to B1
30-39	Intermediate	B1
40-49	Upper-intermediate	B2
50-60	Advanced	C1

Table 5.4: ESTG/IPL placement test conversion table

Total Score	CEFR Level
0–20	A1
21–35	A2
36–45	B1
46–50	B2
51–55	C1
56–60	C2

This adjustment was, in reality, anticipated by the test makers who encourage teachers to tailor the test to their own needs. Accordingly, Table 5.4 shows the proficiency scale used for the trials.

English teachers at ESTG-IPL's DCL then carried out several trials in order to confirm the tests' reliability. A significant number of students (112) ranging from different courses and demonstrating distinct levels of English language skills were asked to take both placement tests. These test results were examined in contrast to students' overall performance in class; because this proficiency assessment was carried out after teachers and students had shared a formal English-learning environment for two semesters, these teachers than had a clear notion of the productive skills that were not tested (namely listening and speaking). It is crucial to note that students were being assessed in terms of their competence in EFL and all that this entails, i.e. the native speaker model was set as the aim to be achieved.

Results from both tests showed that fairly homogeneous groups could be formed. For instance, Year 4 Translation students, who were at an advantage, achieved overall higher results in the trial (B2 and C1), which was understandable and expected considering their previous knowledge of English. However, Year 1 students taking Engineering degrees, for instance, achieved overall lower results. Upon closer observation it was noted that the *X_Lex* test would place students in a higher level than the *Inside Out* placement test. In fact, out of 112 students who had taken both tests, 49% obtained better results in the *X_Lex* test, 31% were placed in the same level and 20% attained a lower level than in the *Inside Out* test. This fluctuation was clarified

by individually analysing students' scores in contrast to their performance demonstrated in class.

This analysis showed that the X_Lex test seemed to inflate students' linguistic competence and in the end the teachers officially opted for the *Inside Out* placement test as the fastest, most accurate and reliable way to place students on English language courses at ESTG/IPL. Nevertheless, and even though teachers had concluded that the potential degree of error was minimal, test results, which were initially restrictive (i.e. they formally required students to attend classes corresponding to the level obtained in their placement test), shortly began to be used as merely an indicator, thus enabling students to attend English classes in the level of their choice, despite their level of proficiency. This measure was intended to prevent potential misjudgements and avoid demotivating students. It is well known that there are a number of universities around the world that require students to take entrance tests and if standards are not met, these students may be prevented from studying in the institution; however, this is namely the case in places where English is the medium of instruction and students are generally foreign. Although this practice is controversial from an ELF perspective (Jenkins, 2014), the placement test as ESTG/IPL is much less constricting for the reasons explained above.

As a safeguard, I would like to emphasize that the DCL teaching staff did not design this test and are fully aware of its strengths as well as its limitations. Although it enables teachers to instantaneously group large numbers of students according to their proficiency in English, the former understand that this exercise is by no means a precise, in-depth assessment of students' English language skills. This would require teachers to individually test a student's listening, reading, writing and speaking skills, which is unquestionably a cumbersome and time-consuming alternative for all those involved, seeing that several hundreds of students must be placed in an appropriate level during the first week of the school semester.

Placement test data

There are two sets of data collected from placement activities. The first set exclusively comprises 5903 placement *scores* referring to tests conducted from

September 2006 to September 2012. A list containing these details was automatically generated by the Moodle platform in the form of an Excel spreadsheet, which was then analysed manually. Results were sorted accordingly so as to identify any particular patterns. Although this does represent a vast number of tests, which is no doubt indicative of undergraduates' overall performance, the information concerning students' choices for each of the 60 items is not available. Except for the duration of each test, the e-learning software was unable to retrieve other specific data for tests taken earlier than 2010.

On that account, a second set of data was compiled and this information encompasses *answers* to 1170 tests carried out between February 2012 and September 2013. Each placement exercise tested 36 structure items and 24 vocabulary items, resulting in a total of 60 multiple-choice exercises which were completed on Moodle in a maximum time of 30 minutes. Results were likewise automatically retrieved from the platform in the form of an Excel spreadsheet. However, because the data were more detailed and in greater quantity, a software tool was required to perform statistical analysis. The popular Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) has proven to be of great assistance in the past for many educational researchers, so this application was taken up as a means of analysing and managing the data collected through Moodle.

Before initiating the test, students were given a set of instructions and information concerning test objectives, contents, length, duration, and grading system. Although some tests may have been conducted as part of a distance-learning exercise, the vast majority were carried out in school under the supervision of a teacher. While this is a low-stakes exercise, the program offers a question and answer randomization feature, so placement questions and answers are presented to all students in a random order. This discourages students who sit in close proximity to one another from cheating. In general, once a student has taken the test, he or she can not repeat it, so all results collected in both sets of data belong to first-time test takers.

5.4.2 The questionnaire

After taking into account how the English language is used in placement tests, it was crucial to establish who these users of English were. In order to gain an insight into students' histories of formal English learning, a traditional paper questionnaire was designed and, to some extent, influenced by Erling's (2004) research (see Appendix 1 for the full questionnaire). Although web-based questionnaires are increasingly more widespread, this paper version was chosen with the purpose of increasing response rates. It was pre-tested within a small group of students of a similar background to the one surveyed in this study, in order to identify problems with the format or wording, and any ambiguities or vagueness were ironed out. As expected, this sample will not be included in the final survey.

Having performed a sample survey, the final version of the questionnaire was later distributed in class, to 250 students at the end of their English exam, in January 2013. The advantages in doing so were plentiful: distractions were reduced to a minimum, students were always under supervision while responding, and the total number of participants who were asked to take part, handed in the questionnaire fully-completed, with some minor exceptions. This was imperative to the survey, seeing that a high number of response rates was crucial in order to increase the validity and usefulness of the results.

In order to accurately gather information about the role of the Portuguese educational system, domains of English use, students' level of proficiency and attitudes towards English, this questionnaire was devised in Portuguese and the wording was kept clear and simple, which meant avoiding the use of technical or specialized words. Enquiries concerning ELF, varieties and ownership of English and other in-depth issues were also curbed for the same reason explained above. Instead, the document contained an unambiguous title - The Teaching and Learning of English in Basic and Secondary Education (*O Ensino e a Aprendizagem do Inglês no Ensino Básico e Secundário*) - as well as a brief description of the study, stating its purpose while it provided clear and easy-to-follow instructions that made it simple to complete.

Students were asked to reply honestly even though sections of the questionnaire dealt with potentially controversial or personal topics; therefore, these students were allowed to maintain their anonymity. As honest answers depend on the extent to which the respondents feel the data remain confidential, this non-intrusive

questionnaire gave respondents the freedom to provide bold answers without embarrassment or fear of reprisal. It is true that the anonymity of questionnaires may lead to increased chances of misunderstanding or miscommunication, as the respondents may interpret a question differently than what the researcher intended, however, seeing that students were supervised, they had the chance to seek clarification or make amends at any time.

Due to the great number of potential respondents, all of the quantitative data obtained from this study was designed to be acquired by means of closed-ended questions, such as dichotomous, multiple choice (either with one answer or with check-all-that-apply), rating scale and filter questions. The variety of questions formats was an intentional attempt to avoid the repetitiveness and monotony that may undermine such an activity. Moreover, the list of possible responses was mutually exclusive and exhaustive so respondents would not find themselves without any category that fit their situation. One strategy employed to prevent this from happening was the use a final category for "other", which was then treated as qualitative data.

There are no more than 27 questions and four sub-items on this questionnaire to avoid risking fatigue of respondents, and although they are presented sequentially, their scope of coverage encompasses two specific domains. The first section seeks to outline students' socio-demographic and academic background, such as the facts listed below:

- Gender (Q1);
- Age (Q2);
- Nationality (Q3);
- Geographical region (Q4);
- Occupational status (Q5);
- Educational attainment (Q11);
- International migration experience (Q12);
- Language spoken at home (Q13).

Within the same section, a next set of questions establishes students' academic profile before and after being admitted to a degree course at ESTG/IPL. These questions cover the following items:

- Year of study at ESTG/IPL(Q6);
- Application process for admission (Q7);
- Year of first admission to ESTG/IPL (Q8);
- Degree course (Q9);
- Admission average (Q10);
- Previous degree attainment (Q11);
- Secondary Education programme (Q16).

A second section of this survey is devoted to examining students' histories of English learning in formal language-learning contexts. This is done by focusing on the features that follow:

- First school year of formal English instruction (Q14);
- Last school year of formal English instruction (Q15);
- In-school English tutoring (Q17);
- Out-of-school time English tutoring (Q18);
- Failure in English language at Basic Education level (Q19);
- Opinion on English teachers' performance (Q20);
- Opinion on materials used in the English classroom (Q21);
- Use of alternative materials in the English classroom (Q22);
- Importance of English language learning (Q23).

Whereas the questions above examine students' academic experience before being admitted to ESTG/IPL, the set below enquires undergraduates on their experience at this institution of Higher Education. These questions are broader in nature given that there was a risk students might feel they would compromise their confidentiality or grades, and others might perceive the questions as an invasion of privacy:

- Level assigned by the placement test (Q24);
- Opinion on the placement test result (Q25);
- Opinion on students' own perception of English language competence (Q26);
- Hours devoted to studying English per week (Q27).

The confidential responses on these paper questionnaires were manually transferred to a spreadsheet. All categorical responses were then entered in Excel as numeric data, which was then computer coded, thus enabling SPSS to carry out the statistical analysis in this research. The purpose of this quantitative analysis is to generate an insight and understanding of student's English learning histories in contrast to their linguistic choices in placement tests. Hopefully, this study of a sample of the student population in Portuguese Higher Education will eventually produce outcomes that can be generalized to larger settings than the one in which they were made.

5.5 Questionnaire findings: a general description of the student body

This section is dedicated to establishing a broad profile of the student body attending ESTG/IPL and enrolled in the Year 1 English course. This profile aims to reveal students' English learning history before being admitted to Higher Education, as well as their overall academic performance from Years 10 to 12. It then proceeds to determine if English was a challenging subject in Basic and Secondary Education or if it was generally unproblematic. Findings gathered from this survey reveal students' attitudes towards English by determining the domains of English use they consider fundamental. Finally, this profile tries to capture students' self-assessment of English proficiency in contrast to the placement score they obtained. In this regard, the profile describes to what extent students consider they are able to read, write, speak and understand spoken English according to CEFR levels.

Gender

Answers to this question reveal that there were a majority of male students attending the English course in February 2012. Of 250 undergraduates surveyed, 57.2% are male and 42.8% are female. The higher number of male students contradicts the national tendency, seeing that data from the Directorate-General for Higher Education (*Direcção Geral do Ensino Superior, DGES*) show that female students are in greater number in Portuguese Higher Education.

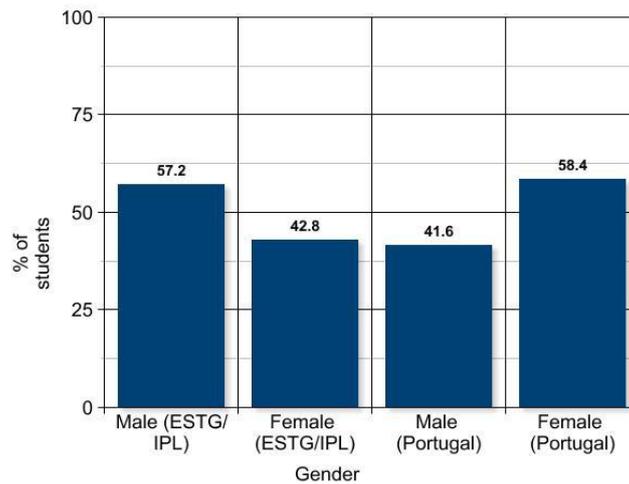


Figure 5.2: Gender distribution of respondents vs. undergraduate population in Portuguese Higher Education

This could be because ESTG/IPL has a large number of engineering degree courses which traditionally attract a greater number of male students. On the other hand, the Solicitorship degree course draws in many female students who only take the English course in the second semester; as a result, a large segment of these female students did not take part in this survey. Nonetheless, considering English is a compulsory course it would be fair to state that overall there are more male students attending ESTG/IPL.

Age

The average age of the students taking the English course at ESTG/IPL is 25, but students range in age from 19 to 62 years of age (see Appendix II, Tables 2 and 3). In

order to perceive results more clearly, these students were divided into three different age groups according to their frequency.

Over two-thirds of respondents are below the age of 27; however, the modal group (i.e. the one with the highest frequency) is 22 years of age, with a total of 40 (16.1%) students, which is in truth a significant finding. Note that students' notional age in the school system predicts that they will be admitted to Higher Education at the age of 18. It would then be expected that students taking this English course at ESTG/IPL would range in age from 18 to 19 and this is clearly not the case. For reasons unable to determine with this questionnaire, a great number of students seem to have been held back on their pathway to the tertiary level of education and are consequently experiencing a late start, with all that this entails for them in the future. In fact, only one student out of 250 was 19 years old - the expected notional age - when he or she filled out the questionnaire.

Table 5.5: Distribution of respondents by age groups

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	19-22 years	105	42.0	42.2	42.2
	23-26 years	80	32.0	32.1	74.3
	27 or older	64	25.6	25.7	100.0
	Total	249	99.6	100.0	
Missing	NR	1	.4		
Total		250	100.0		

These results can be interpreted in different ways and may be no doubt pertinent for studies in other fields of education; however, the bulk of students who are older than they should be raises an interesting point for this particular research: as Portugal is a country that allows grade retention, it must be taken into account that an indefinite number of these students were possibly held back in Basic and Secondary Education. If this was the case, then they were required to repeat all subjects (especially in the case of Basic Education), meaning they might have been exposed to English for a longer period than originally anticipated and should possibly display a higher level of proficiency in English. Admittedly, this scenario was unforeseen when

designing and administering the questionnaire and it is definitely a point to return to in further research. However, evidence shows that 94 (37.8%) students are over 25 years of age, which indicates there is a high probability that many have not studied English in a formal context for a long period of time. Enrolling in an English course that will then require them to attain a B1 level may very well prove to be a challenge.

Nationality

Enquiry pertaining to nationality tells us nothing new: only eighteen of the 250 respondents held a nationality other than Portuguese. Five of these were PALOP students (from Cape Verde) whose educational system generally follows the Portuguese model. Other nationalities mentioned were Angolan (1), Brazilian (1), Canadian (2), French (2), German (2) Moldovan (1), North-American [*sic*] (1) and Ukrainian (2). None of these students were at ESTG/IPL under the Erasmus programme or similar exchange programmes. However, considering Cape Verde, Angola and Brazil all have Portuguese as an official language it is perceptible from the data collected that over 95% of these respondents are more than likely to have had regular exposure to Portuguese on a daily basis; on the other hand, the number of nationals from English-speaking countries is irrelevant as shall be confirmed in a further section.

Geographical region

IPLeiria sets a fixed admission quota for each degree course, meaning that students who wish to apply to ESTG/IPL will be at an advantage if they live in the region of Leiria or neighbouring districts. This admissions preference typically distributes 30% to 50% of admissions to students who both concluded their Secondary Education and have lived in this region for a minimum of two years before submitting their application. Additionally, students with lower marks may be admitted in favour of those with higher marks on account of this regional preference policy.

Regional discrimination is naturally an extremely effective way of sparing students' financial resources, seeing that they can do away with extra food, accommodation and travel surcharges by studying in their hometown. This issue was

taken up briefly in section 4.6 where it is demonstrated that polytechnic students are potentially from families of disadvantaged socioeconomic status; factors such as regional proximity and reduced expenses that such proximity may imply, as well as lower entrance grades influence candidates to apply to polytechnics. Thus, it comes as no surprise that over 68% of the respondents to this questionnaire indicate Leiria as their hometown. The neighbouring districts of Santarém (8.8%) and Coimbra (6%) are second and third on the list, and collectively they comprise 209 (83.6%) of the undergraduates surveyed. The 10 (4%) students originating from Lisbon deserve a special mention, for the reason that the Portuguese capital boasts numerous prestigious Higher Education institutions, yet these students have opted to study in a smaller city, away from home. What is normally the case is that students leave the capital to study at ESTG/IPL as it is, to my knowledge, the only establishment in Portugal that offers a degree course in Automotive Engineering. The same goes to say for the 4 (2%) students from Faro, the farthest city in mainland Portugal from where new undergraduates arrive to study in Leiria.

In light of this distribution, therefore, it can be said that overall this study is geographically restricted to west-central Portugal.

Occupational status

ESTG/IPL offers a wide selection of degree programmes that operate during the day or in the evening. Being as demanding as it is, one would expect that undergraduates enrolled in Higher Education would do so as full-time degree students that take courses during the day. However, statistics show that almost one third (28.8%) of the respondents are working students in contrast to 71.2% of those who are exclusively full-time students. For some students, especially those in traditionally underserved populations (which is not entirely the case of Leiria), taking a job is not a matter of choice, but necessity. They need to work to save for fees or to supplement family income and cannot afford to give up their part-time or full-time job. Therefore, the 72 students who fall under this category have certain privileges in terms of assessment and compulsory attendance, but it is not uncommon to have pupils

register as working-students when in practice they are not as a means of benefiting from the aforementioned privileges.

These figures, together with the data concerning students' age, show that teaching in this English course will largely involve engaging with adult learners.

Year of study

The English course at ESTG/IPL is taught during the first and second semesters as a Year 1 course. Some degree programmes feature English as a first semester course, whereas others do so as a second semester course. However, students are free to take these English classes whenever it suits them and if they so desire, they may take consecutive courses in whatever levels they find appropriate. Survey numbers show that 157 (62.8%) students were enrolled in Year 1 either as first-time or repeating students (i.e. they failed most Year 1 CUs and are consequently repeating them to replace the failing grades). More significant perhaps are the numbers of Year 2 and Year 3 students enrolled in the English course. This could be because they failed the English course and are repeating it, or have never attempted to take English and are sitting the exam for the first time. Students who have more than one matriculation (*matrícula*) at ESTG/IPL are not required to attend English classes but can still be eligible for continuous assessment, unlike first-time, first year students. Nonetheless, 86 (34.4%) out of 250 respondents failed to pass the English course in Year 1 and are trying to do so at a later stage.

Finally, figures show that a very low number of students are taking the English course beyond Year 3 as an extracurricular activity, most likely learners enrolled in a Master's degree course who wish to improve their Academic English.

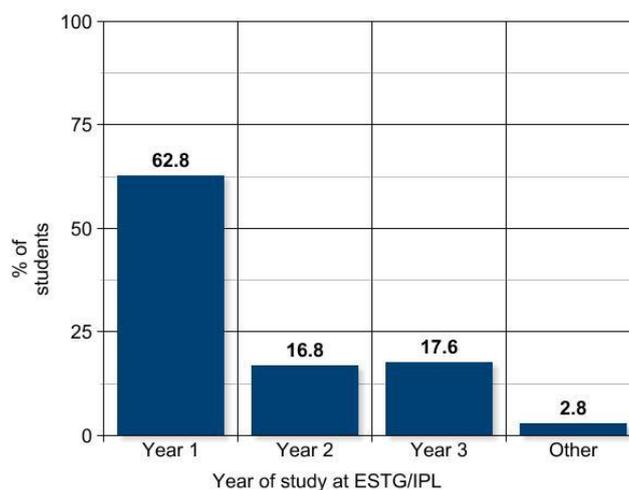


Figure 5.3: Distribution of respondents per year of study

Application process for admission

Applying for admission to Higher Education can be done in a number of ways (see section 4.3) but results show that there are three main pathways that lead new undergraduates to ESTG/IPL. The most common option involves applying by means of the national admission process (*concurso nacional*). This is the typical educational pathway that Secondary Education students follow after graduating. 161 (64.4%) students who participated in the survey claim to have applied this way.

An alternative and increasingly popular option is the special admission process for CET students. Many students who are unable to complete Year 12 successfully enroll in a CET course for approximately four semesters. When these CET courses are taught at a Higher Education institution, there is a fixed admission quota for these students who, upon completion of the course, may be admitted to a degree course in that same establishment. This strategy has prevented the drop-out rate from increasing and 46 (18.4%) students surveyed stated this was their choice of admission process.

The third most popular choice of admission is the one conceived for older students, the M23 admission process, which is described in the previous chapter. In this case, 32 (12.8%) survey participants declared applying to ESTG/IPL through this method. Considering most students conclude their English studies in Year 11 or 12 of

Secondary school, M23 applicants have not studied English in a formal classroom environment for at least five years. Though there is no evidence to hold up or refute this conclusion, this possibility must nonetheless be taken into account.

Other extraordinary admission processes include five PALOP applications, two applications from students living in the Autonomous Region of the Azores, one application from a previous degree holder and another from a member of the Portuguese Armed Forces.

Year of first admission to ESTG/IPL

Students enrolled in the English course are theoretically Year 1 students who matriculated in September 2012. However, results concerning this information show that most students did so between 2009 and 2012 and that little over half of the respondents are first-time, first year students. In fact, only 140 (56%) students were in this situation. 94 (37.6%) students had enrolled at an earlier time which explains the considerable amount of older undergraduates who were sitting the English exam when this questionnaire was handed out. There are ten (3.6%) undergraduates who claim to have enrolled between 2006 and 2008 and, although this might not be the case, it is common to have students set English aside making it the last course to be completed before graduating.

Students' Degree course

Questionnaires were randomly distributed among undergraduates who were sitting the English exam and statistical analysis reveals that an ample number of Management students (78 daytime and evening students combined) were surveyed, which makes up for 21.2% of the total respondents. Undergraduates enrolled in the Marketing and Computer Sciences for Health Care courses are also well represented (23 students each), followed by 18 students in Automotive Engineering.

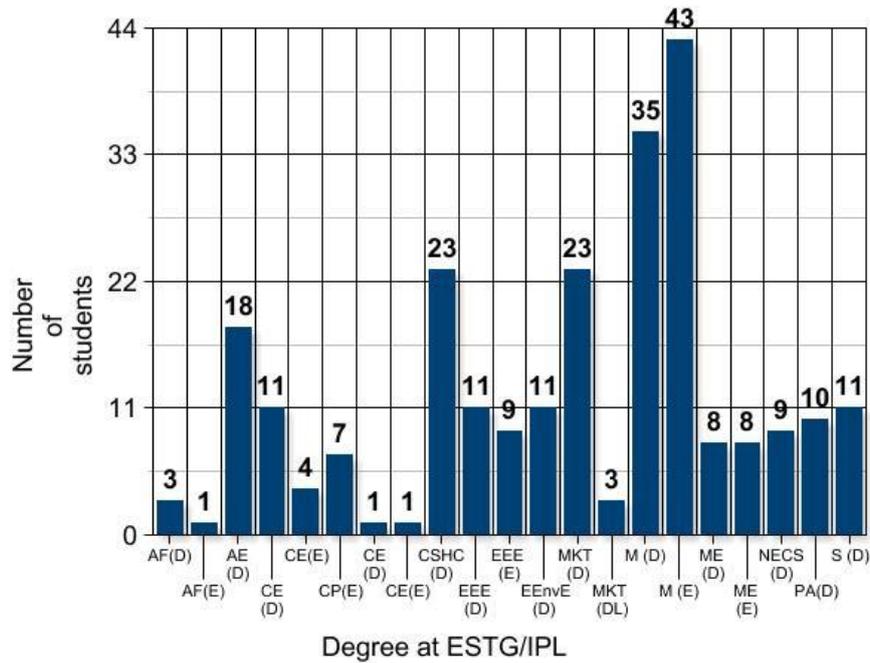


Figure 5.4: Respondents' degree programmes⁴¹

There are three degree courses which are not represented in this data for lack of corresponding respondents: Industrial Engineering and Management, Biomechanics, and Health Equipment Technology. 73 students are attending evening courses, one student is enrolled in a distance-learning course and the remaining 176 are enrolled in daytime courses.

Despite the asymmetry in this sample, it does, in any event, represent a typical English course where DCL teachers will find a group of students, who range greatly in age, field of study and even social maturity or breadth of general knowledge. Some classes will be more heterogeneous than others but this is a feature teachers do not control. The placement test will, nonetheless, serve the purpose of distributing students according to their level of academic ability in English.

⁴¹ The official designation for each degree has been abbreviated: Accountancy and Finance (AD), Automotive Engineering (AE), Civil Engineering (CE), Civil Protection (CP), Computer Engineering (CE), Computer Sciences for Health Care (CSHC), Electrical and Electronic Engineering (EEE), Energy and Environmental Engineering (EEnvE), Marketing (MKT), Management (M), Mechanical Engineering (ME), Network Engineering and Communication Services (NECS), Public Administration (PA) and Solicitorship (S). The initials (D), (E) and (DL) indicate whether each degree is offered during the day, the evening or as a distance-learning programme.

Admission average

For the purpose of this research, DGES was enquired about figures concerning the global Portuguese admission average to Higher Education. According to this entity, there is no such statistical data and, therefore, there is no way of establishing if ESTG/IPL students have lower or higher grades than their counterparts in other institutions. What the DGES does provide, however, are the marks of the last pupil to be admitted to each degree course; in the case of ESTG/IPL, that mark was 10.45⁴². When surveyed, respondents to this questionnaire reveal a much higher admission average (see Appendix II, Tables 11 and 12). Although these range from 10 to 18, most students state 14 as their final admission grade, which is far above the minimum required for an application (9.5). Academically speaking, it appears that ESTG/IPL students performed more than satisfactorily throughout the preceding level of Secondary Education.

Research by Guerra (2009) and Almeida and Vieira (2012) indicates that incoming polytechnic students tend to display a lower academic performance, so it would be relevant to establish a nationwide comparison so as to verify if their findings are confirmed; yet, as I have explained, such a validation is not possible for the time being.

Previous degree attainment

Respondents were asked to provide information about previous educational attainment, namely if they were holders of a graduate, a master's or a doctoral degree. Only one student claimed to have a Master's degree in Clinical Psychology and three other graduates stated they held degrees in the fields of Nursing, Letters and Industrial Automation, respectively. This question was set to determine if there were a significant number of students with more advanced academic abilities or higher English skills, but figures show this is categorically not the case.

⁴² In section 3.7 I explained that a minimum grade of 95 out of 200 is enforced for all candidates in every sector of public Higher Education.

International migration experience

When enquired about having resided in a foreign country, 38 (15.2%) students answered affirmatively, although only eight had lived in English-speaking countries. Besides the 8 (3.6%) students who lived in Portuguese-speaking countries, no other specific pattern is observable from the data. These international experiences were as short as three months and as long as three decades, and the time span during which these respondents moved to Portugal ranges evenly from 1974 to 2012. Once again, no relevant features that are pertinent for this study were revealed by this specific section of the survey.

Language spoken at home

Although 38 students admitted to having lived abroad, only one student (0.4%) claimed to speak English regularly at home. Other respondents speak Creole (5), French (1), Moldovan (1), Spanish (1) and Ukrainian (2), but again these numbers are not significant. Naturally, the remaining 239 (95.6%) students come from Portuguese-speaking households, which is representative of the Portuguese national context. What can be presumed with a fair degree of certainty is that, on the whole, the student body surveyed in this research does not speak English as a native language. Furthermore, it seems these undergraduates were not raised in English-speaking households, which makes formal ELT in schools the most probable way they learnt English.

Secondary Education programme

In order to assess the degree of exposure to English respondents were subjected to in Secondary Education, it was important to understand if they had benefited from a General Upper Secondary Education programme or a Vocational Upper Secondary Education programme. As I explained elsewhere, the teaching of English in the latter programme is adapted to cater to students' needs and abilities, which in general means that objectives and attainment levels are not as ambitious as

those in the General Upper Secondary programme, even though they do share the same English syllabus.

Results show that 145 (58%) undergraduates followed a more higher education-oriented course, whereas 101 (40%) respondents reveal to have chosen a more work-oriented course. As the ESTG/IPL is a polytechnic, which traditionally provides a more practical training, it seems the obvious choice for vocational education students and so we find the student body is somewhat proportional, with students coming in from both Secondary programmes.

The first and rather sizeable section of the survey carried out among students of the ESTG/IPL English course is devoted to describing the participants in this study. So far it has been established that although male students are in the majority, there is also a significant number of female students. Students are older than what is expected at this stage of teaching and the bulk of students was born in Portugal and lives in the region of Leiria. As for students' occupational background, approximately one third of the respondents are employed on either a part-time or full-time basis. Most undergraduates are enrolled in Year 1 but over one third of senior students are taking this course as well. Admission to ESTG/IPL has been accomplished chiefly by means of three main routes. Little over half the respondents are first-time, first year students which indicates that the English course seems to offer some resistance, despite students overall solid admission average to Higher Education. The majority of the survey population is enrolled in a Management degree course but there are samples from students enrolled in most of the courses offered by the institution. An insignificant number of respondents reveal to have lived in an English-speaking country and only one claims to speak English at home on a regular basis.

The second section of the survey is dedicated to obtaining information about students' history in English learning in Basic and Secondary Education. This data will be selectively cross-tabulated with the results listed above so as to obtain more comprehensive results from the questionnaire and establish a more accurate profile of the student body.

First school year of formal English instruction

The data obtained from this particular question reflects the general pattern of English language learning in Portuguese schools, where children usually start learning their first foreign language at school in Year 5 (around age 10). Of the 250 students who filled out the questionnaire, 179 (71.6%) indicate Year 5 as their first school year of formal instruction. Another 26 (10.4%) claim to have started learning English even earlier, at Pre-Primary or Primary school level. This leaves 42 (16.8%) undergraduates who were introduced to English in Year 7, a practice that is no longer possible in Portuguese schools. It would be expected that older students are in majority regarding this matter, but in fact the three age groups reflect this outmoded tendency; even so there are slightly more older students (27 or above) with this background (Appendix III, Table 5). Three students did not respond which may indicate they do not remember or they have never learnt English before.

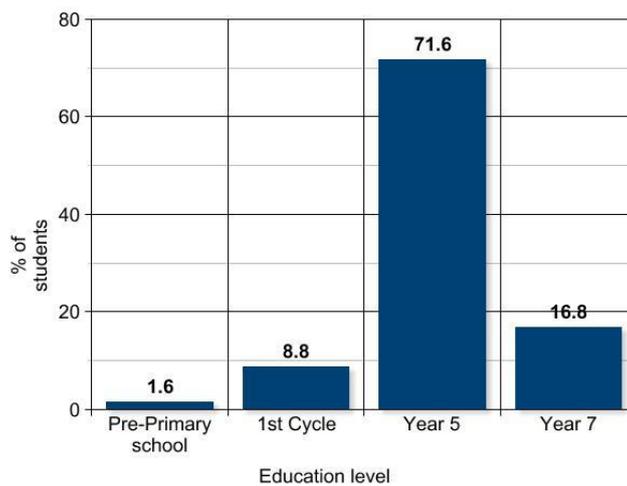


Figure 5.5: First year of formal English instruction

Last school year of formal English instruction

It is interesting to observe that the vast majority of students surveyed claim they completed their formal English learning at an advanced stage in time. For instance, 112 (44.8%) pupils completed their English studies at the end of Year 11, and another 94 (37.6%) did so only at the end of Year 12. In opposition, 38 (15.2%) students chose

not to proceed with their English studies after Year 9. It is a small number in comparison, but it also demonstrates that these students have studied English for a maximum of five years and have not done so in at least three. Thus, and upon admission to ESTG/IPL, they are faced with a placement test that assesses their proficiency in a language they have not been formally exposed to in a long period of time.

These two moments in undergraduates' history of English learning - their first and last year of formal English schooling - is of paramount importance in understanding the diverse linguistic backgrounds and better outlining a student profile. At this point, it is then pertinent to cross analyse these two milestones, in order to understand how many years, on average, a student has been exposed to English in a formal learning environment. Results from a cross tabulation analysis (Appendix III, Table 1) show that the largest fraction of students has had seven years of uninterrupted school English language lessons: 87 (36%) of the 250 surveyees display this specific background. The second largest fraction reveals that 65 (26.9%) students had English lessons for eight consecutive years. If we include the 22 (9.1%) students who started learning English in Pre-Primary or Primary Education and ended their English instruction in either Year 11 or 12 (i.e. at least eight years of consecutive English lessons), we find that a total of 174 (72%) of students surveyed have been exposed to English language lessons for a minimum of seven successive years.

On the other end of the scale, only 10 (4.1%) of surveyees claim to have had three years of English (Years 7 to 9) and an additional 12 (5%) students reveal having studied this subject for five years (Years 7 to 11). All things considered, it is then quite clear that the vast majority of ESTG/IPL students who took part in this survey have an ordinary background of English schooling and, in theory, should have acquired language competences that Secondary Education programmes have set at a B2 or C1 level.

Failure in English language at Basic Education level

One of the main purposes of this survey was to detect if students had had a negative experience when learning English in compulsory education. In Portuguese

schools it is possible for students to study English from Year 5 to Year 9 without ever obtaining a positive mark (3 or higher) at the end of each term and still move on to the next grade. In Secondary Education rules are less permissive as learners are required to obtain an average of 9.5 for all years of English learning, which means they will always have to obtain a pass mark (9.5 or higher) at some stage, in order to complete English successfully. For this reason, only Basic Education results are examined in this survey.

Considering there were so many new undergraduates who scored very modestly on the placement test, this questionnaire sought to perceive how many students failed at English and how often. In light of the above, there were clear indications that this number might be significantly high, however data indicate quite the contrary. Assuming all responses are true, we find that an overwhelming 177 (70.8%) students claim to have never failed English, while 60 (24%) admit to having failed occasionally. Of the 250 respondents, an insignificant number of 12 (4.8%) mention failing regularly. This information seems to indicate that the English subject has been unproblematic for the vast majority of students, even though, in placement tests, they fail to demonstrate the expected level of attainment reached at the end of Secondary school.

In-school English tutoring

The unexpected results uncovered in the previous question resultantly undermine the two that follow. Seeing that one of the hypothesis on which this research is built predicts that students struggled with English throughout the course of Basic and Secondary Education, an incisive set of questions was designed to obtain details about remedial strategies they had benefited from. However, as numbers show that English was not a problematic matter, then the need for in-school tutoring is, in theory, non-existent. When surveyed, students prove the theory accurate, as 220 (88%) state never having attended in-school tutoring. There are 22 (8.8%) respondents who occasionally attended remedial classes, while a meagre 8 (3.2%) students admit to having had been tutored in school on a regular basis.

Out-of-school time English tutoring

The numbers concerning out-of-school time tutoring are slightly different, possibly because there is a strong tradition of private tutoring (*explicações*) in Portugal, even though it is a burden for family budgets. Neto-Mendes *et al.* (2013: 151) point out that this phenomenon, widely known as "shadow education", is a commonly overlooked educational practice yet it has a positive impact on students' performance. Contrary to popular belief, private tutoring does not exclusively serve students with low academic achievements, seeing there are accomplished pupils who wish to gain an advantage and benefit in their competition with other students. In view of this fact, the survey shows there are more learners who point out that they sometimes resorted to private tutoring lessons, perhaps as a precautionary measure. This was the case for 47 (18.8%) students. Those who were never privately tutored are still numerous - 171 (68.4%) pupils - in contrast to the 10 (4%) who regularly benefited from these lessons.

Language schools are an alternative to private tutoring lessons but once again the numbers are not significant: 8 (3.2%) students declared having attended a language school regularly and 17 (6.8%) did so occasionally.

Finally, I must add the caveat that these figures may be suspect and might not be fully accurate, seeing as many undergraduates chose not to reply to this question, possibly due to misinterpretation of my instructions.

Opinion on English teachers' performance

In the next section of the questionnaire students were asked to give their opinion on how well prepared English teachers were during Basic and Secondary Education. As subjective as this answer may be, it was important to understand their level of satisfaction, due to the fact that many undergraduates recurrently attribute their problems in English language learning to deficient teaching practices. A five-level rating scale was provided (Very poor; Poor; Satisfactory; Good; Very good) and here we find that students express a diverse range of opinions. A significant number of respondents (42%) describe their experience as satisfactory, while 21% admit teacher's performance was good or very good (7.6%). On the opposite end of the scale, 4% of students claim teachers' performed very poorly and 16, 8% report being exposed to

poor teaching practices. What is striking is that opinions are clearly not consensual and even though over one-third of the answers have a positive view of teachers' performance, the great majority of learners depict their English schooling as merely satisfactorily or worse. Thus, it is fair to conclude that there seems to be some room for improvement in English classrooms.

Opinion on materials used in the English classroom

Answers to this section of the questionnaire are quite consistent with the previous information outlined in the section above: 50.4% of surveyees indicate the materials presented to them in English classes were satisfactory; a smaller number thought they were good (28%) or very good (5.6%), whereas 11.6% found materials used in the English classroom poor or very poor (3.6%). Though it is not stated in the questionnaire, materials teachers and learners work with in class typically include a student's book and a workbook, as well as anything else teachers deem adequate or necessary, such as handouts, grammar worksheets, audio CDs, films or songs. These results show that students are not overly satisfied with their ELT experience, which is certainly worth some reflection. It is a fact that these answers do not represent factual information, but rather the subjective opinions of respondents, many of whom last studied English several years ago. In any case, satisfaction levels are not as high as desirable which are perhaps indicative of the need to adjust teaching practices by, for example, shifting from the traditional EFL perspective to the more realistic and liberating ELF approach, where norms and targets are rethought and educational resources are deployed more pragmatically (Björkman, 2013).

Use of alternative materials in the English classroom

ELT professionals have a vast array of resources they can use to supplement classroom instruction or stimulate the interest of students but according to survey data, a surprising 177 (70.8%) students refer that it was infrequent for English teachers to use alternative educational resources in addition to the student's book and pairing workbook. Of the 72 (28.8%) who respond affirmatively, most indicate audio CDs as

the most common teaching aid, followed by grammar worksheets and handouts. Films and videos find themselves at the bottom of this list. Besides this inventory of resources students could indicate as commonly used strategies by their teachers, a final category for other resources was added, but remarkably no alternative aids (for example, the Internet, video clips, podcasts, music videos, etc.) were brought up.

Importance of English language learning

The next section of the questionnaire was designed to give insights into students' motivations for learning English. Respondents were asked to indicate what contexts English language learning might be important for besides school, and again there was a set of options to choose from (the selection of multiple choices was possible), as well as an open ended question for other answers that were not encompassed by the list.

Students expressed many reasons for learning English, yet their priority seems to be the advantage it may bring them in terms of employment prospects, which is why 200 (80%) surveyees indicated this specific context. Films are the second motivation to study English, with 179 (71.6%) responses that clearly reveal the influence of popular media amongst the younger generation of students. English is also considered of practical use when it comes to using the Internet and it seems advantageous for tourism and leisure purposes as well, seeing both of these options were selected by 178 (71.2%) pupils.

Because the notion of ELF is possibly a concept students were unaware of at the time the questionnaire was filled out, this term was intentionally left out of the survey and instead typical ELF settings were provided in the list of options. It is then quite interesting to note that two contexts (travel and computer-mediated communication) that currently involve the use of English with other, mainly non-native, speakers of English rank highly on the listing. Finally, music (58%) and videogames (34.4%) emerge as the less popular options.

Despite having the opportunity to add alternative contexts, very few albeit pertinent responses were registered (see Appendix II, Table 31 for more details).

Table 5.6: Reasons for learning English⁴³

Reasons for learning English	Talking to people from other countries (non-native English speakers); Reading books; Information and communications technology (programmes/software); Nowadays English is important in every context.
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Level assigned by the placement test

The answers gathered by this survey were provided by students whose anonymity was guaranteed, therefore there is no way of analysing students' individual performance on the placement tests. Nevertheless, these respondents did provide the level attained on the placement test that had been carried at a previous date in time. A small number of students (10) admit to not having been submitted to the test and 2 others did not respond, leaving 238 students who were formally tested. Of these, 50 (20%) were placed in level A1, 104 (41.6%) attained an A2 level and another 50 (20%) students reached the B1 level. Bearing in mind that the exit profile for students who complete Secondary Education is a B2 level, this means an overwhelming 204 (81.6%) undergraduates apparently failed to demonstrate competencies supposedly acquired throughout their previous stages of education. This is even more remarkable if we take into account the fact that 70.8% students claim to have never failed English before admission to ESTG/IPL. As for the remaining surveyees, 20 (8%) indicate a B2 level and 14 (5.6%) claim they were placed in level C1. None of the respondents were able to reach the most advanced C2 level, which explains why there are currently no C2 classes offered at ESTG/IPL.

⁴³ My translation.

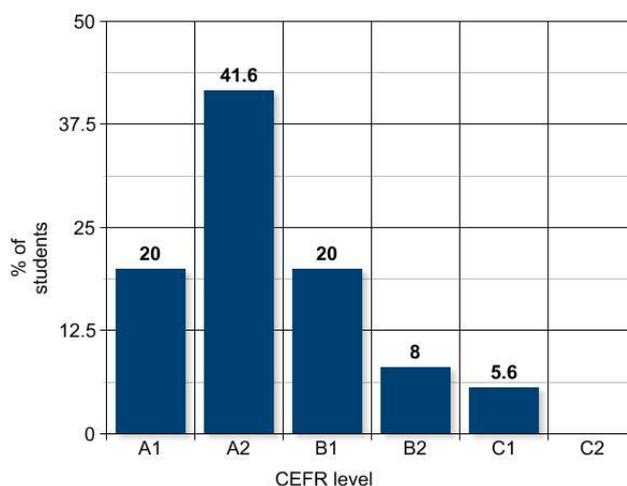


Figure 5.6: Level attained by respondents in the placement test

As startling as these results may be, they are consistent with the overall results registered since the beginning of the placement procedure, in 2006. The validity of the placement test might be questioned at this stage, which is why students were asked to state if they agreed with the level assigned by their placement score, and this is the concern of the section that follows.

Opinion on the placement test result

The perplexing results demonstrated by placement test takers may naturally lead one to doubt the test's reliability and accuracy. It was effectively trialled but not with such an ample body of students, so students were asked to provide their opinion on their placement experience. They could either agree or disagree with their assigned level. In the latter case, they would have to indicate if they thought they belonged in a higher or lower level than the one obtained. Because we are dealing with adult learners who responded anonymously, as demonstrated above, the following numbers can no doubt be considered trustworthy.

There were 237 responses to this specific question and the majority of students stated that they agreed with their assigned level. These learners understood that these data would remain confidential so they had absolute freedom to provide an honest answer without fear of resentment from teachers. Nonetheless, 156 (62%) agreed to

the placement test result, in contrast to the 60 (24%) students who claimed they belonged in a higher level. Unexpectedly, 17 (6.8%) students claimed they would be better off in a lower level.

The relevance of this finding is of great significance since the general perception that English teachers at ESTG/IPL have is that, in reality, a higher number of students are unhappy with their placing and believe they are in fact more competent in English than what their score reveals. It is a fact that there is a considerable fraction of surveyees who believe they are more linguistically competent, but for the most part these results do not confirm my second hypothesis.

Opinion on students' own perception of English language competence

In the next section of the survey, students were requested to rate their own proficiency in English according to the CEFR levels. They were asked to what extent they were able to read, write, speak and understand English, and as this survey was carried out at the end of the semester, undergraduates were quite familiar with the European framework levels and descriptors.

An entirely different scenario had been anticipated in the section above and this particular question intended to give voice to testees who felt the scores were unfair. As demonstrated above, the majority of surveyees accepted their predominantly A2 placement level, but information in this section shows that the situation is slightly more intricate as Table 5.7 indicates.

Table 5.7: Students' self-assessment of English proficiency

	A1	A2	B1	B2	C1	C2
Listening	8.4%	15,2%	44,8%	17,6%	10,8%	2,0%
Reading	10,8%	24,0%	43,2%	11,2%	8,4%	2,0%
Speaking	15,6%	32,8%	32,4%	10,4%	7,2%	0,4%
Writing	14,8%	38,0%	32,4%	7,6%	6,0%	0,4%

Regarding their listening skills, the survey shows that most students believe that are at a B1 level. The second largest group of respondents refer B2 as their level and only then do we have students placing themselves at the elementary levels of A1 or A2. Understandably, the more proficient levels are selected by fewer students; however, there are respondents who claim to have listening skills at a C2 level, in contrast to the absence of C2 scores in the official placement test results. Overall, it seems then that students find themselves comfortable when it comes to understanding spoken English.

A similar tendency is verified when students assess their proficiency in reading. The larger fraction indicates B1 as their level, thus contradicting official placement scores, but on the contrary slightly more learners place themselves in an A2 rather than a B2 level. This seems to indicate there are more students who find reading activities more troublesome. Figures for the C1 and C2 levels are analogous to the ones indicated for listening skills.

Spoken production and interaction is traditionally a problematic skill for students and this fact is clearly reflected in the data collected. To begin with, answers are more evenly distributed, but even so more respondents indicate being proficient at an A2 level when it comes to this skill. A razor-thin margin separates the A2 speakers from the B1 speakers, while more students than ever refer A1 as their adequate level of proficiency. Even at a B2 and C1/C2 level speaking seems to be more problematic and numbers reduce faintly. What is important to retain from this analysis is that almost 50% of undergraduates place themselves at an elementary level (A1 or A2) when it comes to speaking in English, a skill they will undoubtedly need to master when they become active members of the labour force.

Finally, results displaying proficiency in written English are very much the same as the ones mentioned for spoken production and interaction. This reveals that in addition to speaking, students find writing more complex despite all their years of English language learning. From what is then evident in the highlighted sections of Table 5.7, the majority of undergraduates place themselves halfway between an A2 and a B1 level, which is to say they are A2 users who are edging towards the next level. Listening and reading seem less problematic whereas speaking and writing offer greater challenges. These results seem to explain why most surveyees agreed to the

official placement test results, but more importantly it lets teachers at ESTG/IPL know what skills should be developed in order to boost students' confidence and performance. Accordingly, this topic will be taken up in more detail throughout the following chapter.

Hours devoted to studying English per week

The English course at ESTG/IPL is not a lengthy one, as it spans over a brief fifteen-week period, with a total of 30 hours of teaching, at best. Once a week students are encouraged to come to classes, and at the end of the semester their reading, writing, listening and speaking skills are tested. Attendance is a general problem, and despite teachers' recommendations it is commonplace to have students sit an exam without ever attending a single English class. It was therefore important to understand how much time students devoted to studying English throughout the semester.

It must be borne in mind that first-time, first year students can only sit the *frequência* if they have attended at least 75% of English classes, a requirement that is not needed for seniors or working students. When questioned, an expressive 144 (57.6%) students admitted to having studied exclusively for the exam; 52 (20.8%) claimed that had regularly studied English for one hour a week and 32 (12.8%) stated they had done so for two hours every week. Finally, 18 (7.2%) learners mentioned dedicating three or more hours to studying English weekly. What these numbers show is that most students will not invest in studying English on a regular basis and most of what they will learn for the course will have been acquired in the classroom setting, admitting they attend lessons. Undoubtedly, teaching practices by DCL educators will have to take this into consideration.

As the exposition above has demonstrated, when each item of this questionnaire is analysed individually, the findings revealed are relevant enough to establish a congruent profile of the student body at ESTG/IPL, with a legitimate degree of reliability. Notwithstanding, when selected variables are cross tabulated, salient features of the student body are brought to light, adding to a more solid and accurate

outlining of the sociolinguistic profile I have proposed to set down. For that reason, this cross tabulation analysis will be the chief purpose of the following sections.

The first step in the search for patterns of interaction involved cross tabulating the variable "gender" with the variable "level assigned by the placement test" (Appendix III, Table 2). This made it possible to see that, in placement tests, male students reveal a greater level of proficiency than their female counterparts. There are less male students at an A1 level and more at the higher levels (B1, B2 and C1). Still, A2 is the level to which most male and female students have been assigned, in similar numbers, but it is noticeable that female students double in number at the lowest level of the CEFR scale (30.8% female undergraduates compared to 12.1% male undergraduates).

By the same token, female students show that English was a more problematic subject in Basic Education (Appendix III, Table 3) but in numbers that by no means justify the difference revealed by the placement test: 27.4% of female students claim to have occasionally failed at English while the same happened to 21.7% of male students.

When the three different age groups are cross tabulated with the level assigned by the placement test (Appendix III, Table 4), it is perceptible that the A2 level draws the greatest numbers across all age groups. In fact, the numbers are fairly balanced and there is no evidence to support the idea that younger students are more or less proficient than their older classmates.

The cross tabulation between age groups and first year of formal English schooling (Appendix III, Table 5) demonstrate that 29% of older students (aged 27 and older) chose to start learning English in Year 7, which was a frequent option in the past. Among the younger generation of students (aged 19 to 22), only 11.5% followed this pathway and, as we have seen elsewhere, because it is no longer possible for Portuguese students to begin formal English schooling in year 7, these numbers will continue to decline and eventually fade away. On the opposite end, a new tendency is budding: if the two older age groups, aged 23 to 26, and 27 and older, correspondingly report a 2.5% and 3.2% of students who were exposed to English in Primary Education, younger students (aged 19-22) reveal that this contact came about much sooner, as 17.3% of students claim having had English classes at this level of education.

This is a significant increase in terms of numbers, which naturally leads to an intriguing question: did students who were exposed to English sooner achieve a higher placement test score? The number of students in this situation is possibly insufficient to draw reliable conclusions, however, what the cross tabulation (Appendix III, Table 6) indicates is that these 22 learners have not benefited greatly from an early start; 4 of them (18.2%) were placed in level A1 and 10 (45.5%) were placed in A2, which means that well over half of these 22 early learners failed to reach Secondary Education attainment levels and demonstrate competencies in EFL at a B2 level. The remaining 8 (36.3%) students were distributed among levels B1, B2 and C1.

This evidence seems to validate what has been said earlier in this research project, that the limited hours of English instruction for young children in school are not enough to impact proficiency (EF EPI, 2011). What is more, this shows that lowering the starting age of English study alone will not instantaneously result in an increase of proficiency; there are changes that need to be carried out at many levels so that students will master English more effectively.

The results disclosed by this survey and this cross tabulation in particular seem to confirm studies in this field. For instance, Newbold (2015), who has conducted similar research in the context of English in Higher Education, states that

Although English language teaching from primary school onwards is now the norm throughout Europe, and incoming students are likely to have had up to twelve or thirteen years of school English language lessons, this is in itself no guarantee that a specific level has been reached, nor of the kind of language competences the student might have.

(Newbold, 2015: 206)

What is being argued here is that the ELT policy in Portugal needs to rethink the goal of aspiring to native speaker models and truly identify the needs of Portuguese students. Additionally, the teaching of English at ESTG/IPL may very well benefit from these findings so as to restructure the English course and better serve students' interests and needs.

Focusing largely on formal features of the language requires many hours of study and practice, an effort that students are clearly not prepared to make, no matter

how proficient they seem to be. This claim is supported by the findings that emerge when we cross analyse the variable "hours devoted to studying English per week" with "level assigned by the placement test" (Appendix III, Table 7). What is apparent from this analysis is that most students, across all levels, admit to having only studied for the end-of-semester *frequência*. This is somewhat significant for the reason that a substantial number of students - 78 (54%) - are placed at both an A1 and A2 level and are not sufficiently motivated to invest in studying for English. This number is higher than all the A1 and A2 students who claim to have studied from one to three hours weekly during the first school semester.

In an attempt to understand how the number of years of school English language lessons impacts on English proficiency, a considerably more complex cross tabulation was conducted. This specific three-way cross tabulation, as the name suggests, involves the analysis of three variables: "first year of formal English instruction", "last year of formal English instruction" and finally the variable "level assigned by the placement test" (Appendix III, Table 8). What this examination tells us is that early learners of English and learners who have studied English for more years are not necessarily those with higher proficiency levels. For instance, over half of those students who were first introduced to English during Primary Education (1st cycle) and went on to study EFL until Year 11 or 12 obtained an A1 or A2 level on the placement test. It is no doubt a small sample of individuals in this situation but of the 20 surveyees who fit this description, 13 were placed in levels A1 or A2, three were assigned to level B1, a single student obtained a B2 level and the remaining three were placed in a C1 class. If we had to be thorough, this is to say that only four students have reached the attainment levels proposed by the Secondary Education English syllabus.

Those students who have a more conventional background, meaning they first initiated EFL classes in Year 5 and concluded this process in Year 11 or 12, reveal the same competences in the placement exercise. The numbers involved in this context are much higher and lend strength to such findings: among 151 students, 27 attained an A1 level, 69 reached the subsequent A2 level and 28 were placed in level B1. The remaining 23 were evenly assigned to the B2 and C1 levels.

By comparison, it is surprisingly among the late starters that the best results are observed. In this survey there are 31 students who first initiated EFL classes in Year 7 and went on to study English until the end of Year 11 or 12, a common trend in the past, which is frequently encountered in the background of older students as we have seen elsewhere. Out of these 31 undergraduates, only two were placed in the lowest level while 11 were assigned an A2 level. 13 testees attained the B1 mark and one student was able to reach a B2 level. Despite the statistical insufficiency of the sample considered, these numbers do raise some pertinent questions. One might consider issues such as teaching methods in the 1990s and the number of English teaching hours students benefited from, testees' maturity or even use of English at the workplace (seeing that older students are consequently more likely to be working students) as influential factors on the placement result. Be that as it may, these students might have outdone their counterparts but they still failed to convincingly attain a B2 level, which is a requirement DCL teachers anticipate at ESTG/IPL.

This concludes the general description of the student body at ESTG/IPL. Admittedly, it is but a sample of the undergraduates who are studying at this institution, yet the compelling number of surveyees does lend itself to a reliable outline of students' background of English language learning. The data in this survey reflect the general pattern of language learning in Portuguese schools, where children usually start learning their first language at school in Year 5 (around age 10) and complete their English schooling in Year 11 or 12 (around age 17 or 18). Moreover, the results gathered have not only allowed us to understand students' attainment level in the ESTG/IPL placement test, but also learn what these undergraduates think of their own competences in English. Finally, evidence concerning learners' study habits are also identified and, conjointly, these statistics provide a valuable insight into students' motivations to learn English and an understanding of how accomplished they are at using it in comparison to what is expected of them in official school syllabi.

5.6 Placement test: an analysis of students' performance

Earlier, in section 5.4.1, I explained that placement tests are conducted by students, on-line over the Moodle platform, in no more than 30 minutes. Test takers who complete the exercise before the time limit is over may submit their answers thus concluding the placement process. Those who are unable to complete the test in less than 30 minutes will have their test automatically saved and submitted by the programme; any unattempted question is marked incorrect. During a period of over six school years (from September 2006 to present day) overall test results were automatically saved on the platform and have now been retrieved, in the form of two separate sets of data, so as to enable the empirical exploration that follows.

The quick test is divided into six sections: sections 1, 3 and 5 deal with structure, while sections 2, 4 and 6 test students' knowledge of vocabulary (see Appendix IV for more detail). This exercise, which was not devised by the teachers at ESTG/IPL, is a full-blown EFL test that is graded with native-speaker English as a model and aims to distinguish between the six levels of the CEFR. It does not assess learners' knowledge of non-native speaker English and includes no ELF component, such as the entry test described by Newbold (2015). In truth, this quick placement test is limited in scope, as we have seen, for it does not assess productive skills and consequently, it may be limited in validity. However, unlike other placement tests, which are carried out over weeks or even months, this one, in most cases, must provide teachers and students with feedback from one day to the next. Furthermore, it bears repeating that this specific test was trialled, and teachers do find it serves its purpose and consider it reliable and, more often than not, extremely accurate.

As I have explained, final test scores are indicative and not uncompromising, so should teachers or students consider adjustments are required (i.e. such as the case of students who may perform better in a higher or lower level class), these take place in the first weeks of English lessons.

The first set of overall results retrieved from Moodle refers to 5903 tests which were taken by students from September 2006 to September 2012.

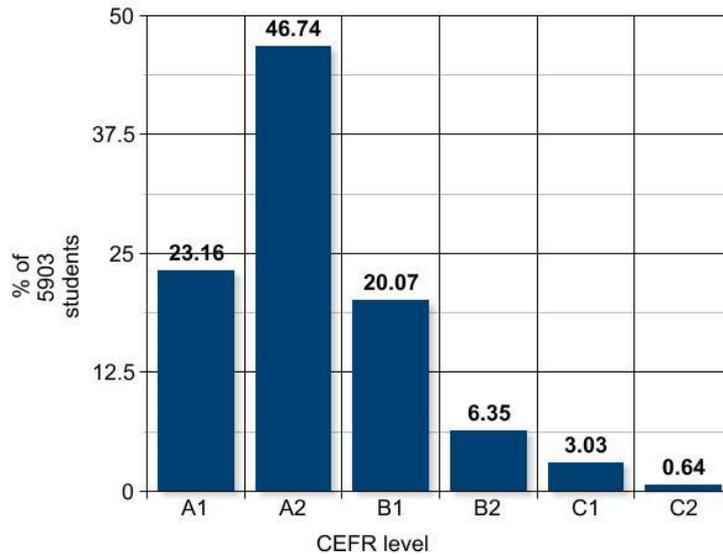


Figure 5.7: Placement test results from 2006 to 2012

What is possible to observe from the data generated by this extensive corpus is that a total of 1367 students (23.16%) were placed in level A1, whereas 2759 students (46.74%) were placed in level A2; the number of B1 students decreases to 1185 (20.07%) and the decline continues markedly to 375 B2 students (6.35%), 179 C1 students (3.03%) and finally 38 students (0.64%) in level C2 (see Figure 5.7). As I mentioned earlier, due to the small number of C2 students, there is no specific class for this level so they are encouraged to attend C1 classes. By the same token, this study will consider C1 and C2 students as a single group.

The first fact that stands out and dominates a preliminary analysis is the impressively high number of students (69.9%) that are placed at an elementary level (A1 and A2). This was in actual fact unexpected given that the great majority had undergone several years of English language learning, as the questionnaires seem to prove. In addition, not only is this result far from the B2 level which secondary school programmes set as a goal for their students, but also well below the B1 level the ESTG/IPL requires in order to grant a passing grade in the curricular unit. In fact, only 20.07% of undergraduates have displayed B1 competence over the course of six years of diagnostic testing.

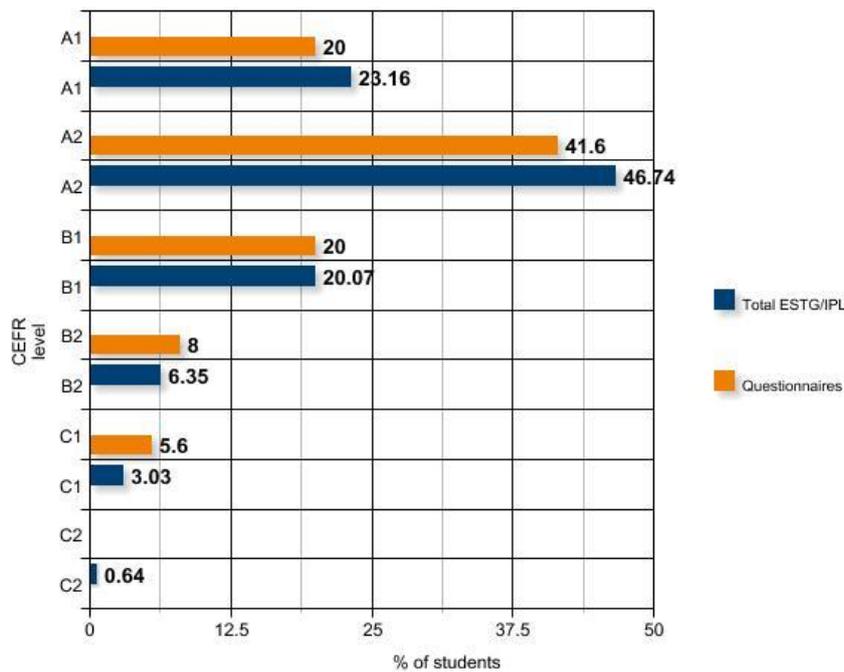


Figure 5.8: Comparison between overall placement test results (2006-2012) and results indicated by questionnaires

When taken as a whole (A1, A2 and B1 scores), these results are truly vexing: 90.6% students are below the B2 exit level profile which they supposedly attained in Secondary Education, at the end of Year 11 or 12. Because these tests have been carried out for several years, the alarming results prove not to be an incidental trend, and if we compare these to the results students provided in the questionnaire, the pattern is visibly striking (see Figure 5.8). In all CEFR levels, the numbers are similar, which is indicative of test takers' performance in this language exercise at any given time in ESTG/IPL.

Thus, several questions inevitably come to mind: can students not have learned enough? Is English language teaching in schools somehow deficient or do these results mean it is exceptionally difficult to learn English as a native by studying the language solely in the classroom environment? From what we have seen in previous chapters, attending a greater number of English classes does not always guarantee higher proficiency, neither does initiating English language learning at a younger age. To blame teachers is not only unfair but unjustifiable: the Eurydice/Eurostat (2012) report bears witness to the qualifications of Portuguese English teachers, seeing that Portugal

is one of the few EU countries where ELT has been entrusted to specialist teachers (i.e. teachers qualified to teach either two different subjects, one of which is a foreign language; or, one or more foreign languages) as opposed to countries where English is taught by a generalist teacher (this type of teacher usually has responsibility for a particular class and teaches lessons in all or most subjects).

Appropriately, what is being argued here is that learning English by studying the language solely in the classroom environment is extremely difficult if one is then expected to exhibit native-like proficiency. Like in most countries throughout the world, ELT in Portugal has traditionally been based on a NS norm; the (unattainable) goal for students has been to speak English that bears the closest resemblance possible to standard British or American English, even though most learners are not preparing for work or study in an inner circle English setting. For the most part, they will be using English in a lingua franca situation, where native-speaker norms are not the most relevant criteria.

As I have tried to show in previous chapters, there has been significant amount of research carried out over the last years which has sought to prove that prevailing attitudes towards NS supremacy and status as a role model for EFL are inappropriate and in need for change. In order to substantiate this claim, a second set of placement tests has provided helpful data.

For the purpose of this research, the answers to 1170 placement tests conducted between February 2012 and September 2103 were compiled, in attempt to detect any visible patterns or distinguishing features in students' linguistic choices. For reasons of confidentiality, the identity of the respondents is unknown, and only data referring to choices in the language exercise is available for examination.

It must be made clear at this point that teachers are not testing genuine utterances produced by students in authentic communicative contexts. This placement exercise is a discrete item test which assesses one element of language at a time. It has the advantages of being practical to administer and mark, and it is objective in terms of marking. However, this language test shows only the learners' ability to recognise or produce individual items - not how they would use the language in actual communication; in other words, they are inevitably indirect tests. Nonetheless, this is for the most part a traditional receptive skill test which focuses on formal, but basic,

features of the English which students seem unable to pass (i.e. by obtaining a B2 result or higher).

Upon analysis of the 1170 tests, the first salient feature that deserves a mention is that both lexis and grammar pose as challenging for test takers. However, students' propensity to correctly employ more lexical items than grammatical ones is to some extent greater (see Appendix V, Table 1, 2 and 3 for full details). When taken as a whole, the average of correct answers in all placement tests is 47.8%. The same calculation for structure exercises alone reveals a lower percent average: 43.8%. It is, however, with lexical items that students reveal a higher score: 54.2% (see Table 5.8).

Table 5.8: Average performance in the full placement test, structure sections and vocabulary sections

Full placement test	Structure	Vocabulary
47.8%	43.5%	54.2%

For instance, among the ten highest ranking answers, seven refer to lexical choices:

Item 33. *I often _____ football when I'm at the beach.* (93%)

Item 54. *I _____ TV every evening.* (85%)

Item 16. *I have no _____ what time the swimming pool opens.* (81%)

Item 35. *Don't forget to _____ the light when you go out.* (81%)

Item 14. *I will _____ you tomorrow* (79%)

Item 57. *The breath test showed he had consumed more than three times the legal limit of alcohol, so the police arrested him for _____.* (77%)

Item 55. *Can you give me a _____ with my bag?* (76%)

The remaining three items among the ten highest ranking answers refer to grammatical exercises, and these are presented below:

Item 1. *My name is Juan and I _____ from Spain.* (94%)

Item 41. *Who _____ in that house?* (77%)

Item 7. *The police wanted to know exactly how the money _____ stolen from the bank.* (73%)

What is significant about these ten best ranking answers is that they not only indicate a higher propensity for lexical understanding but also undermine the tests' notion of difficulty. According to the test makers⁴⁴, this language exercise tests items that are progressively more difficult. Therefore, the first ten items are supposedly 'easier' than the second ten and so forth. It is apparent from students' answers that several of the alleged more challenging items are in fact uncomplicated to test takers: items 57, 54 and 54 are, for example, three of the best-ranking answers. On the contrary, testees fail dismally when it comes to the first ten and most elementary (and grammatical) exercises: only Item 1 (see above) obtains a consensual number of answers and, coincidentally, ranks first on the list with the highest success rate of all (94%).

If we accept the *Inside Out* placement test as it has been designed, with progressively more difficult items that present themselves as the test taker advances, then it is evident these results prove that learners struggle greatly with the declared more basic, grammatical exercises (i.e. set at an A1 or A2 level), despite an ample background of English language learning. Although this preliminary analysis has solely targeted the ten exercises that scored the highest, the same can be said of the

⁴⁴ For further information, see the New *Inside Out* website.

remainder of the test, where we find more complex exercises ranking higher than alleged uncomplicated ones. In actual fact, this is the most distinguishable feature that emerges upon careful examination of student performance.

Despite its limited nature, this is a typical language test that gives great weight to linguistic formal features - lexis and grammar - much like other renowned language tests, such as the TOEFL. From what can be seen in the answer key to this test (Annex 2), testees are expected to exhibit the forms used by native speakers or they will see their unconventional, non-standard answers marked as incorrect and be placed in lower proficiency levels.

The fact that there are more grammatical items on this test (36 compared to 24 lexical items) goes to show how proficiency in EFL is viewed: a better command of grammar is a sign of greater competence. Still, when analysing the ten lowest ranking answers (Appendix V, Table 1), we find that seven structure-testing exercises obtain a place on this list of responses that are not quite up to par:

Item 47. *I regret _____ harder in school.* (29%)

Item 12. *If Jack _____ music, he wouldn't have become a concert pianist.* (28%)

Item 46. *I'm so hungry! If only Bill _____ all the food in the fridge!* (28%)

Item 25. *If I _____ you had cancelled the meeting I wouldn't have turned up!* (20%)

Item 49. *Our neighbours aren't very polite, and _____ particularly quiet!* (17%)

Item 51. *I'd rather _____ next weekend, but I do!* (13%)

Item 29. *We _____ to the new house by the end of the week, so we* (10%)

won't be here next Sunday.

This attention given to a high degree of grammatical accuracy in simple and complex structures is, however, questioned by ELF research. Newbold (2015: 206), for instance, provides an illustrative example of the paradoxical fluent English language users who are successful communicators on social media, but who are unable to pass a traditional receptive skills test set at B1 level of the CEFR which similarly focuses on basic, formal features of English. The fact that so many students at ESTG/IPL are unable to excel in this placement test despite their educational background more than justifies a shift in ELT from 'correctness' to 'appropriateness' or 'intelligibility' as the following examples demonstrate:

Item 2. *Where _____?*

- a) does he work*
- b) he works*
- c) he does work*
- d) works he*

Item 13. *I always go to the movies _____ Fridays.*

- a) on*
- b) in*
- c) at*
- d) by*

In the first example, the only acceptable answer for placement purposes would typically be *a) does he work*. Similarly, the only grammatically correct answer for the second exercise would be *a) on*. Nevertheless, in the case of the first exercise, a significant 39% of students selected the grammatical incorrect alternatives *b) he works* (23%); *c) he does work* (9%); and *d) works he* (8%). As for the second exercise, 41% of students selected the invalid alternatives *b) in* (12%); *c) at* (24%); and *d) by* (5%). These are two very basic linguistic challenges which students should have solved easily but instead showed hesitation. Ultimately, many opted for a non-standard, incorrect

answer, from an EFL point of view, exhibiting signs of less proficiency. However, from an ELF perspective, pragmatic ability is more important than proficiency when English is used as a lingua franca. As Björkman (2011; 2013) duly notes, the assumption that communicative effectiveness is in direct proportion to proficiency is an incorrect one. The fact that a student is unable to select the 'correct' choices in the examples above does not mean that he or she is not a pragmatically effective speaker of English. DCL staff at ESTG/IPL is teaching students how to use English as a lingua franca, as stated in the course syllabus, therefore, the proficient/less proficient or the native/non-native speaker dichotomies should not be of primary relevance or utility to international settings, and should not guide these educators unconditionally in their teaching.

There are evidently many other examples from the test that could be presented and discussed in terms of grammatical correctness but what I would prefer to focus on at this stage is that ESTG/IPL students will only be attending, under the most favourable circumstances, 30 hours (15 weeks) of English classes.

Although these students are fully aware of the advantages of learning English, it has been observed, to paraphrase Crystal (1997a), that many need to make a considerable effort to master a small part of it and in fact end up resenting that effort and the language itself. It is therefore fair to assume that one semester of ELT will hardly solve what seven or eight years (from Year 5 to Year 11 or 12) were unable to. However, if we should accept that constructions or lexical items which are ungrammatical in Standard L1 English may be generally unproblematic in ELF communication, this would mean a significant improvement in the assessment of students' level of proficiency, or better yet, their level of communicative effectiveness. If a speaker should state that he goes to the movies *in* Fridays, would this be the cause for 'ripples', misunderstandings or communication breakdown in a given international setting, as Seidlhofer (2002) suggests? In the same way, would the question *Where he does work?* generally be unproblematic in ELF communication?

My point here is that there are, in fact, ungrammatical choices employed by long-term English language learners that do not prevent smooth communication. These, as we have seen in Chapter 2, are what form Seidlhofer's (2004) index of communicative redundancy which comprises commonly used features of English which

are ungrammatical in Standard L1 English but generally unproblematic in ELF communication.

This is not to say that students' 'incorrect' choices on the placement test are examples of such features, seeing that this language exercise does not explicitly test knowledge of *who* and *which*, tag questions, definite and indefinite articles and so forth. However, the findings in this study primarily show that undergraduates' choices would not prevent communicative effectiveness, thus urging the reconsideration of ELT and language policies. It is interesting to note that most features on Seidlhofer's proposed list of communicative redundancy relate to grammatical structures, which implies that non-standard grammatical choices are acceptable in ELF communication as long as there are no communication breakdowns.

There are, however, situations in which the opposite is true, that is to say lexical items inappropriately employed by users that can easily lead to communication breakdowns. Seidlhofer (2004) indicates that being unfamiliar with certain vocabulary items can lead to communication problems especially if we are dealing with highly idiomatic or metaphorical language use, phrasal verbs, or even fixed ENL expressions. In these situations speakers must show acceptable paraphrasing skills so as to avoid misunderstandings or failure in adapting to the ELF situation. Consider the following example observed in the test:

Item 55. *Can you give me a _____ with my bag?*

- a) *hand*
- b) *head*
- c) *leg*
- d) *back*

According to Seidlhofer's research, the case for misunderstandings or ambiguity is considerably greater in this example but students responded with a somewhat more consistent *a) hand* (69%). The alternatives prone to miscommunication obtained less advantage: *b) head* (8%), *c) leg* (7%) and *d) back* (14%). It would be expected that these latter figures be higher but there are two reasons that might explain this: firstly, this is not an example of highly idiomatic English and many students may be familiar with this

common English expression; secondly, there is a Portuguese equivalent which translates to the same (*dar uma mão*).

However, knowledge of one other idiom is also tested:

Item (56). *Before you enter the triathlon, please bear in _____ that you're not as young as you used to be!*

- a) *thought*
- b) *question*
- c) *mind*
- d) *opinion*

Once again results seem to contradict evidence of the feature Seidlhofer identifies as unilateral idiomaticity. 47% of students indicated *c) mind* as their choice whereas the alternative choice were evenly distributed: *d) opinion* (21%); *a) thought* (15%); *b) question* (15%). In terms of idiom density, it is undeniable that the idiom *to bear in mind* is more challenging than *to give somebody a hand*, namely because it can only be translated into Portuguese by means of paraphrase as there is no identical idiom in this language. Even so, the answer that would cause less communicative disturbance obtains the highest score, which appears to indicate that when faced with a compromising choice (i.e. a situation in which communicative success depends largely on lexical accuracy), students are sensitive to the best possible answer.

In light of these findings, there is reason to believe that because students display better results in the lexis sections (idioms included) than the grammar sections, they may not be proficient in English but may very well be pragmatically effective speakers. Naturally, this can only be confirmed by assessing students' productive skills but taking into account the index of communicative redundancy, it is clear that the focus is not on grammatical accuracy, seeing that particular ENL norms may be overlooked; what may prevent speakers from achieving communicative effectiveness is being unfamiliar with vocabulary items and this is a dimension where ESTG/IPL students have displayed more competence. This, in turn, takes us back to the citation with which I began this chapter: despite an ample background of formal English learning, most undergraduates show they are unable to use 'correct' English (by

conforming to the norms of the standard language), yet evidence shows they may very well be able to use 'good' English, by conveying their messages clearly and appropriately. Ultimately, this is the goal for most learners of English at this stage of education.

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

5.7 Summary

The main goal of this chapter is to establish a broad sociolinguistic profile of incoming students at ESTG/IPL by means of a survey and placement test analyses. Let us now briefly summarize the results of the study by revisiting the research questions. The following are the four research questions which the present investigation had as its starting point (section 5.2), followed by the answers based on the results of the analyses:

1. What histories of English learning in formal language-learning contexts do incoming students have?

The results of the present investigation showed that although students share diverse educational backgrounds, the majority have studied English as a foreign language for seven years or more. It is also evident from the survey that English was an unproblematic subject in Basic and Secondary Education, seeing that only a very small number of students regularly failed at English or required specialized tutoring. Thus,

the first hypothesis that they would have struggled with the subject before admission to ESTG/IPL was not confirmed.

2. What perception do students have of their English language competence in contrast to their placement test result?

The greater part of students acknowledges their placement test score and the resulting CEFR level assigned to them. Even so, one quarter of the test takers believe they should have been placed at a higher level, while on the contrary a minimal number of students consider a lower level would be more suiting. When inquired about their own perception of English language skills, surveyees reveal they are more comfortable with listening and reading than with speaking and writing. Nonetheless, their self-assessment does not differ greatly from the overall placement test results. Once again, the initial hypothesis was not confirmed as it was foreseen that students would claim to have higher language competence than the one suggested by the language test.

3. Which are more problematic to the students who took the placement test: lexical or grammatical items?

In this case, the hypothesis was confirmed as students reveal that both lexical and grammatical items are challenging: calculations show that the overall results for lexis are unconvincing as are the scores for grammar. That being said, it must be noted that in comparison there are, to some extent, better results in the vocabulary sections than in the grammar equivalents. Exercises that intend to assess theoretically basic notions of grammar unveil a level of proficiency in EFL that is clearly not up to standard.

4. Will the 'errors' detected in the placement test cause communication breakdowns, as those described in the literature, or will they be unproblematic, enabling students to communicate successfully with NES and NNES at an international level?

The results are, in general, in line with the features described in the literature. The 'incorrect' choices made by students might cause disturbances but on the whole would not cause communication breakdowns. The literature demonstrates that non-standard grammatical choices are not as prone to misunderstandings as unfamiliarity with certain vocabulary items. The fact that students reveal a higher propensity to choose standard lexical forms leads us to believe that any ripples in communication might be solved through mutual accommodation in any given ELF setting. In other words, despite not achieving the levels of proficiency prescribed by Secondary Education English syllabi, incoming students at ESTG/IPL indicate signs of communicative effectiveness and the necessary skills that are crucial for international intelligibility.

If the aim of the English course at this Higher Education establishment is to prepare language users for settings where English is the lingua franca, it is then fundamental, as Björkman (2011: 79) suggests, that the findings of ELF research be taken into account and in due course integrated into the undergraduate degree curricula. The norms and standards followed by educators must be based on this realistic English, and educational resources should be deployed more realistically, including the usage of ELF, thereby validating the pluralism of English. Exactly how this should be carried out is the concern of the following and final chapter.

Chapter 6

Moving towards ELF-informed Teaching at ESTG/IPL: A Pedagogical Plan of Action

English is the language of science, academia and the professions. There is a growing trend of using English in general in European tertiary education (...). Tertiary education in science and technology is, naturally, following this general trend. There is an additional reason for science and technology to adopt English as the medium of instruction in a large number of programs. (...) English is also the language of scientific publications and activity. Consequently, technical universities and institutes are responding to demands from students and industry by introducing English in tertiary education as the medium of instruction.

(Björkman, 2013: 14)

6.1 Introduction

After having provided, in preceding chapters, significant theoretical overview as well as the conclusions from my findings in research into the Portuguese Higher Education setting, this final chapter is devoted to finding ways of applying ELF theory to the ESTG/IPL context in particular.

Despite the relevant ELF descriptions that have hitherto been made, teachers are uneasy as how to improve their educational performance while taking into account the ELF paradigm. Nonetheless, there are a set of ELF-oriented strategies which teachers may begin to employ in the ELT classroom. To begin with, it is crucial to identify learners' needs and this is the first main concern of this chapter. Secondly, it is fundamental to understand what role ELF and ENL are going to play in this process, which is why I contemplate which teaching model would be the most appropriate for the ESTG/IPL context. Once this has been determined, the chapter provides a set of recommendations and teaching strategies that may guide teachers in taking an ELF approach to ELT classes. The works of Jenkins (2005), Seidlhofer (2011), Cogo and

Dewey (2012), and Wen (2012) are discussed as a means of understanding what can effectively be done in a classroom, thus reducing or actually closing the gap between theory and practice. These general principles of a lingua franca approach are the cornerstone of this proposal in which I consider the different ways teachers can actively develop learners' knowledge, attitude and skills, from an ELF perspective. Therefore, a significant part of this chapter describes a set of strategies intended to boost listening, speaking, reading and writing skills of students enrolled in the English course at ESTG/IPL. Finally, special attention is dedicated to the role of teachers in the classroom and how they may objectively and competently assess ELF.

6.2 ELF and ELT in the ESTG/IPL context

As we saw in Chapter 2, there has been an extensive amount of theorising about the nature of ELF, as well as a substantial amount of empirical ELF data collected over the two last decades. It has been much remarked that ELF can be dealt with from different perspectives, and one of these is the pedagogical perspective that helps transform a theoretical understanding of ELF into better educational performance. However, despite all the theory and research into ELF, no major changes in pedagogy have been observed. Admittedly, the ELT profession has been questioned about all manner of concerns, especially the language syllabus, teaching materials, and language assessment but there has been "relatively little in-depth exploration of what teachers might do to incorporate an ELF perspective in practice" (Dewey, 2012: 141). Some argue that ELF researchers are reticent about drawing conclusions from their findings for ELT practices and insist that pedagogical decisions should be left to ELT professionals (Jenkins, 2015). On the other hand, it has been noted that these issues tend to provoke controversy and unease among practitioners, as it would be expected from any discussion of major change in pedagogy. Wen (2012: 373) explains that there are two potential motives for teachers' lack of enthusiasm. One of these reasons has to do with the fact that "traditional native-speaker based concepts of EFL have been so deeply rooted and it takes time for them to be changed". Another motive for this reluctance is that "some teachers, although they are in support of ELF conceptually, do

not know what to do" (*ibid.*). Understandably, as Dewey (2012) points out, any modification to the curriculum or materials in response to ELF requires fundamental rethinking and (re)training in approaches to teaching. While Wen's rationalization concerns the context of ELT in China, the same can actually be said of Portugal (and ESTG/IPL), where ELT materials are largely (if not exclusively) based on traditional EFL and where teachers make every endeavour to help their students pass language tests based on native English models.

Over the last ten to twenty years it has been observed that there is what Jenkins (2015: 155) calls "a mismatch between the kinds of English that are taught to NNEs *at all educational levels*, and the kinds of English they need and use in their lives outside the classroom" (emphasis added). From what we have seen previously, it is clear that this need for English outside the classroom primarily refers to the use of the language as a lingua franca to communicate with NNEs from other L1s. Guerra (2009) and Cavalheiro (2015) highlight this disparity in the Portuguese context where the English language curriculum has always held the native-speaker model as the target. Despite the recognition of American English as an acceptable native English standard, and the acknowledgement of international usefulness and lingua franca function of English, no significant pedagogic development has been introduced in official curricula. For the most part, English continues to be taught in Portuguese classrooms from the native-speaker perspective, much like what seems to occur in many other parts of the Expanding Circle (Ranta, 2010). Additionally, in a survey conducted by Cavalheiro (2015) among ELT pre-service teacher trainees in Portuguese universities, findings show that although trainees are fully aware of the lingua franca role of English, the native-speaker model and its associated values are still favoured and signalled as the ideal.

At ESTG/IPL, English is taught at the tertiary level where there is clear evidence of this mismatch in, for instance, assessment and teaching materials. As of 2006 teachers have relied greatly on the use of traditional EFL coursebooks, although it must be stressed that the listening exercises on accompanying audio CDs include a great number of NNE accents. More recently, DCL professionals have refrained from using these coursebooks with students in the lower CEFR levels and have compiled a selection of materials which are used alternatively. Nonetheless, many of these are still

based on conventional EFL course books and were not collected with an intentional, ELF-informed approach in mind⁴⁵. Language assessment is another level where the legacy of the native speaker model is still readily observed; although there is greater tolerance when assessing students' speaking English skills (grammatical anomalies and ambiguities are well tolerated by teachers who readily favour communicative effectiveness), reading and written productive skills are still assessed in terms of their grammatical and lexical accuracy according to NES.

If this is the reality inside the classroom, the scenario on the outside is very similar to what Björkman (2013) describes:

A considerable number of changes have already taken place, specifically but not only, in Europe within tertiary education, and English is being used increasingly often. Student exchange programs within the EU result in changes especially at the Master's level: A growing number of programs are offered in English to allow students to receive education in countries other than that of their origin. The development of additional programs in English is reported to be under way in several countries in continental Europe, allowing students from all over the world to participate. This expansion of use of the English language undoubtedly has advantages; student and staff exchanges are much easier, collaboration between universities is livelier than ever, and job opportunities are plenty.

(Björkman, 2013: 14)

This seems to be the case at ESTG/IPL, a polytechnic institute, with a grand internationalization strategy in mind, which does not conceal its ambitions of soon becoming a university, and where the reality of English language use is above all NNS interaction. Whether it is for strictly academic purposes or within a context of "secondary socialization"⁴⁶, students at this school will need to use English as a lingua franca much like in other European universities (Newbold, 2015). Hence, it is paramount to identify students' needs in order to assess if the traditional EFL approach

⁴⁵ This research study would possibly benefit from a comprehensive description of these ELT materials; however, because it is beyond the main scope of this study and may be regarded as a breach of confidentiality to which I am naturally obliged, I will refrain from going into further detail.

⁴⁶ Seidlhofer (2011: 86) claims "English as a lingua franca is a language of *secondary socialization*, a means of wider communication to conduct transactions outside one's primary social space and speech community".

in classrooms is in the best interest of students. Newbold (*ibid.*: 207) is right when he says the nature of English language skills which all students are likely to need "whatever their course, range from listening to visiting lecturers, to finding their way around websites in English, not necessarily produced by native speakers, to interacting with international students on mobility programmes such as Erasmus". As students in an Expanding Circle country, this sort of language skills suits their immediate needs as well as their upcoming requirements when fully immersed in the labour market.

A growing number of students at ESTG/IPL are enrolling in the Erasmus mobility programme, and it is a well known fact that presently the number of graduates who seek training or employment abroad is on the rise (a record increase of 87% in the last ten years), much due to economical factors that have afflicted this country in the past decade (Cabinet of the Secretary of State of Portuguese Communities Abroad, 2014). Most of these Erasmus students and internationally-employed graduates will need to engage in ELF on a daily basis, and it will be to their entire advantage if they are able to use English in a flexible way so as to accommodate to diverse interlocutors and promote successful intercultural communication (Cogo and Dewey, 2012). However, even students who choose to complete their degree courses at their hometown universities, in detriment of an experience abroad, would also benefit significantly from acquiring more general language awareness and communication strategies; Newbold (2015) indicates that these stay-at-home students are being increasingly challenged by the English language demands regularly made of them. For instance, ESTG/IPL students enrolled in Master's degrees have progressively become more interested in publishing their academic research, which almost always entails using English for purposes of broad readership. It is not uncommon to see these students participating in local conferences where they need to interact, in English, with international fellow researchers, proving that mobility is not a requirement for the use of English as a lingua franca. In this light, it is then important to recall the notion of CoPs, in which people may very well use English in international settings (for example, in e-mail, scientific publications, over the Internet, on social media or by working via Skype), without ever leaving their homeland.

On the other hand, it must be said that speaking ELF is a choice many learners may wish to make, whereas others will find it serves their communicative purposes to

conform to standard ENL norms. ESTG/IPL is to offer an undergraduate degree course in Technical and Business Translation in the very near future so it is understandable that potential Translation students will need to replicate NS norms of correctness if it is more appropriate.

Drawing on the work of Sung (2013), I argue that in no way should ELF be regarded as a replacement of or in competition with ENL for pedagogical purposes at ESTG/IPL. Sung alludes to the notion of a false dichotomy that has arisen as a result of tendency for ELF researchers to simplify and exaggerate the differences between ELF and ENL. Alternatively, it is believed that both ENL and ELF can play complementary albeit different roles in the ELT classroom. In other words, "[a]lthough ENL may remain as the primary model for pedagogy as a point of reference, there is a need for teachers to raise students' awareness of ELF use in reality, including the notion of language variation in ELF and the role of English in today's world (Sung, 2013: 182).

If we have so far established that the predominant goal of English instruction at ESTG/IPL is to prepare speakers for professional or academic settings, and if Chapter 5 has demonstrated that students have been unable to master native-like proficiency in previous stages of education, there is one pressing question that must be posed: how should DCL English teachers respond in their teaching to incoming undergraduates who have completed their compulsory English education and have still not reached the expected levels of attainment? Should these professionals, as Seidlhofer (2011: 197) puts it, "persist in teaching a competence that learners rarely attain, and apparently do not need as subsequent users of the language" or should teachers "consider the possibility of setting objectives that are realistic in that they both reflect the learning process and are attainable, and correspond more closely to the requirements of the majority of actual users of the language"? This is then the main concern of the present chapter: to set more realistic objectives for learners by proposing a listing of suggestions that may be adopted by teachers of English who are faced with such a dilemma. Naturally, the ESTG/IPL context will be the main concern of the proposal but this is not to say it cannot be tailored to other settings in Tertiary, Secondary or Basic Education levels. Above all, this is a proposed plan of action that urges abandoning unrealistic notions of achieving perfect communication through native-like proficiency in English, with the intent of freeing up resources for focusing on skills and procedures

that are likely to be useful to students who will need to make use of English as a lingua franca. Hopefully, this will help English classes meet the present-day requirements of language use.

6.3 Which teaching model for the ESTG/IPL English language classroom?

Changes to curricula or materials in response to ELF have been slow in coming as noted above; nonetheless, this does not mean there have not been any proposals for ELF approaches, as Jenkins (2015) reveals. One of the first lists of suggestions was in fact advanced by this researcher (Jenkins, 2005: 1), who noted that until further research into ELF was conducted, these were to be seen as eight provisional strategies for the ELF classroom:

1. Do not correct items that are emerging as systematic and frequent in ELF communication (but at this stage do not actually teach them).
2. Encourage and reward accommodation skills.
3. Use action research and your own judgement to replace traditional NS targets with the NNS-NNS intelligibility criterion (...).
4. Expose learners to a wide range of NNS varieties of English.
5. In lexis teaching, avoid idiomatic language.
6. In pronunciation teaching, focus on the core items and leave the non-core to learner choice.
7. In teacher education, look at ELF within a framework of sociolinguistic variation (which means treating variation as the norm and conformity as the exception) and take into consideration social-psychological factors relating to identity, both by not denying ELF speakers their L1 linguacultural roots and by giving them space to develop their ELF shoots, i.e. their ELF group membership. This includes recognising that many ELF speakers desire the ability to express their identity in their lingua franca. They do not necessarily want either to assume the identity of some NS or, at the other extreme, have to use English

in some "single monochrome standard form" (as Quirk, 1985 puts it) and be restricted to expressing their identity only in their L1.

8. Finally, raise NSs' awareness of the existence of ELF and its differences from ENL, preferably during secondary school education (...) alongside the learning of other languages.

In retrospect, Jenkins (2007) has claimed that at the time these strategies were put forth, ELF researchers were predominantly making suggestions as to what was *not* necessary to teach for ELF communication, rather than prescribing what should be taught. However, with the growing amount of empirical work and theoretical discussions, other more recent proposals have emerged. Jenkins (2015: 156-157) specifies three distinct sets of suggestions for how the issue of ELF might be approached in the classroom. The first proposal she addresses is one conceived by Seidlhofer (2011: 196-198). In this researcher's point of view, adopting an ELF perspective in the English teaching classroom would necessarily entail the following premises:

1. Conformity to ENL norms is not a necessary requirement for communication. Seidlhofer explains that although most NNS of English in the world are communicatively incompetent in reference to NS norms, they are in truth communicatively capable and use English effectively for their purposes.
2. Language that has been imperfectly learnt from a conventional point of view can be put to communicative use, meaning 'failed' learners can be(come) competent users of English.
3. Rather than persisting in teaching a competence that learners seldom achieve, teachers can therefore set realistic objectives that are attainable and more closely correspond to the needs of the majority of users of English, i.e. users of ELF.
4. This means focusing on communicative function and evaluating forms in terms of their functional effectiveness rather than their closeness to native English norms; in other words, learners are not learning *a language* but learning *to*

language. This concept involves the use of strategies for making sense, negotiating meaning, co-constructing understanding, and so forth.

5. It does not mean that descriptions of ELF should directly determine what language is taught in the language classroom - this should remain a local decision.

Seidlhofer (2011) adds that a pedagogy that focuses on an ELF perspective will unquestionably result in a partial acquisition of English. This outcome should not be regarded as a deficiency for, in truth, all acquisition of language is partial. In the case of ESTG/IPL students, they cannot know "a language, the whole language, and nothing but the language" be it Portuguese or English (Seidlhofer, 2011: 198). Therefore, it is irrelevant to stipulate how much language learners acquire; more importantly, it is the extent to which the English they have learnt can serve them that matters. Seidlhofer's general principles shift the focus of attention to the learner and the learning process, which consequently forces a change in teacher attitude. Accordingly, educators will have to consider how their teaching might support students in this process by focusing on what learners do, not in terms of NS correctness and conformity, but how they put the language to strategic use in communication.

Having analysed and interpreted a large corpus of naturally occurring spoken interactions by individuals engaged in ELF talk, Cogo and Dewey (2012: 169-183) come up with a number of suggestions for how ELF may be approached in the classroom. This second proposal converges on what teachers need to do in order to develop ELF-related pedagogic practices. In their view, English language professionals need to:

1. incorporate the global diversity of English into the curriculum rather than focusing exclusively on native English;
2. not focus heavily on areas that are problematic for L2 learners, e.g. when to use 'in', 'at', and 'on', and on items that are idiosyncratic in ENL, e.g. the past tense to express politeness;
3. avoid focusing on typical language 'errors' without considering the sociolinguistic realities of the teaching/learning context;

4. focus on effective communication rather than grammatical and lexical accuracy according to ENL and on sounding 'nativelike';
5. develop learner's ability to use English in a flexible way so that they are able to accommodate to diverse interlocutors and promote successful intercultural communication.

(Jenkins, 2015: 156)

These linguists stress that their ELF-oriented research is by no means concerned with identifying a set core of linguistic features even though, as we have seen in Chapter 2, corpus work in ELF has revealed there is a certain degree of typicality in speakers' use of the more salient features that occur in lingua franca interactions. Undoubtedly a set core of linguistic features would help teachers in implementing ELF-oriented practices, but Cogo and Dewey emphasise that what is most typical of ELF communication is not its systematicity but its fluidity or variability. They claim that both ELT professionals and learners need to gain awareness of the role of accommodation skills in effective intercultural communication. Additionally, it would benefit all those involved if teachers were to shift their emphasis in terms of the way language competence is understood - proximity to a fixed set of grammatical norms does not fully ensure effective intercultural communication; rather, it is a speaker's flexibility to accommodate that does so. Therefore, and in light of findings revealed by empirical ELF data, language syllabi should reflect "a shift in focus away from a set of predetermined linguistic norms, and towards a focus on items of lexis and grammar that are most often used by accomplished ELF speakers" (Cogo & Dewey, 2012: 176).

A third proposal has recently been advanced by Wen (2012), who developed a two-dimensional pedagogical framework for teaching ELF. She promotes this ELF-oriented pedagogy from the teacher's perspective and the two dimensions that uphold her framework concern a view about language, on the one hand, and a view about teaching, on the other. According to Wen's framework (Table 6.1), English is expected to be analysed and taught linguistically, culturally and pragmatically within these two dimensions. She also proposes that learners use English "as a means for developing effective communication strategies related to their own cultural reality" rather than simply emulate all they were taught (Wen, 2012: 373).

Table 6.1: A pedagogical framework for an ELF-informed approach to the teaching of English (Wen, 2012: 373)

View about language		View about teaching	
Three components	What is to be taught		What is to be achieved
Linguistic	Native varieties → Non-native varieties Localized features	→	Effective communication skills
Cultural	→ Target language cultures Non-native cultures Learners' own culture	→	Intercultural competence
Pragmatic Communicative	Universal communicative rules → Target language communicative rules Rules of other non-natives	→	Abilities to generate appropriate communicative rules and strategies

The advantages of such a framework are, in Wen's view, that it balances global and local linguistic concerns while making a clear distinction between what is to be taught and what is to be achieved. Thus, it defies traditional models that view the native variety as the only norm, and specifies the three components of teaching: linguistic, cultural and pragmatic. All these objectives share the same focus which is ultimately the successful accomplishment of communication in English.

It stands to reason that these three sets of suggestions complement each other and if ELF is to be incorporated in ELT practices at ESTG/IPL, these principles should be embraced as guidelines that will ideally steer educators in their teaching. Dewey (2012: 165) notes that before a consensual ELF model is defined, much more empirical ELF research is needed and adds that "ELF is relevant not so much in terms of identifying alternative sets of norms, but more in terms of enabling us to move beyond normativity" (*ibid.*: 166). In this light, and rather than proposing a codified pedagogical

model for learners and teachers as an alternative to a Standard English or native speaker based model in ELT, I shall now turn to making ELF-oriented recommendations that can contribute to increasing learners' fluency in and engagement with English as well as prepare them for international communication. In addition to the student population, teachers and administrative staff who are required or encouraged to take English classes at ESTG may also benefit from these ELF-informed practices if the need arises.

6.4 ENL or ELF in ELT?

It has been previously remarked that ENL and ELF can play different but complementary roles in ELT. This reconciliation between ELF and ENL in the ELT classroom is what Dewey (2012: 166) has dubbed "the post-normative approach". In this view, a post-normative approach is seen as compatible with the SE model. The normative fixation of ELT on SE is rejected and combined with ELF-oriented practices. This ELF approach is innovative in the sense that it is not focused on identifying alternative sets of norms, but rather enables teachers and learners to move beyond a norm-driven approach.

ENL still has its place in the classroom and may, for instance, remain as the primary model for pedagogy as a point of reference. One way this can be put into practice has been explored by Wen (2012), who suggests that three types of linguistic variety be taught in relation to the learner's proficiency: native varieties should be introduced from the beginning stage onwards; non-native varieties, on the other hand, should ideally be introduced from the intermediate stage onwards but for reception only; finally, from the advanced stage onwards localized features used by the speakers from the learners' community may be taught.

The role of English as a lingua franca in the EU means that English is primarily used between citizens whose first languages comprise a variety of European languages and who have learned English as an additional language. There is no need for such people to approximate native speaker norms. Sung (2013) observes that although it is possible for learners to achieve native-like competence, the majority tend to reach

only a moderate level of competency and rarely achieve full proficiency. ENL is but a point of reference, whereas the ELF framework "frees non-native speakers of English and places them in a new position, that of equality to native speakers, where they do not have to, or need to, aim at reaching native-like competence and linguistic proficiency" (Klimczak-Pawlak, 2014: 24).

But not all L2 speakers at ESTG/IPL aspire to liberation from the uneven power distribution and from unilateral idiomaticity which so often causes breakdowns in communication (Seidlhofer, 2004: 220). The adoption of the native-speaker standard will be advantageous for those learners whose major aim is to converse with native speakers and to understand whichever native-speaking culture they are interested in (Kirkpatrick, 2006). Besides the case of these learners and the aforementioned Translation students, there are potential situations in which ELF usage may be inappropriate for ESTG/IPL students and teaching staff. Consider the case of Computer Engineering undergraduates and their teachers who are frequently involved in developing mobile apps - computer programs designed to run on smartphones and tablet computers⁴⁷. While some apps are free of charge, many others must be purchased. Two examples of apps developed by ESTG/IPL staff are the *Family Finger Race*⁴⁸ and the *Jane Austen - Fan Kit*⁴⁹. Both are available for purchase and feature a corresponding product description in English. The following are excerpts from these descriptions:

"Who is the fastest family on the Planet? Who have the fastest fingers?"

"With support for one or two players, the fun is always present."

"Enjoy the fantastic cartoon-like graphics, created by the international designer Danilo Sanino, with the sound of a catchy music."

"Quotes, eBooks, Movie Suggestions, Trivia... everything for a Jane Austen's Fan!"

⁴⁷ The word 'app' is a shortening of the term 'application software' and apps are usually available through application distribution platforms, such as the Apple App Store or Google Play.

⁴⁸ Available at: <http://www.software-adventures.com/familyfingerrace/> (accessed 1 February 2015).

⁴⁹ Available at: <http://www.software-adventures.com/janeausten/> (accessed 1 February 2015).

"Read almost every published work from Jane Austen."

Undoubtedly, these depictions are communicatively effective, but as the underlined expressions show, there are some issues with grammatical accuracy. What is being argued here is that these instances of 'deficient' English might prevent financial success, which is unquestionably one of the main purposes of providing the software through a distribution platform. A quick glance at branding and design, or marketing websites and blogs will reveal a word of caution to entrepreneurs, urging them to avoid poor grammar and spelling errors in promotional material. These *faux-pas* would not only negatively affect consumers' view of the business in question, they would make them actively avoid it. When you consider those negative opinions in monetary terms, the implications are obvious. The same goes to say for the official Ipleiria website⁵⁰ that boasts a slogan designed to be captivating:

"Ipleiria's Training Offer; Bet in training, bet in you!"

Yet again communicative effectiveness has not been threatened but at a time when recruitment of foreign students is a priority, faulty English might lead to misunderstandings or institutional distrust, ultimately driving candidates away. Let us not forget that while change is underway, ENL is still associated with notions of prestige and power and ESTG/IPL, an establishment with natural financial concerns, will have to use ENL or ELF to its advantage.

What is most important is that if the ENL model is adopted as a useful point of reference in this establishment, it is paramount that it is not promoted as the only correct, or standard, model of English (Sung, 2013). English language teachers should try to make learners aware that although they are learning a standard variety of ENL, there are other varieties of English around the world that they are likely to encounter in their lives.

6.5 Developing learners' knowledge, attitudes and skills

⁵⁰ Available at: <http://www.ipleiria.pt/> (accessed 1 February 2015).

The syllabus for the ESTG/IPL English curricular unit specifies that, in general terms, learners will practise the skills of listening, speaking, reading and writing. They will engage with and increase their understanding of English, and produce spoken and written texts, with interaction and reflection on key issues related to the course. In order to pass, at the end of the course learners should have reached the B1 Independent User level (or higher) as defined by the CEFR. The latest version of this syllabus (DCL, 2014) shows clear signs of ELF-awareness as it stipulates the following learning outcomes for students:

4. Communication skills – To acquire language skills (reading, listening, writing and speaking), in order to interact in formal or informal meetings and working situations in English with speakers from different cultural and linguistic contexts;

5. Learning skills – To improve the level of competence in English to prepare students for both the present reality and the demands of the labour market, on a national and international level.

(DCL, 2014: 1)

However, if language classes are to actively embrace ELF-informed teaching, there is an additional set of crucial attributes that learners must develop. Marlina (2014) explains that teaching ELF or ELF pedagogy

means the act of professionally guiding students from all Kachruvian circles to (1) gain knowledge and awareness of the pluricentricity of English and the plurilingual nature of today's communication; (2) inspire students to give equal and legitimate recognition of all varieties of English; and (3) develop the ability to negotiate and communicate respectfully across cultures and Englishes in today's communicative settings that are international, intercultural, and multilingual in nature.

(Marlina, 2014: 7)

To this effect, Marlina provides a useful list of specific knowledge, attitudes and skills (Table 6.2) that may guide teachers in implementing a post-normative approach and, consequently, help them inspire their students to develop the required attributes.

Table 6.2: ELF-inspired knowledge, attitudes, and skills (Marlina, 2014: 8)

Knowledge and awareness	Knowledge of the spread of English and its implications; Knowledge of other varieties of English; Knowledge of the nature of language diversification and changes; Awareness of the values of cultural and linguistic diversity; Awareness of the sociopolitical spread of English and its impact on other languages;
Attitudes	Having a view of English as a heterogeneous language with multiple norms; Sensitivity toward the unprecedented spread and diversification of English; Recognising the legitimacy of other varieties of English; International understanding; Acceptance towards different cultures; Confidence in facing up to linguistically intransigent elements in the world; Attitudinal resources: i.e., patience and humility to negotiate differences;
Skills	Negotiation skills – such as speech accommodation – for shuttling between English varieties and speech communities; Interpersonal strategies: i.e., repair, rephrase, clarification, gestures, topic change, consensus-orientation, mutual support; Multidialectal competence – involving passive competence to understand new varieties of English and the capacity to negotiate diverse varieties of English; Listening skills; Analytical and reflective skills.

In addition to these attributes, it is unquestionable that learners need to develop their skills in speaking, listening, reading and writing. These four interdependent strands of language are the foundation for any creative and purposeful communication in ELT classes and it is these areas that teachers look at when assessing learners' performance. Although the syllabus at ESTG/IPL is moving towards an ELF-

aware pedagogy, students are still assessed according to EN norms and learners' final marks are based on areas of assessment directly related to tasks completed in class. These include writing activities, reading and use of English (reading comprehension, grammar and vocabulary exercises), an oral discussion/speaking activities, and listening comprehension. To pass the English CU, a learner must be awarded a final mark of 10 or above based on an average of the four areas of assessment which are given equal weight (25%).

Unsurprisingly, teaching materials have traditionally shown an inner-circle orientation in the choice of the linguistic samples (namely British English) with the exception of listening exercises, which reflect many different non-native accents. However, the inclusion of non-"standard" (i.e. non-American or British) Englishes in ESTG/IPL classrooms would require a number of changes in terms of teaching strategies and material.

The following sections suggest possible changes that could be implemented in ELT practices, with regard to the four language skills, thus resulting in a deliberate move towards ELF-informed teaching. Before doing so, a note on terminology: the CEFR (Council of Europe, 2001: 14) states that "a language learner/user's communicative language competence is activated in the performance of the various language activities, involving reception, production, interaction or mediation" and that "each of these types of activity is possible in relation to texts in oral or written form, or both". Reception and production (oral and/or written) are obviously primary processes, given that both are required for interaction. In the CEFR and in my suggestions below, however, the use of these terms for language activities is confined to the role they play in isolation.

6.5.1 Listening skills

Aural reception (listening) takes place whenever the language user as listener receives and processes a spoken input produced by one or more speakers (Council of Europe, 2001). Typical listening activities may include listening to media and public announcements, or listening as a member of a live audience, such as a lecture. As stated above, it has been common practice among DCL staff to provide students with

exposure to different varieties of English in aural form, given that audio material used in the EFL classroom has been phonologically diverse for several years. However, it is not uncommon for learners to be judgmental of different accents; therefore, teachers should be careful not to encourage learners to be disapproving towards unfamiliar accents (Miyagi, Sato and Crump, 2009). With the advent of the Internet, and YouTube in particular, EFL classes have become more aurally diverse spaces, and many teachers make practical use of countless on-line videos (i.e. audio-visual reception: when a user simultaneously receives an auditory and a visual input). Such videos might include interviews with non-native internationally known figures, such as politicians, football players and football managers; as an alternative, using clips from news websites from around the world would serve the same purpose. There are a few pre-requisites for this strategy to be effective: ideally teaching rooms need to be equipped with computers, or a projector of some type and teachers should have high speed Internet access readily available. By exposing learners to these videos, not only do they obtain convenient visual cues but develop a familiarity with non-Inner Circle Englishes that more appropriately mirror the sounds used in international communication.

Outside the classroom, Morrison and White (2005) point out the relevance of films and television shows easily made available by accessing the Internet. The benefits of using these materials as expansion activities include exposing learners to many varieties of pronunciation with native and non-native speakers, thus enriching their phonological and cultural repertoires.

In truth these might already be ordinary practices in a number of ELT classrooms, but this does not mean there is no room for improvement. As we have seen, Portugal is primarily a monolingual country, which means classes seldom include multilingual students. However, the increasing number of PALOP, Erasmus and other international students that enroll in the English course can be used as resource for exposing Portuguese students of English to other varieties and non-native accents. The outcome would bring about mutual benefits for foreign and national learners and, in turn, as Miyagi *et al.* (2009: 268) note, "learners would also begin to realize that communicating in English involves more than interaction with an idealised and essentialised standard NS". Typically, a setting of this type would involve making use of

the many skills listed by Marlina (2014), such as speech accommodation, rephrasing or repairing, thus developing greater tolerance of other Englishes.

Alternatively, Matsuda (2003) suggests teachers could invite international visitors and residents in the community to the class. Because this is a short-term course of 15 weeks in duration, it is unrealistic to expect that inviting visiting lecturers might constitute a regular strategy for language specialists, even though students would naturally benefit from the exposure. In addition, the number of international residents in this region of Portugal is insignificant, making it an improbable plan of action.

There is, however, one way of enabling learners to interact in English: by offering CLIL lessons. More than half of the teachers at ESTG/IPL are PhD holders and widely experienced in presenting papers at international conferences. Many of these professionals are, therefore, used to interacting in English with NS and NNS on a regular basis and, as it has also been explained, a number of non-language teachers already lecture Master's seminars in English. An alternative form of creating opportunities for first-year undergraduates to interact in English would be to change the medium of instruction in some secondary or even primary courses alongside the English course. Dalton-Puffer and Smit (2013: 546), who provide a descriptive outline of CLIL parameters, explain that CLIL is about using (English as) a foreign language or a lingua franca, not a second language, and that this language is not regularly used in the wider society learners live in. This is patently the case with the Portuguese students in question. Furthermore, as a rule CLIL is implemented once learners have acquired literacy skills in their mother tongue (in this case, Portuguese).

As for CLIL teachers, they are normally NNS of the target language (English) and are typically content rather than foreign-language specialists. CLIL lessons are usually timetabled as content lessons (for example, Physics, Algebra, Economics, or Civil Law), whereas the target language normally continues as a subject in its own right, taught by language specialists. Wolff (2009) observes that even though the communicative approach in ELT has proved much more successful than traditional grammar-oriented approaches, it is still lacking given that EU language and teaching goals are still not fully reached.

Recent research, however, has proved that CLIL lessons are better suited to attain these goals and that foreign language proficiency as well as content subjects benefit from this approach. According to Wolff (2009: 547), there is evidence that "learners learn faster and are more motivated than those in traditional content subject classrooms" and that they "look at content from a different and broader perspective when it is taught in another language". What is more, ESTG/IPL suits the profile for implementing a CLIL approach given that within tertiary education it is mainly vocational schools which have opted for this method of teaching content through foreign language (Wolff, 2009).

Admittedly, changing the medium of instruction from Portuguese to English requires a number of changes necessary to the curriculum, the assessment and the general organization of education, as Björkman (2013) forewarns, and although it has been introduced in many schools within the EU, it is generally a costly affair (Wolff, 2009). From a realistic point of view, the implementation of a full-blown CLIL approach in ESTG/IPL seems highly unlikely, which is why I would suggest experimenting with modular CLIL. This variant of CLIL can be defined as "an approach to teaching content in a foreign language in non-language subjects over shorter periods of time" (Wolff, 2009: 552). As he suggests, a Mathematics teacher might wish to teach the theory of probabilities in English and the rest of the curriculum in Portuguese. An Economics teacher who decides to teach part of the business cycle in Portuguese and another part in English could serve as another example. In modular CLIL competent teachers are responsible for the choice of the thematic units and/or the project themes they intend to work on in the foreign language. Modules are, therefore, the content elements which the teacher chooses to teach.

Before modular CLIL can be implemented at ESTG/IPL, Wolff specifies two conditions that have to be fulfilled:

1. Teachers must have the linguistic competence in English to be able to teach;
2. Students' linguistic competence in English must be sufficient to follow instruction.

Having worked closely with numerous non-language teachers at ESTG/IPL, it is my belief that the first requisite can be satisfactorily met. Nonetheless, this modular CLIL approach would require very close collaboration of content and language teachers. Regarding the second condition, only a trial period would provide evidence if students' have the necessary skills to follow content instruction in English. However, I recall that in Chapter 5 it has been demonstrated that learners find themselves comfortable when it comes to understanding spoken English as the majority of surveyees described their competence as belonging to a B1 or B2 level. Notwithstanding, preliminary CLIL classes could be offered to undergraduate degrees that scored higher or lower in placement tests in order to assess its feasibility.

Should modular CLIL be put into practice in this school, there are a number of benefits to expect. Because modular CLIL entails the teaching of content and language in connection with each other instead of separate components, English language learning is not an add-on (i.e. it would not require extra teaching hours), rather a part of the teaching content (Björkman, 2013). This would overcome the fact that the English language course is of such short duration. In dealing with English within a content subject context, learners better understand the use of foreign language in their education, which generally has a highly motivating effect for their language learning processes (Wolff, 2009). Finally, modular CLIL would serve as a bridge between ELF teaching on the one hand and regular content learning in the other.

From an ELF perspective, the concept of modular CLIL would similarly bring about a wide range of benefits. Not only would it build intercultural knowledge and understanding, but also develop intercultural communication skills; language competence and oral communication skills would be greatly improved and learners would understand, firsthand, that being an effective ELF user does not require being an English NS. Overall, classes would effectively become more aurally diverse learning settings where students realize that what counts most in using ELF is not how one sounds, but rather what message he or she wants to convey (Miyagi *et al.*, 2009).

6.5.2 Speaking skills

These skills include language activities such as oral production or spoken interaction. When engaging in oral production (speaking) language users produce oral texts which are received by an audience of one or more listeners. Such activities may include instances of public address (e.g. asking for information) or addressing audiences (as a teacher would in a classroom). Spoken interaction is naturally a far more dynamic activity that requires a language user to act alternately as speaker and listener with one or more interlocutors. Reception (listening) and production (speaking) strategies are employed constantly during interaction and they typically alternate but may in fact overlap: it is frequent to have two interlocutors speaking and listening to each other simultaneously and "even where turn-taking is strictly respected, the listener is generally already forecasting the remainder of the speaker's message and preparing a response" (Council of Europe, 2001: 14). They are obviously interdependent and, therefore, much of what has been proposed for the development of listening skills in the previous section is generally true for the speaking activities.

From the oral point of view, I would like to add that a modular CLIL approach could help boost students' (and teachers') confidence when speaking their own English. As listeners, learners would mainly play a receptive role in the interaction in the classroom, but depending on the teacher's methodologies, students may be called on to interact with the class or teacher more or less frequently, by making short presentations, clarifying doubts or working in groups.

Alongside CLIL lessons, English language lessons should continue as a subject in its own right and they will necessarily be taught by language specialists. However, a shift in methodology will have to take place in order to raise awareness of English as a lingua franca. When using a set coursebook in class, for instance, teachers should consider Jenkins' (2000) LFC and observe how the pronunciation exercises in the coursebook compare to the pronunciation features identified as important for maintaining intelligibility in Jenkins's data. Subsequently, those areas should be matched to the learners' needs. Whenever it is convenient, teachers should skip the irrelevant pronunciation exercises and spend more time on LFC priority areas. These have been identified by Jenkins as most consonant sounds, nuclear stress, vowel length distinctions and appropriate consonant cluster simplification. If necessary, extra pronunciation activities should be taken into the classroom to focus on these four

main areas which are thought to be essential for students to get right if they are to remain intelligible. In the Portuguese context, this would benefit many students who customarily find it difficult to pronounce voiced /ð/ as in the <th> in 'father', and voiceless /θ/ as in the <th> in 'think'. Other language users commonly pronounce 'stopped' with two syllables instead of one by inserting a vowel sound between the /p/ and /t/ cluster. Jenkins' (2000) data suggests these students are still likely to be understood in an ELF context. Such pronunciation features are often taught as part of the traditional syllabus, but are not included in the LFC because they have no impact on ELF intelligibility. Thus, teachers should practise pronunciation features which are likely to cause the most communication breakdowns in ELF contexts.

An additional change I would like to suggest concerns the testing of spoken language at ESTG/IPL. Spoken language has for long been tested in the context of a face-to-face interview at the end of the semester, where a student and two teachers interact exclusively in English. This practice is quite common in ELT, as McNamara (2009) observes, and learners' linguistic output is measured in terms of four general categories: fluency, language use, grammar and pronunciation. Most students do not feel comfortable in this individual test and it has been observed that some candidates actually perform badly due to speaking test anxiety. McNamara reveals that an alternative to this individual interview has emerged, in which pairs or small groups of candidates interact, and the performance judged by non-participant examiners.

There are two advantages in adopting this procedure at ESTG/IPL in detriment of the face-to-face interview. Firstly, it would greatly reduce students' anxieties as studies by Kim and Sewell (2011:89) have demonstrated. According to these researchers, group speaking tests rather than individual face-to-face interview tests may be more suitable in some speaking test situations, such as in university conversation practice classes, as such group speaking tests may allow language users to demonstrate their actual speaking ability more fully. In this study, students claimed they felt more comfortable in a group speaking test compared to an individual interview test which resulted in an improved performance. The second and most important advantage of implementing a pair or group oral must be regarded from an ELF perspective. McNamara (2009) explains that because

typical communication situations in English increasingly do not involve interaction with native speakers exclusively, the character of the paired interaction can now be seen to have the advantage that it more closely resembles English as a lingua franca communication. In such situations, being able to cope with someone of differing proficiency or differing in their capacity to facilitate interaction is quite typical, and what were previously seen as construct-irrelevant factors can be seen as the construct-relevant.

(McNamara, 2009: 622)

This approach would remove concerns about pairing a candidate with someone of higher or lower proficiency, of the same or a different gender, with an outgoing or retiring personality type, seeing that ultimately teachers would be examining successful spoken interactions, rather than focusing on grammatical accuracy or the exhibition of native-like pronunciation features. Beforehand, however, McNamara (2009) cautions that examiners would need to face a challenging task and "develop criteria which reflect what is relevant to success in such settings, including such things as flexibility, being a good listener, being able to identify and overcome instances of misunderstanding or breakdown, and so on". There is the need for more research in this field to validate the use of the proposed criteria, which is why its implementation in ESTG/IPL would add to the ongoing work on the character of spoken interaction in applied linguistics and its understanding.

In line with this pairing of students with different oral competences, I would make a further recommendation concerning the way students interact orally. As the placement test distributes students into homogeneous groups, spoken interaction is always carried out in a unvarying setting. It would then be interesting to have higher proficiency students interact with lower level students to encourage both parts in the practice of accommodating skills. This could be done by organizing joint classes on a regular basis or providing optional English conversation classes. From an ELF perspective there would be great benefits in doing so for the reason that a speaker's flexibility to accommodate is essential in ensuring effective communication.

In Chapter 5 it was observed that many students revealed lack of confidence in terms of spoken production and interaction. This is naturally a concern that the 15-week English course cannot aspire to fully resolve. Therefore, it may be pertinent to

promote the development of optional English conversation courses that would be available to students throughout the remainder of their degree programme, which is in essence the same strategy observed by Morrison and White (2005). Similarly, these courses would not be level tested, which would result in a variety of proficiency levels, ranging from beginner to advanced, thus requiring the employment of greater accommodation skills. The inclusion of non-language teachers in these courses is an option that would enable these professionals to practice their speaking and listening skills, which would in turn provide useful training for CLIL classes. An English language teacher may be present and wish to intervene or choose to remain non-participant; ultimately, a language specialist may not even be present. Topics to be discussed can always be agreed upon spontaneously or a list of themes related to common global issues, such as the following, may be proposed: geography and world cultures, science and technology, global issues, environment, international youth movements, international education, global varieties of English, human rights, world peace, power inequality and so forth (Matsuda, 2003). In their empirical research study Morrison and White (2005) observe that this offers learners the opportunities to initiate or engage in conversations with teachers or peers and to overhear English discussions. Overall, this English conversation course would be a physical space for students and teachers to converse in English in a safe and supportive environment.

6.5.3 Reading skills

In visual reception (reading) activities the language user, as a reader, "receives and processes as input written texts produced by one or more writers" (Council of Europe, 2001: 68). Some examples of such reading activities may include reading for general orientation, reading and following instructions, reading for pleasure and reading for information (e.g. using reference works, a useful skill for ESTG/IPL students who are often confronted with long lists of bibliographical material in English and need to be able to cope with this course literature).

Regarding strategies for implementing a genuine ELF curriculum, Matsuda (2003) adverts that this shift might naively be conceptualized as a matter of changing books and materials when, in truth, it involves multiple levels of initiatives. If using a

coursebook, teachers must ensure that it includes more cultural topics, pictures and main characters from the Outer and Expanding circles, and assigns these characters larger roles in chapter dialogues than what they currently have. Matsuda argues this measure would better reflect the increasing role that NNEs have in defining the international use of English. Should teachers decide to compile a set of materials, the inclusion of users and uses of non-Inner Circle countries is naturally strongly recommended.

Dialogues that either represent or refer to the use of English as a lingua franca in multilingual outer-circle countries can also be added to this compilation, as Matsuda rightly suggests. Because DCL staff are dealing with older students, teachers can specifically address the issue of ELF, such as its history and development, the current spread of English, what the future entails, and what role the ELF learners have in that future. The global topics proposed for the optional English conversation courses described above may also be covered in the reading material and if these texts are written by non-mother tongue speakers, this will help "to reduce the 'nativespeakerist' element" in teaching materials (Jenkins, 2006: 169).

It is standard practice at ESTG/IPL to focus on lexis and grammar when developing reading comprehension skills. As we have seen, ELF teaching encourages focus on lexicogrammar items that are most often used by accomplished ELF speakers; accordingly, teachers should give students more credit for understanding texts rather than mimicking NS English. One way to make grammar and lexis classes more productive is by observing some of the features on Seidlhofer's (2004) index of communicative redundancy (section 2.8.2). From what is evident in the findings presented in the previous chapter, a large sample of EFL students in Portugal have failed to exhibit native-like grammatical accuracy in a basic placement test, so it is argued here that they would benefit to a greater degree from acquiring more general language awareness and communication strategies rather than repeating ineffective grammar exercises.

Mauranen and Hynninen (2010: 1) emphasize that "it is rarely the case that communicative effectiveness is best achieved by making correct grammatical choices" and that "it is known from cognitive linguistic research that grammatical anomalies and ambiguities are well tolerated in everyday talk and mostly pass unnoticed by

speakers and hearers alike". In most cases grammatical accuracy plays a secondary role seeing "most people orient towards the contents of what is being said in a conversation, using forms as clues to meaning, not as foci of attention in themselves".

However, on the notion of communicative effectiveness with respect to ELF settings, it must be noted that an ELF approach to teaching does not imply that all grammatical correctness is irrelevant. Björkman (2011: 91) acknowledges that "naturally, grammatical accuracy is important; a sentence needs to be made up of the right constituents to be sensical". The key is to promote "the inclusion and prioritizing of materials practicing features whose absence leads to overt disturbance" (Björkman, 2011: 94). For example, she claims that questions have been reported to be important for the effectiveness of spoken communication in ELF settings and so they should be addressed thoroughly in ELT language classrooms in diverse communicative activities such as information-gap activities, or group-work activities, which would mirror real-life communicative situations. Therefore, focus on grammatical accuracy can be exercised with spoken interaction in mind. According to Björkman, this is a necessary shift in ELT seeing that

[w]ritten norms are not appropriate for speaking, for speech and writing are two very different types of discourse. The fact that speech is generally impromptu and requires real-time production and processing creates the biggest difference between these two types of discourse with regard to one's production. So evaluating a speaker's communicative competence by his/her adherence to the norms of writing would be against the nature of speaking, would be unjust to the speaker, being a practice that does not comply with the way natural speech is.

(Björkman, 2011: 88).

She explains that although there is no clear explanation or documentation of spoken grammar to date, it would seem convenient to include the teaching of syntactic structures that help increase explicitness, such as heads and tails (also known as pre- and post-dislocation):

The soccer game last night, it was really exciting. (With head)

The soccer game last night was really exciting. (No head)

My teacher is really nice, the one from America. (With tail)

My teacher from America is really nice. (No tail)

Hilliard (2014) explains that heads (also known as pre- or left-dislocation) are a way to introduce and orient listeners to a topic before giving information on the topic. Tails (post- or right-dislocation) are comments that are added to the end of a phrase and may, among other things, express personal attitude, judgment of an item, or serve an interpersonal function. She argues that "although many grammatical features of everyday, unplanned conversation are judged incorrect by standards of written English, these features of natural conversation should not be considered incorrect deviations from standard English" (Hilliard, 2014: 3). Her more recent work in this field of spoken grammar suggests that ellipsis, fillers and backchannels, as well as phrasal chunks are useful features that may increase learners' development of spoken grammar knowledge and overall speaking skills. Hence, ELF-informed teaching at ESTG/IPL should consider adapting the grammar contents on the existing syllabus to better reflect learners' needs of English in international settings (see Hilliard, 2014, for examples of spoken English activities).

6.5.4 Writing skills

In the words of the CEFR, "in written production (writing) activities the language user as writer produces a written text which is received by a readership of one or more readers" (Council of Europe, 2001: 61). Typical writing activities include completing forms and questionnaires, writing personal or business letters, writing articles for magazines, newspapers or newsletters, writing reports, memoranda, among many others. Writing is not merely a unilateral productive activity seeing it is possible to interact through the medium of written language by passing and exchanging notes or memos when spoken interaction is impossible and inappropriate, correspondence by sending out e-mail or participating in on-line or off-line computer conferences. In this respect, Kirkpatrick (2014: 31) stresses that "written language is

not the same as spoken and that, therefore, a somewhat different argument needs to be presented" when considering teaching English from an ELF perspective.

The first consideration Kirkpatrick (2014) makes is an elementary observation that can easily be overlooked: there is no such thing as a native speaker of written English. All learners, no matter their linguistic background, have to consciously learn how to write English, including NES. Secondly, he points out that different disciplines and genres make use of different rhetorical structures and styles. As a result there is a set of distinct norms pertaining to each discipline and genre. Students at ESTG/IPL will then need to be exposed to e-mails, letters, comments on Facebook, poems, tweets, abstracts, engineering reports, text messages or judicial judgments, all of which bear differences in styles. Finally, Kirkpatrick (*ibid.*) claims that different cultures play by different rhetorical rules and the level of the differences are often determined by discipline and genre. Although his research refers to the South East Asian context, much of what is said can be applied to the EU setting. For instance, Portuguese learners of English may well have to complete writing tasks such as business correspondence and job applications, and the cultural norms for these may well differ across the different cultures of the EU. What, for example, represent culturally appropriate job application letters in Portugal, in Germany or in Finland and what differences exist between them? All in all, to become accomplished writers, these English learners will "have to learn how to write following the templates determined by discipline, genre and culture" (Kirkpatrick, 2104: 32).

This may seem a daunting task for learners and teachers alike seeing that becoming a proficient writer requires a great deal of practice and study; however, as Sung (2013) notes, the written language is more stable than its spoken counterpart, and as a result there is less room for variability in written English for ELF purposes. Therefore, ESTG/IPL students may always choose what they want or need to write. Above all, it is important to keep in mind that the standard norms are not determined by native speakers, but by tradition and convention, and the acknowledgment of this fact should free non-native speakers of English and place them in a new position, that of equality to native speakers (Jenkins, 2006a).

6.6 The role of teachers in the ELF classroom

The suggestions presented above have hitherto focused on the learner's needs, yet the teacher's perspective also needs to be taken into account. It is a given fact that no initial course of teacher education can be sufficient to prepare teachers for a career of three or four decades. The world they are preparing their learners to enter is changing so rapidly that new teaching skills are constantly required so that educators may not only continue to have mastery of their subjects but also understand their students.

This is especially true in the context of ELT as we have already seen. The growing significance of ELF, for instance, is leading even the most sceptical of teachers to acknowledge its relevance for their own teaching contexts (Dewey, 2012). For this reason, Marlina (2014) refers, English language educators have been encouraged to re-visit and re-examine their teaching methodology, instructional variety and model, curriculum and syllabus material, language testing, and TESOL teacher-education program. However, despite this incitement and all the research on ELF, I have shown that, in truth, a comprehensive exploration of what teachers might do to incorporate an ELF perspective in practice is still lacking to date (see section 6.2).

According to Maley (2009), as cited in Sung (2013: 181), there tends to be a discrepancy between the concerns of teachers and those of researchers, since "most teachers of English are sublimely unaware of the ELF debate, which for the most part takes place among a very small group of researchers". If we are to understand what an ELF-informed or ELF-oriented pedagogy should like, it is crucial to engage in much more empirical research that involves teachers directly (Dewey, 2012). Their views are fundamental as it is ultimately teachers, not researchers, who decide to what degree descriptions of ELF are relevant to classroom teaching (Sung, 2013).

It will take some time until a fully ELF-aware generation of teachers is on the field. Sifakis (2009) has proposed an innovative and comprehensive framework for ELF teacher education and Cavalheiro (2015) has adapted it to the Portuguese context, but in light of the changing nature of English it is imperative that we have language educators that are fully-aware of the ELF debate in ELT classrooms, within the shortest possible time. This may be achieved by involving relevant ELF issues in teachers'

process of continuous professional development. Educators are naturally required to regularly reflect upon their competencies, keep them up to date, and develop them further and, as Sifakis (2009) notes, the demand for a comprehensive orientation for ELF teacher development is increasing. Therefore, those teachers who would be interested in teaching English from an ELF perspective (for example, ESTG/IPL teachers) need to be informed and sensitized about ELF matters. This could be achieved by having them attend accredited educational seminars or training courses where ELF can be explored and debated; in time, these seminars and training courses may actually focus on the development of ELF teaching material and methods. In an effort to bring researchers and teachers closer, it is critical that the latter be introduced to a selection of research articles and chapters on ELF.

If teachers are asked to read this material, they will undoubtedly gain a more comprehensive understanding of the nature of ELF. Sifakis (2009) suggests a list of instructional readings, which Cavalheiro (2015) has further expanded. I have taken their proposals into account, as well as Jenkins' (2015), and adapted them to the context of ESTG/IPL. As a result, a non-exhaustive list of suggested topics and readings would include the following:

- *Broad coverage of the field:*

Journal of English as a Lingua Franca (De Gruyter Mouton), the first journal to be devoted to the rapidly-growing phenomenon of English as a Lingua Franca; *English Today* (Cambridge University Press) provides accessible cutting-edge reports on all aspects of the English language; Kachru, Kachru and Nelson (2006); Kirkpatrick (2010).

- *The spread of English as a global language:*

Kachru (1985); Phillipson (1992); McArthur (1992); Pennycook (1994); Widdowson (1994); Crystal (1997a); Graddol (1997); Kachru, Kachru and Nelson (2006); Jenkins (2015).

- *English as a Lingua Franca:*

Jenkins (2000, 2007, 2015); Seidlhofer (2001, 2011); Berns (2009); Jenkins, Cogo and Dewey (2011); Björkman (2011); Cogo and Dewey (2012).

- *ELF and content and language integrated learning:*

Dalton-Puffer (2007); Dalton-Puffer and Smit (2013); Wolff (2009).

- *English as an Academic Lingua Franca:*

Björkman (2011, 2013); Mauranen (2003a, 2003b, 2012); Smit (2010).

- *ELF and Higher Education policies:*

Jenkins (2014)

This brief list is but a starting point and may naturally be tailored to the needs of any group of language specialists who wish to learn more about ELF or clear up misconceptions that might have emerged. Sung (2013: 180) relevantly underlines that it is common for many NNESs "to hold a norm-bound view and emphasize the teaching of standard ENL models in their current pedagogical practices", partly because they do not wish to "discredit their prior and ongoing efforts and investment into developing their competence in ENL". This attitude justifies the importance of ELF awareness, so that teachers understand that it is not the purpose of ELF to lower teaching standards, but make them relevant for the present situation. As Jenkins (2000: 160) puts it "[t]here is really no justification for doggedly persisting in referring to an item as 'an error' if the vast majority of the world's L2 English speakers produce and understand it".

Once English language teachers fully comprehend the ELF approach to ELT, they will, as Llurda (2009) argues, be able to overcome NNES subordination to NS models. Consequently, this will enhance the self-esteem and optimism not only of non-native learners, but also of teachers and researchers (Gnutzmann, 2009).

6.7 Assessment

An in-depth debate about the implications of ELF for English language testing is, according to ELF researchers (see McNamara, 2012; Jenkins, 2015) long overdue. As the latter shows, while the English-speaking world changes around them, it is still evident that English language examination boards (e.g. TOEFL, IELTS, among others) continue to assess the English of NNEs against native English norms. Similarly, the widely-adopted CEFR, as we have seen earlier, assesses candidates on a range of skills against six different levels and the descriptors for the highest level (C2) implies that the ultimate goal for any English language learner corresponds to nativelike proficiency in English. As it stands, learners around the world may be studying English to be used in international settings, but will always be assessed in terms of their proficiency for Inner Circle contexts.

However, according to Jenkins and Leung (2014), research into ELF has called "into question the prioritizing of standard native English grammatical and pragmatic norms in evaluating the competence of the majority of non-native learners" (as cited by Jenkins, 2015: 223). It is true that much empirical work and theoretical discussions are needed until researchers and teachers establish consensual ELF assessment criteria, but already a considerable number of changes can be made to the way ELF students are assessed. Firstly, Kirkpatrick (2014: 31) emphasises that there is no point in adopting an ELF approach to teaching if students are going to be assessed against native speaker norms and cultures, so "assessment must be closely aligned with what is being taught". He suggests that English language users be assessed on how successfully they can use English in a particular setting. In the case of ESTG/IPL, it would be ideal if students were assessed on how well they are able to use English in the European setting. Jenkins (2006c: 49) recommends that teachers reconsider their language yardsticks in light of ELF's inherent variability and "refrain from penalizing the use of those NNS variants which are emerging through their frequent and systematic use as potential forms of future EIL varieties". This can be done, for instance, by avoiding the correction of items such as substitutions of voiced and voiceless interdental fricatives, uncountable nouns used as countable, omission of articles, or the use of an all-purpose question tag (for example, 'isn't it?'). Alternatively, teachers could turn their attention to rewarding the successful use of accommodation strategies even where the result would be an error in native English, and penalize the

use of forms that are not mutually intelligible in ELF, such as native English idioms (*ibid.*).

In the same vein, Seidlhofer (2007) acknowledges that the number of scholars that has been seriously engaged in reflecting on the pedagogic potential of ELF is still very small when compared to the vast number of publications on English teaching based on ENL norms. As a result, there is still much to be decided about the way ELF can be accurately assessed in classrooms. Even so, she suggests a set of ELF-oriented assessment strategies for English language teachers. First and foremost, language educators need to forsake their unrealistic notions of having students achieve perfect communication through native-like proficiency in English. Alternatively, she recommends teachers should make use of this extra time to focus on skills and procedures that are likely to be useful in ELF talk, such as communication strategies and accommodation skills. Consequently, learners would have more time to develop other skills such as "drawing on extralinguistic cues, gauging interlocutors' linguistic repertoires, supportive listening, signalling non-comprehension in a face-saving way, asking for repetition, paraphrasing, etc." (Seidlhofer, 2007: 147).

Until this uncertainty in assessment standards is settled, the position of DCL teachers at ESTG/IPL must be one of vigilance; they may, nevertheless, take into consideration the work of Miyago *et al.* (2009: 269), who argue that ELF and EFL strategies can be used in the classroom in complementary roles. This would not only increase teachers' and learners' awareness of other Englishes, but also encourage Portuguese students to accept these other Englishes, including their own Portuguese-accented English, as legitimate entities in the international context. One functional way of applying this theory to practice would be by redesigning the placement test. Rather than having students take a receptive skills test that exclusively tests grammar and vocabulary, DCL teaching staff could develop an online test that alongside lexicogrammar items includes an ELF component, similar to the entrance test described by Newbold (2015). Accordingly, ESTG/IPL test-takers would be faced with a more realistic challenge by having to react to spoken and written texts produced by NNS. Due to the great number of students involved in such a test, this exercise would have to be carried out as an activity outside the classroom and although it would still

not be the ideal test, it would certainly provide greater and more accurate predictive value of students' actual skills in English.

No matter what strategies are employed in this ELF-informed teaching I have proposed, there remains one point that must always be taken into account: the demands of students cannot be solely met within the confines of the English course at ESTG/IPL. What teachers can do is "to provide a basis from which students can learn, fine-tuning subsequently (usually after leaving school) to any native or non-native varieties and registers that are relevant for their individual requirements" (Seidlhofer, 2007: 147).

6.8 Summary

From what we are able to ascertain after having read this chapter, it is clear that there is still a fair degree of uncertainty as to what teachers might do to incorporate an ELF perspective in practice. Adding to this is the understandable reluctance of some language specialists who still favour a more traditional approach as it provides them with reassurance teachers so often seek. What is perhaps more critical is the gap described between research and teaching practice. This chapter shows that it is fundamental that teachers are made aware of ongoing research into ELF so that what students learn in the ELT classroom is fundamentally what they need on the outside.

After showing that this mismatch is still partially true of the ESTG/IPL context, where the legacy of the ENL model remains unquestioned, the chapter goes on to propose that more realistic objectives must be set for these learners. Following from this discussion, it is established that teachers will have to consider how their teaching might support students in this process, namely by focusing on what learners do, not in terms of NS correctness and conformity, but how they put the language to strategic use in communication. In order to do so a set of suggestions and a pedagogical framework for an ELF-informed approach to the teaching of English are provided to guide teachers who are faced with this task.

This chapter also shows that ENL should not be viewed as target but rather as a convenient point of reference in the ELT classroom, seeing that learners in ESTG/IPL will benefit more from learning ELF than attempting to reach ENL proficiency. However, it is also revealed that ENL and ELF can play different but complementary roles in ELT and that there are situations in ESTG where ELF might not be the appropriate choice.

This chapter then deals with the ways English language classes may embrace ELF-informed teaching. Here it is demonstrated that there is an additional set of crucial attributes that learners must develop in order to become communicatively effective language users. Teachers are provided a list of specific knowledge, attitudes and skills that may guide them in implementing a post-normative approach.

After considering general skills, this discussion focuses on the more specific listening, speaking, reading and writing skills. In terms of the first two skills, this chapter shows that CLIL classes and English conversational courses would be an effective way of developing students' listening and speaking skills inside and outside of the ELT classroom. As for learners' reading skills, particular emphasis is given to the teaching of grammar which should be applied to the context of spoken English. Finally, as regards learners' writing skills, it is explained that NNES must be viewed in a position of equality to native speakers given that standard norms are not determined by native speakers, but by tradition and convention.

The next section centred on how teachers need to be informed and made aware of ELF matters. It is only by working with them that we can hope to incorporate an ELF perspective in the ELT classroom in quest of a norm-driven approach.

In the final section of this chapter I examined the changes that can be made to the way ELF students are assessed suggested an alternative placement test that would reflect students' proficiency more accurately.

To conclude, it is important to understand that even though this ELF approach I have suggested is centred on the context of ESTG/IPL, it is quite possible that a number of the strategies presented here are relevant to other educational settings in Portugal, wherever teachers and students wish to learn and use English as a lingua franca.

Conclusion

In order to recount the circumstances out of which this thesis arises, this final section will attempt to sum up the central issues of each chapter. Subsequently, special attention will be given to the limitations that this research may reveal and suggestions for further research will be provided. In the end, the potential implications and contributions that this thesis may have for ELT, in general, and ELF, in particular, will be considered.

To begin with, this study specified the different reasons may spur one's desire to learn English. As obvious as this may seem, it has been demonstrated that there are a number of distinct motivations for and benefits in speaking English. In order to illustrate these, the major international domains of English are explained in detail.

The global status of English is then taken up and the most significant sociopolitical events in the history of English are presented, so as to clearly understand how it has become a world language. With its large-scale dissemination, different kinds of English speakers have arisen and it is demonstrated that, at present, English is used as a native language, a second language, a foreign language and more recently as a lingua franca. Because the latest use of English has forced scholars to reconsider the traditional tripartite classification of Englishes, the different models of the spread of English are then discussed. In doing so, the diversity of conceptual frameworks and terminology is brought to light, as well as the fact that English can no longer be regarded as a monolithic entity. This realization is central to the role of ELT practices and has gradually promoted significant awareness among the scholarly community.

Following this, the discussion contemplates two reactions to the global spread of English. On the one hand, some have argued that the spread of English is a form of postcolonial imperialism; on the other, the authority and ownership of native speakers concerning the English language is questioned. These reactions challenge the innocuous view that many have of English and reveal a change in the way this language is currently being perceived.

This study then goes on to show that the increasing use of English in international settings has brought about concerns for ELT professionals, mainly the

question of which standard to use in teaching English to foreigners. Therefore, the controversial concept of SE is discussed alongside the need for change in traditional ELT practices.

A significant change that has been contemplated by linguists refers to a name that will accurately describe the current uses of English. In this regard, the wide-ranging list of terms to describe the contemporary international use of English is discussed and it is shown that the term *English as a Lingua Franca* has gained increasing popularity. Considering ELF has been adopted by the most prominent scholars, this study dedicates special attention to the ELF paradigm, which is aimed at successful intercultural communication, and how it differs from the more traditional EFL, which mainly aspires to successful communication with NESs. It is emphasised that ELF is in need of unflinching conceptualization, which would ultimately aid language educators in their decisions about what to teach, how to define English and how to set pedagogical goals

Once the conceptual differences between ELF and EFL have been established, an overview of the two most significant empirical studies of ELF features is presented. Findings revealed by this research show that there may be commonly used features of English which are ungrammatical in Standard L1 English but generally unproblematic in ELF communication. In other words, L2 speakers may use English differently when compared to L1 speakers, but this does not mean that their use is deficient. This is significant in the sense that it may force educators to reconsider language teaching and language policies, for the reason that learners who wish to use English mainly in an international context would benefit considerably from acquiring more general language awareness and communication strategies rather than attempting to master the native-speaker model, which in most cases cannot be achieved in the classroom alone. As a result of this perception, it is then demonstrated that the reconceptualization of central linguistic concepts are in need, mainly due to the way social and technological features have shaped the world we are living in.

However, this ELF research paradigm is not uncontroversial and so an overview of the criticism and misconceptions of ELF are detailed at length. Despite understandable opposition, it is shown that there is a growing interest in ELF research and the efforts of Portuguese researchers deserves a mention at this point in time.

What follows is a detailed account of ELT across the EU, one of the regions in the world where the use of English as a lingua franca has grown exponentially. It is shown that though multilingualism is promoted widely across the EU, the use of English is on the rise and has become the continent's lingua franca, where it is used over numerous domains. Furthermore, it is argued that English should not be regarded as a threat to the existence of other languages, but as an enrichment of its speakers' linguistic repertoire.

The focus then turns to ELT and English proficiency in the EU; recent studies show that English is the most taught foreign language in all of these countries at all educational levels. In addition, English proficiency is by far higher in this region than in other parts of the world, and predictions show that this trend will continue to improve. Nonetheless, English language proficiency in Europe is still defined in reference to the traditional educated speaker of Standard English, even though most English speakers in the EU world are non-native speakers using the language as a lingua franca.

Despite the high level of proficiency, European school systems have acknowledged that students are in fact underperforming as they do not achieve the goals that have been stipulated in public programmes. Therefore, a set of development strategies for the improvement of English proficiency is presented, and the discussion then extends to the CEFR, which is examined under this light. Regardless of its popularity, it is established that this document can no longer be effectively applied to ELF communication, seeing as it defines proficiency in reference to the ever-present traditional educated speaker of Standard English. Should ELT take on an ELF-oriented approach, the numerous European students who study English would greatly benefit from it, as they would then focus effectively on successful intercultural communication, instead of aspiring to the unrealistic goal of achieving native-like proficiency.

Having described the general state of affairs in Europe, this study then targets the Portuguese ELT setting and begins by revealing the significant amount of research that ELF has generated in this territory. This not only shows how pertinent the topic is in current ELT, but also underlines the significance of English in Portugal, a country where exposure to English is a reality in many areas of society.

With reference to education, a significant section of this study is dedicated to the structure of the Portuguese education system, from Primary to Tertiary levels. This outline is essential to understand how the teaching of ELF is currently being conducted. In line with this indication, an in-depth analysis is provided concerning ELT attainment levels in Basic and Secondary Education, and it is argued that has become clear that levels of attainment are too ambitious, especially when factors such as class size and teaching time are taken into account.

This claim is sustained by the recent results of two language tests which assess Year 9 students' proficiency levels in EFL. These language assessment exercises reveal that the average Portuguese learner of English attending the ninth grade (14 to 15 years of age) is far behind in terms of attainment expectations stipulated by official curricula. Although these documents set the goal at a B1 level, it has been confirmed that the vast majority of learners is still at an A2 level upon completing Year 9.

After exposing students' underperformance at the level of Basic Education, the study concentrates on the situation in Higher Education. A convenient outline of this educational level is presented in anticipation of the detailed description concerning the situation at ESTG/IPL, one of the five schools that are part of IPLeiria. In this particular school, first-time, first-year students are required to take a basic placement test before attending a one-semester English course, in which they are expected to display a B1 proficiency level in order to pass. In theory, this seemed to be a fairly achievable goal since students are expected to attain at least a B2 level upon completing their Secondary Education programmes. However, as it has been observed, incoming students scored surprisingly low marks, mostly between the A1 and A2 levels.

This below standard performance played a catalytic role in the development of this research and, consequently, questions were raised concerning the reasons why a great number of learners fell short of the competences in English anticipated by official programmes of study. This major concern led to several questions which have guided this research in an attempt to establish a sociolinguistic profile of incoming students at ESTG/IPL.

This goal was carried out by analysing students' answers to a questionnaire and their placement test scores. In doing so, this investigation proposed to examine incoming student's history of English learning in formal language-learning contexts. In

addition, it was deemed essential to understand the perception students have of their English language competence in contrast to their placement test result. This would help to understand if students felt there were discrepancies between the assessment exercise and their notion of English proficiency. Another step towards setting up this student profile included an analysis of placement test answers, with the aim of understanding whether testees found lexical items more problematic in contrast to grammatical items, or vice versa. One last research question sought to determine if the non-standard answers provided in placement tests would potentially be the cause for communication breakdowns, or, on the other hand, whether these alternative answers would, at worst, cause communicative disturbances, thus not preventing learners from communicating successfully with NES and NNES in most ELF settings.

The results gathered by the analysis of a considerable number of questionnaires and placement tests reveal that a typical Portuguese learner of EFL has studied English for seven consecutive rows. Although the vast majority of surveyees originate from the same geographic region, their background seems in all similar to that of the average Portuguese student. English schooling has been uneventful for most, given that only a very small number of students regularly failed at English or required specialized tutoring. Students' perception of their English language competence is, for the larger part, in line with the results obtained in the test and the CEFR level assigned to them. This overall acceptance raises some stirring questions concerning the self-esteem and optimism of these non-native learners, who are meant to be at a higher level of the CEFR scale. Nonetheless, a fraction of students claim to have a higher level of proficiency than the one assigned to them, whereas a minimal number of students consider a lower level would be more appropriate.

As regards English language skills, it is established that ESTG/IPL learners are more at ease when it comes to listening and reading, and that they find speaking and writing activities more challenging. On the whole, this study shows that students' self-assessment places them at an A2+ level, with A2 speaking and writing skills and B1 listening and reading skills.

Observation of specific choices selected on the placement test also reveals much about the typical EFL student in Portugal. Although students display shortcomings in both vocabulary and structure, there is a higher propensity to choose

standard lexical forms in contrast to standard grammatical ones. According to the literature, this pattern gives us reason to believe that these learners may in fact be communicatively effective, despite their non-standard choices, and that they possess the necessary skills that are essential in overcoming potential disturbances in ELF communication. In other words, despite their 'deficiencies', these learners may very well be extremely proficient and flexible speakers when using English in a lingua franca context, a scenario which they will most likely come across as students and, later, as professionals living and working in the EU.

Because it is expected that ESTG/IPL learners will be using English mainly as a lingua franca, this study argues that it is imperative that relevant findings of ELF research be introduced into the undergraduate degree curricula. This would result in an updated English course aimed at realistically preparing learners for settings where English is often the sole means of bridging great divides. With this concern in mind, this study contemplates what teachers might do to incorporate an ELF perspective in practice. This is a deliberate attempt to bring the work of ELF researchers into the classroom, seeing as unsuspecting teachers are commonly unaware of advances in academia.

Therefore, what follows is a set of suggestions for an ELF-informed approach to the teaching of English in ESTG/IPL, in particular, and other schools, in general. Firstly, what is proposed is a list of explicit knowledge, attitudes and skills that may guide teachers in implementing a post-normative approach. Then, this proposal focuses on how to develop students' listening, speaking, reading and writing skills from an ELF point of view. Finally, further recommendation for teachers and how they can carry out assessment in such classes is also provided.

In undertaking this sociolinguistic profile of students of English at ESTG/IPL, I have tried to portray the background of typical EFL students in Portugal, as well as capture specific features of language use by such learners. Therefore, a large number of questionnaires were distributed and analysed, and numerous placement tests were also taken into account so as to lend as much strength as possible to this research. However, due to circumstances described elsewhere, there are certain limitations that need to be addressed.

First and foremost, one cannot ignore the structure of the placement test that has been used to assess students' proficiency. It is unquestionable that there may be more adequate exercises that can assess productive and receptive knowledge of the various skills used in communicating. In defence of this test, however, I must emphasise it was initially adopted as an expeditious, uncomplicated way of assigning different levels to students, and that in no way was the outcome I have described foreseen by teachers. Furthermore, it is arguable that the grading scale adopted by DCL staff is the most accurate, especially since Macmillan Publishers have proposed a new scale which is not as ambitious (see Table 5.3). This latest proposal is not radically different, so it is likewise questionable if it would be enough to alter the figures this study has uncovered.

Secondly, it would be important to understand if students are in fact communicatively effective by actively assessing their productive skills in a genuine ELF setting. However, the fact that Portugal is a monolingual country means there is a substantial lack of settings in which learners can be observed using ELF naturally. Nonetheless, it is possible that a redesigned placement test which includes spoken and written texts produced by NNS, and is carried out unhurriedly at home, would allow teachers to observe how students react to such materials. These added contents would clearly attempt to reproduce authentic language situations and use in an ELF setting, and this assessment tool would undoubtedly provide greater predictive value about students' communicative effectiveness.

Finally, although the statistical methods I have used attempt to represent reality, there are many who harbour a vague distrust of statistics. I would like to reassure these concerns by clarifying that the observed sample is believed to be representative of the target population, which was selected at random within the English course at this school. Although one can never be sure that all the important variables have been accounted for, inferences are considered to be valid, and cross-validation was used to verify the results. These findings have been represented in graphs, whenever necessary, which have sought to be accurate and reflect the data variation clearly.

In sum, this sociolinguistic profile shows that English is a language which Portuguese students at ESTG/IPL have learned for a considerable number of years. Despite the effort they have made to acquire it, these learners have not yet mastered this foreign language and most likely never will. What I have tried to demonstrate is that they, in fact, cannot and need not do so in the classroom.

In view of the global spread of English, there is an emerging alternative to a Standard English or NS based model in ELT. The new ELF paradigm advocates that communicative success is not necessarily dependent on linguistic correctness and so it is imperative that ELT in ESTG/IPL and other classes throughout this country take this reality into account. An ELF-oriented approach to teaching may phase out the distinction which is still evident between English at school and English in the real world. Taking this step would mean enhancing the self-esteem of non-native learners and teachers, who would then be able to move beyond the traditional normative constraints that overshadow the ELT classroom.

At this point in time, there are reasons to believe that research into ELF will continue to be carried out, and it is expected that future findings will more confidently steer non-native speakers, teachers and language policies in the right direction. Until this time comes, it is my hope that this study and any synergies it achieves by bringing researchers and teachers closer will make a greater contribution to ELT in Portugal.

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Appendices

Appendix I



Questionário

O Ensino e a Aprendizagem do Inglês no Ensino Básico e Secundário

Este questionário tem como objectivo conhecer um conjunto de questões relacionadas com o processo de aprendizagem da língua inglesa a que foram sujeitos os alunos, no ensino básico e secundário.

A sua opinião é fundamental para que se possam criar novas alternativas e oferecer um ensino de qualidade.

O presente questionário é de natureza **confidencial** e anónimo. Não há respostas certas ou erradas relativamente a qualquer um dos itens; pretende-se apenas a sua opinião pessoal e sincera.

Obrigado pela sua colaboração.

1. Sexo

Feminino Masculino

2. Idade (*indique o ano em que nasceu*)

19

3. Nacionalidade

Portuguesa Outra (*indique qual*)

4. Qual é o seu local de residência em tempo de férias? (*indique o distrito*)

<input type="checkbox"/> Aveiro	<input type="checkbox"/> Leiria
<input type="checkbox"/> Beja	<input type="checkbox"/> Lisboa
<input type="checkbox"/> Braga	<input type="checkbox"/> Portalegre
<input type="checkbox"/> Bragança	<input type="checkbox"/> Porto
<input type="checkbox"/> Castelo Branco	<input type="checkbox"/> Santarém
<input type="checkbox"/> Coimbra	<input type="checkbox"/> Setúbal
<input type="checkbox"/> Évora	<input type="checkbox"/> Viana do Castelo
<input type="checkbox"/> Faro	<input type="checkbox"/> Vila Real
<input type="checkbox"/> Guarda	<input type="checkbox"/> Viseu
<input type="checkbox"/> Madeira <input type="checkbox"/> Açores	<input type="checkbox"/> Outro (<i>indique qual</i>)

5. É trabalhador-estudante?

Sim Não

6. Em que ano é que está matriculado?

1º ano 2º ano 3º ano
 Outro

7. De que forma ingressou no Ensino Superior (ESTG)?

Concurso Nacional (Contingente Geral)
 Concurso Nacional (Contingente especial para candidatos oriundos da Região Autónoma dos Açores)

- Concurso Nacional (Contingente especial para candidatos oriundos da Região Autónoma da Madeira)
- Concurso Nacional (Contingente especial para candidatos emigrantes portugueses e familiares que com eles residam)
- Concurso Nacional (Contingente especial para candidatos que se encontrem a prestar serviço militar efectivo no regime de contrato)
- Concurso Nacional (Contingente especial para candidatos portadores de deficiência física ou sensorial)
- Regime Especial de Acesso para missão diplomática no estrangeiro
- Regime Especial de Acesso para cidadãos portugueses bolseiros no estrangeiro ou funcionários públicos em missão oficial no estrangeiro
- Regime Especial de Acesso para oficiais do quadro permanente das Forças Armadas Portuguesas
- Regime Especial de Acesso para estudantes PALOP
- Regime Especial de Acesso para funcionários estrangeiros de missão diplomática
- Regime Especial de Acesso de atletas de alta competição
- Regime Especial de Acesso para naturais e filhos de naturais do território de Timor Leste
- Concurso especial para titulares de diplomas de especialização tecnológica (CET)
- Concurso para acesso de maiores de 23 anos (M23)

8. Em que ano é que se matriculou, pela primeira vez, na licenciatura da ESTG?

9. Qual é o curso em que está matriculado na ESTG?

- Administração Pública - Regime Diurno
- Biomecânica - Regime Diurno
- Contabilidade e Finanças - Regime Diurno
- Contabilidade e Finanças - Regime Pós-Laboral
- Engenharia Automóvel - Regime Diurno
- Engenharia Civil - Regime Diurno
- Engenharia Civil - Regime Pós-Laboral
- Engenharia da Energia e do Ambiente - Regime Diurno

- Engenharia de Redes e Serviços de Comunicação - Regime Diurno
- Engenharia Electrotécnica - Regime Diurno
- Engenharia Electrotécnica - Regime Pós-Laboral
- Engenharia Informática - Regime Diurno
- Engenharia Informática - Regime Pós-Laboral
- Engenharia Mecânica - Regime Diurno
- Engenharia Mecânica - Regime Pós-Laboral
- Gestão - Regime Diurno
- Gestão - Regime Pós-Laboral
- Informática para a Saúde - Regime Diurno
- Marketing - Regime Diurno
- Marketing - Regime de Ensino a Distância
- Protecção Civil - Regime Pós-Laboral
- Solicitadoria - Regime Diurno
- Solicitadoria - Regime Pós-Laboral
- Tecnologia dos Equipamentos de Saúde - Regime Diurno
- Outro

10. Qual foi a sua nota de acesso ao Ensino Superior?

11. Já possui curso superior? (*um bacharelato, uma licenciatura, ou um mestrado/doutoramento*).

- Não Sim

11. 1. Se respondeu "Sim", indique o nome do curso

12. Alguma vez residiu fora de Portugal?

- Não Sim

Se respondeu "Sim", indique:

12. 1. O país onde residiu _____

12.2. Por quanto tempo _____

12.3. O ano de entrada em Portugal

13. Que língua fala regularmente em casa?

Português Outra (*indique qual*)

14. Em que ano é que iniciou a aprendizagem da língua inglesa na escola?

5º ano 7º ano
 Outra situação (*indique qual*)

15. Em que ano é que terminou a aprendizagem da língua inglesa na escola?

9º ano 11º ano 12º ano
 Outra situação (*indique qual*)

16. Que tipo de curso é que frequentou no ensino secundário?

Curso científico-humanístico de Ciências e Tecnologias
 Curso científico-humanístico de Ciências Socioeconómicas
 Curso científico-humanístico de Línguas e Humanidades
 Curso científico-humanístico de Artes Visuais
 Curso tecnológico
 Outro (*indique qual*)

17. Enquanto estudante do ensino básico e secundário, frequentou algum apoio especial **na sua escola**, com vista a melhorar as notas de Inglês?

Não, nunca Sim, às vezes Sim, regularmente

18. Enquanto estudante do ensino básico e secundário, frequentou algum apoio especial **fora** da sua escola, com vista a melhorar as notas de Inglês? (Por favor, assinale com X apenas um quadrado em cada linha).

	Não, nunca	Sim, às vezes	Sim, regularmente
Explicações			
Aulas privadas em escola de línguas			
Outro (indique qual)			

19. Era frequente reprovar à disciplina de Inglês durante o ensino básico? (5^a ao 9^o ano)

- Não, nunca
 Sim, às vezes
 Sim, regularmente

20. Como classifica a preparação que lhe foi dada pelos seus professores de Inglês, no ensino básico e secundário?

- Muito má
 Má
 Satisfatória
 Boa
 Muito boa

21. Como classifica a adequação dos materiais utilizados nas suas aulas de Inglês, no ensino básico e secundário?

- Muito má
 Má
 Satisfatória
 Boa
 Muito boa

22. Para além do manual, foram utilizados outros materiais nas suas aulas de Inglês, no ensino básico e secundário?

- Não
 Sim

22.1. Se respondeu “Sim”, indique quais.

- Fotocópias de textos de apoio
 - Fichas de gramática
 - CDs áudio (para exercícios de *listening*)
 - Filmes
 - Músicas
 - Outros (*especifique*)
-

23. Para além da escola, para que contextos considera importante a aprendizagem do inglês?

- Filmes
 - Música
 - Internet
 - Videojogos
 - Turismo
 - Emprego
 - Outros (*especifique*)
-

24. Que nível é que lhe foi atribuído no teste de nivelamento da ESTG?

- | | | | | | | | |
|----|--------------------------|----|--------------------------|----|--------------------------|---------|--------------------------|
| A1 | <input type="checkbox"/> | B1 | <input type="checkbox"/> | C1 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Não fiz | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| A2 | <input type="checkbox"/> | B2 | <input type="checkbox"/> | C2 | <input type="checkbox"/> | | |

25. Considera que este resultado reflectia a sua competência linguística em Inglês?

- Sim
- Não, estava num nível superior
- Não, estava num nível inferior

26. Qual é a percepção que tem da sua competência linguística em Inglês? (Por favor, assinale com X apenas um quadrado em cada linha).

	A1	A2	B1	B2	C1	C2
Compreensão oral (<i>listening</i>)						
Compreensão escrita (<i>reading</i>)						
Produção oral (<i>speaking</i>)						
Produção escrita (<i>writing</i>)						

27. Qual foi o número de horas por semana que dedicou, habitualmente, a estudar Inglês este semestre?

Só estudei para as provas de avaliação

2 horas

mais

1 hora

3 horas ou

Appendix II

Questionnaire Analysis: Tables

Table 1: Gender (Q1)

		N	%
Gender	Male	143	57.2%
	Female	107	42.8%
	Total	250	100.0%

Table 2: Respondents' Age Statistics (Q2)

N	Valid	249
	Missing	1
Mean		25.65
Median		23.00
Mode		22
Standard Deviation		6.985
Minimum		19
Maximum		62

Table 3: Age (Q2)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	19	1	.4	.4	.4
	20	36	14.4	14.5	14.9
	21	28	11.2	11.2	26.1
	22	40	16.0	16.1	42.2
	23	31	12.4	12.4	54.6
	24	19	7.6	7.6	62.2
	25	19	7.6	7.6	69.9
	26	11	4.4	4.4	74.3
	27	8	3.2	3.2	77.5
	28	4	1.6	1.6	79.1
	29	9	3.6	3.6	82.7
	30	6	2.4	2.4	85.1
	31	2	.8	.8	85.9
	32	4	1.6	1.6	87.6
	33	2	.8	.8	88.4
	34	1	.4	.4	88.8
	35	1	.4	.4	89.2
	36	3	1.2	1.2	90.4
	37	1	.4	.4	90.8
	38	2	.8	.8	91.6
	39	3	1.2	1.2	92.8
	40	3	1.2	1.2	94.0
	41	1	.4	.4	94.4
	42	1	.4	.4	94.8
	44	2	.8	.8	95.6
	45	5	2.0	2.0	97.6
	46	2	.8	.8	98.4
	47	1	.4	.4	98.8
	48	1	.4	.4	99.2
52	1	.4	.4	99.6	
62	1	.4	.4	100.0	
	Total	249	99.6	100.0	
Missing	NR	1	.4		
Total		250	100.0		

Table 4: Nationality (Q3)

		N	%
Nationality	Portuguese	232	92.8%
	German	2	0.8%
	Angolan	1	0.4%
	Brazilian	1	0.4%
	Cape Verdean	5	2.0%
	Canadian	2	0.8%
	French	2	0.8%
	Moldovan	1	0.4%
	North American	1	0.4%
	Ukrainian	2	0.8%
	NR	1	0.4%
	Total	250	100.0%

Table 5: Geographical region (Q4)

		N	%
District of usual residence during holidays	Aveiro	9	3.6%
	Braga	2	0.8%
	Castelo Branco	3	1.2%
	Coimbra	15	6.0%
	Faro	5	2.0%
	Guarda	4	1.6%
	Leiria	172	68.8%
	Lisbon	10	4.0%
	Porto	2	0.8%
	Santarém	22	8.8%
	Viana do Castelo	1	0.4%
	Viseu	3	1.2%
	Madeira	1	0.4%
	Açores	1	0.4%
Total	250	100.0%	

Table 6: Occupational Status (Q5)

		N	%
Working student	Yes	72	28.8%
	No	178	71.2%
	Total	250	100.0%

Table 7: Year of study at ESTG/IPL (Q6)

		N	%
Year of study	Year 1	157	62.8%
	Year 2	42	16.8%
	Year 3	44	17.6%
	Other	7	2.8%
	Total	250	100.0%

Table 8: Application process for admission (Q7)

		N	%
Application process (AP)	National AP (general contingent)	161	64.4%
	National AP (special contingent for candidates from the Autonomous Region of the Azores)	2	0.8%
	National AP (special contingent for candidates who are serving in the military)	1	0.4%
	Special AP for PALOP students	5	2.0%
	Special AP for holders of CET diplomas	46	18.4%
	AP for students aged 23 and over	32	12.8%
	Special AP for Higher Education degree graduates	1	0.4%
	NR	2	0.8%
	Total	250	100.0%

Table 9: Year of first admission to ESTG/IPL (Q8)

		N	%
Year of admission	1998	1	0.4%
	2002	1	0.4%
	2005	1	0.4%
	2006	2	0.8%
	2007	2	0.8%
	2008	6	2.4%
	2009	18	7.2%
	2010	39	15.6%
	2011	37	14.8%
	2012	140	56.0%
	2013	1	0.4%
	NR	2	0.8%
	Total	250	100.0%

Table 10: Students' degree course (Q9)

		N	%
Degree courses	Public Administration - Daytime Course	10	4.0%
	Accountancy and Finance - Daytime Course	3	1.2%
	Accountancy and Finance - Evening Course	1	0.4%
	Automotive Engineering - Daytime Course	18	7.2%
	Civil Engineering - Daytime Course	11	4.4%
	Civil Engineering - Evening Course	4	1.6%
	Energy and Environmental Engineering - Daytime Course	11	4.4%
	Network Engineering and Communication Services - Daytime Course	9	3.6%
	Electrical and Electronic Engineering - Daytime Course	11	4.4%
	Electrical and Electronic Engineering - Evening Course	9	3.6%
	Computer Engineering - Daytime Course	1	0.4%
	Computer Engineering - Evening Course	1	0.4%
	Mechanical Engineering - Daytime Course	8	3.2%
	Mechanical Engineering - Evening Course	8	3.2%
	Management - Daytime Course	35	14.0%
	Management - Evening Course	43	17.2%
	Computer Sciences for Health Care - Daytime Course	23	9.2%
	Marketing - Daytime Course	23	9.2%
	Marketing - Distance Learning Course	3	1.2%
	Civil Protection - Evening Course	7	2.8%
Solicitorship - Daytime Course	11	4.4%	
Total	250	100.0%	

Table 11: Admission average statistics (Q10)

	Mean	Minimum	Maximum	Mode	Median
Final admission average	14	10	18	14	14

Table 12: Admission average statistics (Q10)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	10	5	2.0	2.2	2.2
	11	12	4.8	5.4	7.6
	12	16	6.4	7.1	14.7
	13	42	16.8	18.8	33.5
	14	59	23.6	26.3	59.8
	15	49	19.6	21.9	81.7
	16	19	7.6	8.5	90.2
	17	14	5.6	6.3	96.4
	18	8	3.2	3.6	100.0
	Total	224	89.6	100.0	
Missing	NR	26	10.4		
Total		250	100.0		

Table 13: Previous degree attainment (Q11)

		N	%
Degree graduate	No	245	98.0%
	Yes	5	2.0%
	Total	250	100.0%

Table 14: Previous degree attainment: fields of study (Q11.1)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid		245	98.0	98.0	98.0
	Industrial automation	1	.4	.4	98.4
	Nursing	1	.4	.4	98.8
	Letters	1	.4	.4	99.2
	Master's in Clinical Psychology	1	.4	.4	99.6
	NR	1	.4	.4	100.0
	Total	250	100.0	100.0	

Table 15: International migration experience (Q12)

		N	%
Residence abroad	No	212	84.8%
	Yes	38	15.2%
	Total	250	100.0%

Table 16: International migration experience: country (Q12.1)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid		212	84.8	84.8	84.8
	South Africa	1	.4	.4	85.2
	Germany	4	1.6	1.6	86.8
	Angola	2	.8	.8	87.6
	Bosnia; Afghanistan	1	.4	.4	88.0
	Brazil	1	.4	.4	88.4
	Brazil; Spain	1	.4	.4	88.8
	Cape Verde	4	1.6	1.6	90.4
	Canada	2	.8	.8	91.2
	Spain	1	.4	.4	91.6
	USA	4	1.6	1.6	93.2
	France	8	3.2	3.2	96.4
	England	1	.4	.4	96.8
	Macau	1	.4	.4	97.2
	Mozambique	1	.4	.4	97.6
	Moldavia	1	.4	.4	98.0
	Poland	1	.4	.4	98.4
	São Tomé and Príncipe	1	.4	.4	98.8
	Switzerland	1	.4	.4	99.2
	Ukraine	1	.4	.4	99.6
Ukraine and Russia	1	.4	.4	100.0	
Total	250	100.0	100.0		

Table 17: International migration experience: duration (Q12.2)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid		212	84.8	84.8	84.8
	1 year	2	.8	.8	85.6
	1 academic year	1	.4	.4	86.0
	10 years	2	.8	.8	86.8
	12 years	1	.4	.4	87.2
	12 years; 2 years	1	.4	.4	87.6
	13 years	1	.4	.4	88.0
	14 years	1	.4	.4	88.4
	16 years	1	.4	.4	88.8
	18 years	3	1.2	1.2	90.0
	2 years	4	1.6	1.6	91.6
	23 years	1	.4	.4	92.0
	3 years	2	.8	.8	92.8
	3 months	1	.4	.4	93.2
	30 years	1	.4	.4	93.6
	4 years	1	.4	.4	94.0
	5 years	4	1.6	1.6	95.6
	6 years	3	1.2	1.2	96.8
	7 years	2	.8	.8	97.6
	7 months; 14 months	1	.4	.4	98.0
	8 years	2	.8	.8	98.8
NR	3	1.2	1.2	100.0	
Total	250	100.0	100.0		

Table 18: International migration experience: Date of entry to Portugal (Q12.3)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid		212	84.8	84.8	84.8
	1974	1	.4	.4	85.2
	1977	1	.4	.4	85.6
	1979	1	.4	.4	86.0
	1989	1	.4	.4	86.4
	1992	2	.8	.8	87.2
	1993	1	.4	.4	87.6
	1994	1	.4	.4	88.0
	1995	1	.4	.4	88.4
	1996	1	.4	.4	88.8
	1997	1	.4	.4	89.2
	1998	1	.4	.4	89.6
	1999	2	.8	.8	90.4
	2000	2	.8	.8	91.2
	2001	4	1.6	1.6	92.8
	2003	1	.4	.4	93.2
	2004	1	.4	.4	93.6
	2005	3	1.2	1.2	94.8
	2008	1	.4	.4	95.2
	2009	1	.4	.4	95.6
	2010	2	.8	.8	96.4
	2011	2	.8	.8	97.2
	2012	4	1.6	1.6	98.8
NR	3	1.2	1.2	100.0	
Total	250	100.0	100.0		

Table 19: Language spoken at home (Q13)

		N	%
Language spoken at home	Portuguese	239	95.6%
	Other	11	4.4%
	Total	250	100.0%

Table 20: Languages spoken at home: statistics (Q13)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid		239	95.6	95.6	95.6
	Creole	5	2.0	2.0	97.6
	Spanish	1	.4	.4	98.0
	French	1	.4	.4	98.4
	English	1	.4	.4	98.8
	Portuguese and Moldovan	1	.4	.4	99.2
	Ukrainian	1	.4	.4	99.6
	Ukrainian/Russian	1	.4	.4	100.0
	Total	250	100.0	100.0	

Table 21: First school year of formal English instruction (Q14)

		N	%
First school year of formal English instruction	Year 5	179	71.6%
	Year 7	42	16.8%
	Basic Education - 1st Cycle	22	8.8%
	Pre-Primary Education	4	1.6%
	NR	3	1.2%
	Total	250	100.0%

Table 22: Last school year of formal English instruction (Q15)

		N	%
Last school year of formal English instruction	Year 9	38	15.2%
	Year 11	112	44.8%
	Year 12	94	37.6%
	NR	6	2.4%
	Total	250	100.0%

Table 23: Secondary Education programme (Q16)

		N	%
Secondary Education programme	Sciences and Technologies	91	36.4%
	Social Sciences and Economics	34	13.6%
	Languages and Humanities	17	6.8%
	Visual Arts	3	1.2%
	Technological Course	75	30.0%
	Other	26	10.4%
	NR	4	1.6%
	Total	250	100.0%

Table 24: Secondary Education programme: Vocational education (Q16)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid		224	89.6	89.6	89.6
	CET	1	.4	.4	90.0
	Social and Human Sciences	1	.4	.4	90.4
	Accountancy and Finance	1	.4	.4	90.8
	Vocational programme	7	2.8	2.8	93.6
	Electronics, Automation and Computers	2	.8	.8	94.4
	Management	2	.8	.8	95.2
	Bank Management	1	.4	.4	95.6
	Level III Vocational Training	1	.4	.4	96.0
	Commerce	1	.4	.4	96.4
	Management Technical Programme	2	.8	.8	97.2
	Computer Equipment Management	1	.4	.4	97.6
	Industrial Maintenance and Electromechanics	1	.4	.4	98.0
	Sales	1	.4	.4	98.4
	Computers and Management	1	.4	.4	98.8
	Automotive Mechatronics	1	.4	.4	99.2
	Catering	1	.4	.4	99.6
	NR	1	.4	.4	100.0
	Total	250	100.0	100.0	

Table 25: Failure in English language at Basic Education level (Q19)

		N	%
Failure in English language at Basic Education level	No. Never	177	70.8%
	Yes. Sometimes	60	24.0%
	Yes. Regularly	12	4.8%
	NR	1	0.4%
	Total	250	100.0%

Table 26: In-school and out-of-school time English tutoring (Q17 and Q18)

		N	%
In-school English tutoring	No. Never	220	88.0%
	Yes. Sometimes	22	8.8%
	Yes. Regularly	8	3.2%
	Total	250	100.0%
Out-of-school time English tutoring: Private tutoring	No. Never	171	68.4%
	Yes. Sometimes	47	18.8%
	Yes. Regularly	10	4.0%
	NR	22	8.8%
	Total	250	100.0%
Out-of-school time English tutoring: Language schools	No. Never	191	76.4%
	Yes. Sometimes	17	6.8%
	Yes. Regularly	8	3.2%
	NR	34	13.6%
	Total	250	100.0%

Table 27: Opinion on English teachers' performance (Q20)

		N	%
English teachers' performance in Basic and Secondary Education	Very poor	10	4.0%
	Poor	42	16.8%
	Satisfactory	106	42.4%
	Good	71	28.4%
	Very good	19	7.6%
	NR	2	0.8%
	Total	250	100.0%

Table 28: Opinion on materials used in the English classroom (Q21)

		N	%
Materials used in the English classroom	Very poor	9	3.6%
	Poor	29	11.6%
	Satisfactory	126	50.4%
	Good	70	28.0%
	Very good	14	5.6%
	NR	2	0.8%
	Total	250	100.0%

Table 29: Use of alternative materials in the English classroom (Q22)

		N	%
Use of alternative material	Yes	72	28.8%
	No	177	70.8%
	NR	1	0.4%
	Total	250	100.0%
Handouts	Yes	111	44.4%
	No	138	55.2%
	NR	1	0.4%
	Total	250	100.0%
Grammar worksheets	Yes	121	48.4%
	No	129	51.6%
	Total	250	100.0%
Audio CDs	Yes	142	56.8%
	No	108	43.2%
	Total	250	100.0%
Films/Videos	Yes	92	36.8%
	No	158	63.2%
	Total	250	100.0%
Songs	Yes	86	34.4%
	No	164	65.6%
	Total	250	100.0%

Table 30: Importance of English language learning (Q23)

		N	%
Films	Yes	179	71.6%
	No	70	28.0%
	NR	1	0.4%
	Total	250	100.0%
Songs	Yes	135	54.0%
	No	113	45.2%
	NR	2	0.8%
	Total	250	100.0%
Internet	Yes	178	71.2%
	No	72	28.8%
	Total	250	100.0%
Videogames	Yes	86	34.4%
	No	159	63.6%
	NR	5	2.0%
	Total	250	100.0%
Tourism	Yes	178	71.2%
	No	71	28.4%
	NR	1	0.4%
	Total	250	100.0%
Employment	Yes	200	80.0%
	No	50	20.0%
	Total	250	100.0%
Others	Yes	4	100.0%
	Total	4	100.0%

Table 31: Reasons for learning English (Q23)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid		246	98.4	98.4	98.4
	Talking to people from other countries (non-native English speakers)	1	.4	.4	98.8
	Reading books	1	.4	.4	99.2
	Nowadays English is important in every context	1	.4	.4	99.6
	Information and communications technology (programmes/software)	1	.4	.4	100.0
	Total	250	100.0	100.0	

Table 32: Level assigned by the placement test (Q24)

		N	%
ESTG/IPL placement test level	A1	50	20.0%
	A2	104	41.6%
	B1	50	20.0%
	B2	20	8.0%
	C1	14	5.6%
	Did not take the test	10	4.0%
	NR	2	0.8%
	Total	250	100.0%

Table 33: Opinion on the placement test result (Q25)

		N	%
Acceptance of the test result	Yes	156	62.4%
	No. I am at a higher level	60	24.0%
	No. I am at a lower level	17	6.8%
	NR	17	6.8%
	Total	250	100.0%

Table 34: Opinion on students' own perception of English language competence
(Q26)

		N	%
Listening	A1	21	8.4%
	A2	38	15.2%
	B1	112	44.8%
	B2	44	17.6%
	C1	27	10.8%
	C2	5	2.0%
	NR	3	1.2%
	Total	250	100.0%
Reading	A1	27	10.8%
	A2	60	24.0%
	B1	108	43.2%
	B2	28	11.2%
	C1	21	8.4%
	C2	5	2.0%
	NR	1	0.4%
	Total	250	100.0%
Speaking	A1	39	15.6%
	A2	82	32.8%
	B1	81	32.4%
	B2	26	10.4%
	C1	18	7.2%
	C2	1	0.4%
	NR	3	1.2%
	Total	250	100.0%
Writing	A1	37	14.8%
	A2	95	38.0%
	B1	81	32.4%
	B2	19	7.6%
	C1	15	6.0%
	C2	1	0.4%
	NR	2	0.8%
	Total	250	100.0%

Table 35: Hours devoted to studying English per week (Q27)

		N	%
Number of hours	Only studied for the test	144	57.6%
	1 hour	52	20.8%
	2 hours	32	12.8%
	3 hours or more	18	7.2%
	NR	4	1.6%
	Total	250	100.0%

Appendix III

Cross Tabulation Analysis

Table 1: First year of formal English instruction* Last year of formal English instruction cross tabulation

			Last year of formal English instruction (Q15)			Total
			Year 9	Year 11	Year 12	
(Q14) First year of formal English instruction	Year 5	N	24	87	65	176
		% in Q14	13,6%	49,4%	36,9%	100,0%
		% of Total	9,9%	36,0%	26,9%	72,7%
	Year 7	N	10	12	19	41
		% in Q14	24,4%	29,3%	46,3%	100,0%
		% of Total	4,1%	5,0%	7,9%	16,9%
	Primary School (1st cycle)	N	2	13	7	22
		% in Q14	9,1%	59,1%	31,8%	100,0%
		% of Total	0,8%	5,4%	2,9%	9,1%
	Pre-Primary School	N	1	0	2	3
		% in Q14	33,3%	0,0%	66,7%	100,0%
		% of Total	0,4%	0,0%	0,8%	1,2%
Total		N	37	112	93	242
		% in Q14	15,3%	46,3%	38,4%	100,0%
		% of Total	15,3%	46,3%	38,4%	100,0%

Table 2: Gender * Level assigned by the placement test
cross tabulation

		Level assigned by the placement test (Q24)						Total
		A1	A2	B1	B2	C1	Absent	
(Q1) Gender	Female	N	33	48	16	4	3	107
		% in Q1	30.8%	44.9%	15.0%	3.7%	2.8%	100.0%
		% of Total	13.3%	19.4%	6.5%	1.6%	1.2%	43.1%
Male	N	17	56	34	16	11	7	141
		% in Q1	12.1%	39.7%	24.1%	11.3%	7.8%	100.0%
		% of Total	6.9%	22.6%	13.7%	6.5%	4.4%	56.9%
Total	N	50	104	50	20	14	10	248
		% in Q1	20.2%	41.9%	20.2%	8.1%	5.6%	100.0%
		% of Total	20.2%	41.9%	20.2%	8.1%	5.6%	100.0%

**Table 3: Gender * Failure in English language
at Basic Education level cross tabulation**

			Failure in English language at Basic Education level (Q19)			Total
			No. Never	Yes. Sometimes	Yes. Regularly	
(Q1) Gender	Female	N	71	29	6	106
		% in Q1	67.0%	27.4%	5.7%	100.0%
		% of Total	28.5%	11.6%	2.4%	42.6%
	Male	N	106	31	6	143
		% in Q1	74.1%	21.7%	4.2%	100.0%
		% of Total	42.6%	12.4%	2.4%	57.4%
Total		N	177	60	12	249
		% in Q1	71.1%	24.1%	4.8%	100.0%
		% of Total	71.1%	24.1%	4.8%	100.0%

**Table 4: Age groups * Level assigned by the
placement test cross tabulation**

			Level assigned by the placement test (Q24)					Total	
			A1	A2	B1	B2	C1		Absent
(Q2) Age groups	19-22 year old	N	19	46	20	8	8	4	105
		% in Q2	18.1%	43.8%	19.0%	7.6%	7.6%	3.8%	100.0%
		% of Total	7.7%	18.6%	8.1%	3.2%	3.2%	1.6%	42.5%
	23-26 year old	N	23	28	14	6	3	5	79
		% in Q2	29.1%	35.4%	17.7%	7.6%	3.8%	6.3%	100.0%
		% of Total	9.3%	11.3%	5.7%	2.4%	1.2%	2.0%	32.0%
	27 or older	N	7	30	16	6	3	1	63
		% in Q2	11.1%	47.6%	25.4%	9.5%	4.8%	1.6%	100.0%
		% of Total	2.8%	12.1%	6.5%	2.4%	1.2%	0.4%	25.5%
Total		N	49	104	50	20	14	10	247
		% in Q2	19.8%	42.1%	20.2%	8.1%	5.7%	4.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	19.8%	42.1%	20.2%	8.1%	5.7%	4.0%	100.0%

Table 5: Age groups * First year of formal English instruction cross tabulation

			First year of formal English instruction (Q14)				Total
			Year 5	Year 7	Primary School (1st cycle)	Pre-Primary School	
(Q2) Age groups	19-22 year old	N	72	12	18	2	104
		% in Q2	69.2%	11.5%	17.3%	1.9%	100.0%
		% of Total	29.3%	4.9%	7.3%	0.8%	42.3%
	23-26 year old	N	65	12	2	1	80
		% in Q2	81.3%	15.0%	2.5%	1.3%	100.0%
		% of Total	26.4%	4.9%	0.8%	0.4%	32.5%
	27 or older	N	41	18	2	1	62
		% in Q2	66.1%	29.0%	3.2%	1.6%	100.0%
		% of Total	16.7%	7.3%	0.8%	0.4%	25.2%
Total		N	178	42	22	4	246
		% in Q2	72.4%	17.1%	8.9%	1.6%	100.0%
		% of Total	72.4%	17.1%	8.9%	1.6%	100.0%

Table 6: First year of formal English instruction * Level assigned by the placement test cross tabulation

	Level assigned by the placement test (Q24)						Total	
	A1	A2	B1	B2	C1	Absent		
First year of formal English instruction	N	36	79	30	15	11	6	177
	% in Q14	20.3%	44.6%	16.9%	8.5%	6.2%	3.4%	100.0%
	% of Total	14.7%	32.2%	12.2%	6.1%	4.5%	2.4%	72.2%
Year 7	N	8	14	15	1	0	4	42
	% in Q14	19.0%	33.3%	35.7%	2.4%	0.0%	9.5%	100.0%
	% of Total	3.3%	5.7%	6.1%	0.4%	0.0%	1.6%	17.1%
Primary School (1st cycle)	N	4	10	4	1	3	0	22
	% in Q14	18.2%	45.5%	18.2%	4.5%	13.6%	0.0%	100.0%
	% of Total	1.6%	4.1%	1.6%	0.4%	1.2%	0.0%	9.0%
Pre-Primary School	N	0	0	1	3	0	0	4
	% in Q14	0.0%	0.0%	25.0%	75.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	% of Total	0.0%	0.0%	0.4%	1.2%	0.0%	0.0%	1.6%
Total	N	48	103	50	20	14	10	245
	% in Q14	19.6%	42.0%	20.4%	8.2%	5.7%	4.1%	100.0%
	% of Total	19.6%	42.0%	20.4%	8.2%	5.7%	4.1%	100.0%

Table 7: Hours devoted to studying English per week * Level assigned by the placement test Cross tabulation

	Level assigned by the placement test (Q24)						Total
	A1	A2	B1	B2	C1	Absent	
(Q27) Only studied for the test	19	59	35	14	8	7	142
Hours devoted to studying English	13.4%	41.5%	24.6%	9.9%	5.6%	4.9%	100.0%
per week	7.8%	24.2%	14.3%	5.7%	3.3%	2.9%	58.2%
1 hour	11	24	10	5	1	1	52
% in Q27	21.2%	46.2%	19.2%	9.6%	1.9%	1.9%	100.0%
% of Total	4.5%	9.8%	4.1%	2.0%	0.4%	0.4%	21.3%
2 hours	12	13	3	1	1	2	32
% in Q27	37.5%	40.6%	9.4%	3.1%	3.1%	6.3%	100.0%
% of Total	4.9%	5.3%	1.2%	0.4%	0.4%	0.8%	13.1%
3 or more hours	7	7	2	0	2	0	18
% in Q27	38.9%	38.9%	11.1%	0.0%	11.1%	0.0%	100.0%
% of Total	2.9%	2.9%	0.8%	0.0%	0.8%	0.0%	7.4%
Total	49	103	50	20	12	10	244
% in Q27	20.1%	42.2%	20.5%	8.2%	4.9%	4.1%	100.0%
% of Total	20.1%	42.2%	20.5%	8.2%	4.9%	4.1%	100.0%

Table 8: Last year of formal English instruction * Level assigned by placement test*
First year of formal English instruction cross tabulation

First year of formal English instruction	Level assigned by placement test	Level assigned by placement test						Total
		A1	A2	B1	B2	C1	Absent	
Year 5 Last year of formal English instruction	N	8	10	1	2	0	2	23
	% of Last year of formal English instruction	34,8%	43,5%	4,3%	8,7%	0,0%	8,7%	100,0%
	% of Total	4,6%	5,7%	0,6%	1,1%	0,0%	1,1%	13,2%
	Year 11	12	40	18	8	6	3	87
	% of Last year of formal English instruction	13,8%	46,0%	20,7%	9,2%	6,9%	3,4%	100,0%
	% of Total	6,9%	23,0%	10,3%	4,6%	3,4%	1,7%	50,0%
	Year 12	15	29	10	5	4	1	64
	% of Last year of formal English instruction	23,4%	45,3%	15,6%	7,8%	6,3%	1,6%	100,0%
	% of Total	8,6%	16,7%	5,7%	2,9%	2,3%	0,6%	36,8%
	Total	N	35	79	29	15	10	6
% of Last year of formal English instruction	20,1%	45,4%	16,7%	8,6%	5,7%	3,4%	100,0%	
% of Total	20,1%	45,4%	16,7%	8,6%	5,7%	3,4%	100,0%	
Year 7 Last year of formal English instruction	N	6	2	2	0	0	0	10
	% of Last year of formal English instruction	60,0%	20,0%	20,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%
	% of Total	14,6%	4,9%	4,9%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	24,4%
	Year 11	1	5	4	1	1	1	12
	% of Last year of formal English instruction	8,3%	41,7%	33,3%	8,3%	8,3%	8,3%	100,0%
	% of Total	2,4%	12,2%	9,8%	2,4%	2,4%	2,4%	29,3%
	Year 12	1	6	9	0	0	3	19
	% of Last year of formal English instruction	5,3%	31,6%	47,4%	0,0%	0,0%	15,8%	100,0%
	% of Total	2,4%	14,6%	22,0%	0,0%	0,0%	7,3%	46,3%
	Total	N	8	13	15	1	4	4
% of Last year of formal English instruction	19,5%	31,7%	36,6%	2,4%	9,8%	9,8%	100,0%	
% of Total	19,5%	31,7%	36,6%	2,4%	9,8%	9,8%	100,0%	

Primary School (1st cycle)	Last year of formal English instruction	Year 9	N	% of Last year of formal English instruction	1	0	1	0	0	0	2
					50,0%	0,0%	50,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%	
					4,5%	0,0%	4,5%	0,0%	0,0%	9,1%	
	Year 11	N	% of Last year of formal English instruction	3	7	2	0	1	13		
				23,1%	53,8%	15,4%	0,0%	7,7%	100,0%		
				13,6%	31,8%	9,1%	0,0%	4,5%	59,1%		
	Year 12	N	% of Last year of formal English instruction	0	3	1	1	2	7		
				0,0%	42,9%	14,3%	14,3%	28,6%	100,0%		
				0,0%	13,6%	4,5%	4,5%	9,1%	31,8%		
	Total	N	% of Last year of formal English instruction	4	10	4	1	3	22		
18,2%				45,5%	18,2%	4,5%	13,6%	100,0%			
18,2%				45,5%	18,2%	4,5%	13,6%	100,0%			
Pre-Primary School	Last year of formal English instruction	Year 9	N	% of Last year of formal English instruction	1			1	1		
					50,0%			100,0%		100,0%	
					4,5%			33,3%		33,3%	
	Year 12	N	% of Last year of formal English instruction	3			2	2	2		
				23,1%			100,0%		100,0%		
				13,6%			66,7%		66,7%		
	Total	N	% of Last year of formal English instruction	4			3	3	3		
				18,2%			100,0%		100,0%		
				18,2%			100,0%		100,0%		

Appendix IV

Table 1: Students' performance on the *Inside Out*
quick placement test

Exercise	Choices	Nº Answers	%
(1) My name is Juan and I _____ from Spain.	am	1103/1170	(94%)
	be	12/1170	(1%)
	is	27/1170	(2%)
	are	11/1170	(1%)
(2) Where _____?	does he work	688/1170	(59%)
	works he	88/1170	(8%)
	he works	269/1170	(23%)
	he does work	104/1170	(9%)
(3) Who did _____ at the party?	you saw	441/1170	(38%)
	see	131/1170	(11%)
	you see	465/1170	(40%)
	saw you	112/1170	(10%)
(4) "_____ to Australia, Ginny?" "No, I haven't."	Did you ever go	267/1170	(23%)
	Have you ever been	668/1170	(57%)
	Will you ever go	67/1170	(6%)
	Are you ever going	142/1170	(12%)
(5) Tokyo is _____ city I've ever lived in.	the biggest	733/1170	(63%)
	the most big	138/1170	(12%)
	the more big	75/1170	(6%)
	the bigger	206/1170	(18%)
(6) Is she the woman _____ husband is a famous musician?	whose	409/1170	(35%)
	which	187/1170	(16%)
	that	255/1170	(22%)
	who	295/1170	(25%)
(7) The police wanted to know exactly how the money _____ stolen from the bank.	was	855/1170	(73%)
	gets	142/1170	(12%)
	is	103/1170	(9%)
	did	53/1170	(5%)

SECTION 1 - STRUCTURE

SECTION 2 - VOCABULARY	(8) By the time Mary gets here, the movie _____.	will have finished	385/1170	(33%)
		is finishing	360/1170	(31%)
		will finish	230/1170	(20%)
		is going to finish	168/1170	(14%)
	(9) You _____ tell anyone about this, Sara. It's our secret, OK?	mustn't	428/1170	(37%)
		couldn't	357/1170	(31%)
		don't have to	207/1170	(18%)
		wouldn't	154/1170	(13%)
	(10) I think you _____ leave now, it's getting late.	should	669/1170	(57%)
		can	329/1170	(28%)
		would	65/1170	(6%)
		will	83/1170	(7%)
	(11) I wish I _____ in such a cold country!	didn't live	409/1170	(35%)
		won't live	290/1170	(25%)
		am not living	293/1170	(25%)
		haven't lived	152/1170	(13%)
	(12) If Jack _____ music, he wouldn't have become a concert pianist.	hadn't studied	326/1170	(28%)
		didn't study	332/1170	(28%)
		hasn't studied	284/1170	(24%)
		wouldn't have studied	201/1170	(17%)
(13) I always go to the movies _____ Fridays.	at	279/1170	(24%)	
	on	687/1170	(59%)	
	in	136/1170	(12%)	
	by	53/1170	(5%)	
(14) I will _____ you tomorrow.	call	929/1170	(79%)	
	cry	33/1170	(3%)	
	say	148/1170	(13%)	
	shout	42/1170	(4%)	
(15) Hannah's a really _____ person. She's always smiling.	cheerful	583/1170	(50%)	
	talkative	80/1170	(7%)	
	interesting	338/1170	(29%)	
	sensible	145/1170	(12%)	
(16) I have no _____ what time the swimming pool opens.	idea	951/1170	(81%)	
	belief	26/1170	(2%)	
	feeling	93/1170	(8%)	
	opinion	80/1170	(7%)	
(17) It was a beautiful day so we went on a	ride	358/1170	(31%)	

	boat _____ on the lake.			
		sightseeing	187/1170	(16%)
		drive	199/1170	(17%)
		travel	404/1170	(35%)
	(18) It was a great meal, but pretty expensive. Just look at the _____!	bill	515/1170	(44%)
		ticket	374/1170	(32%)
		invoice	88/1170	(8%)
		recipe	172/1170	(15%)
	(19) Laura rarely leaves the house without _____ her make-up on.	putting	498/1170	(43%)
		getting	208/1170	(18%)
		doing	208/1170	(18%)
		having	229/1170	(20%)
	(20) Joel came back from his holiday in Brazil looking really _____.	tanned	361/1170	(31%)
		sunned	479/1170	(41%)
		darkened	126/1170	(11%)
		coloured	177/1170	(15%)
SECTION 3 - STRUCTURE	(21) I'm not very interested _____ sports.	in	513/1170	(44%)
		about	448/1170	(38%)
		to	84/1170	(7%)
		for	109/1170	(9%)
	(22) She likes _____ expensive clothes.	wearing	513/1170	(44%)
		is wearing	86/1170	(7%)
		wear	334/1170	(29%)
		to wear	220/1170	(19%)
	(23) Harry _____ his father's car when the accident happened.	was driving	774/1170	(66%)
		has been driving	187/1170	(16%)
		had driven	83/1170	(7%)
		drove	104/1170	(9%)
	(24) I was wondering _____ tell me when the next plane from Chicago arrives?	if you could	527/1170	(45%)
		please	177/1170	(15%)
		can you	294/1170	(25%)
		could you	151/1170	(13%)
	(25) If I _____ you had cancelled the meeting I wouldn't have turned up!	knew	444/1170	(38%)
		have known	180/1170	(15%)
		know	293/1170	(25%)
		had known	231/1170	(20%)
	(26) I like your hair. Where _____?	did you have it cut	392/1170	(34%)

	have it cut	105/1170	(9%)	
	do you cut it	580/1170	(50%)	
	cut you it	73/1170	(6%)	
(27) I think Joey must _____ late tonight. His office light is still on.	be working	547/1170	(47%)	
	to work	138/1170	(12%)	
	have worked	222/1170	(19%)	
	work	242/1170	(21%)	
(28) John tells me Jack's going out with Helen, _____ I find hard to believe.	which	520/1170	(44%)	
	that	328/1170	(28%)	
	whose	92/1170	(8%)	
	who	203/1170	(17%)	
(29) We _____ to the new house by the end of the week, so we won't be here next Sunday.	will move	410/1170	(35%)	
	will be moving	320/1170	(27%)	
	are moving	307/1170	(26%)	
	will have moved	112/1170	(10%)	
(30) What _____ this weekend, Lance?	will you do	407/1170	(35%)	
	do you do	241/1170	(21%)	
	are you doing	455/1170	(39%)	
	will you have done	52/1170	(4%)	
(31) The weather has been awful. We've had very _____ sunshine this summer.	few	520/1170	(44%)	
	a few	117/1170	(10%)	
	little	360/1170	(31%)	
	a little	148/1170	(13%)	
(32) Did you hear what happened to Kate? She _____.	has been arrested	717/1170	(61%)	
	is arrested	266/1170	(23%)	
	arrested	82/1170	(7%)	
	is being arrested	84/1170	(7%)	
SECTION 4 - VOCABULARY	(33) I often _____ football when I'm at the beach.	play	1088/1170	(93%)
		do	18/1170	(2%)
		go	32/1170	(3%)
		have	10/1170	(1%)
	(34) My sister _____ the cooking in our house.	takes	108/1170	(9%)
		makes	504/1170	(43%)
		does	444/1170	(38%)
		cooks	94/1170	(8%)
	(35) Don't forget to _____ the light when you go out.	turn off	943/1170	(81%)

	turn up	67/1170	(6%)	
	turn over	67/1170	(6%)	
	turn in	74/1170	(6%)	
(36) I hope this cut on my hand _____ quickly.	heals	557/1170	(48%)	
	treats	145/1170	(12%)	
	restores	126/1170	(11%)	
	cures	308/1170	(26%)	
(37) She just burst into _____ when she heard the tragic news.	tears	521/1170	(45%)	
	crying	324/1170	(28%)	
	break down	161/1170	(14%)	
	cries	134/1170	(11%)	
(38) He _____ that he hadn't stolen the computer, but no one believed him.	insisted	695/1170	(59%)	
	informed	309/1170	(26%)	
	reassured	70/1170	(6%)	
	persuaded	72/1170	(6%)	
(39) Could you _____ me that book for a couple of days, please?	borrow	451/1170	(39%)	
	lend	333/1170	(28%)	
	rent	282/1170	(24%)	
	owe	74/1170	(6%)	
(40) Greg is _____ a lot of time at Yvonne's house these days!	spending	775/1170	(66%)	
	having	141/1170	(12%)	
	doing	102/1170	(9%)	
	taking	128/1170	(11%)	
SECTION 5 - STRUCTURE	(41) Who _____ in that house?	lives	899/1170	(77%)
		does he live	103/1170	(9%)
		did he live	79/1170	(7%)
		he lives	71/1170	(6%)
	(42) I will call you when I _____ home.	get	693/1170	(59%)
		will get	172/1170	(15%)
		getting	141/1170	(12%)
		got	144/1170	(12%)
	(43) If you _____ me, what would you do?	were	500/1170	(43%)
		was	335/1170	(29%)
		have been	130/1170	(11%)
		would be	181/1170	(15%)
	(44) I don't know where _____ last night.	he went	646/1170	(55%)
	did he go	302/1170	(26%)	
	he did go	161/1170	(14%)	
	went he	40/1170	(3%)	

(45) John and Betty are coming to visit us tomorrow but I wish _____.	they weren't	389/1170	(33%)
	they didn't	265/1170	(23%)
	they won't	420/1170	(36%)
	they hadn't	72/1170	(6%)
(46) I'm so hungry! If only Bill _____ all the food in the fridge!	hadn't eaten	327/1170	(28%)
	hasn't eaten	255/1170	(22%)
	didn't eat	361/1170	(31%)
	wasn't eating	201/1170	(17%)
(47) I regret _____ harder in school.	not to study	186/1170	(16%)
	not have studied	429/1170	(37%)
	not studying	341/1170	(29%)
	to not study	190/1170	(16%)
(48) Surely Sue _____ you if she was unhappy with your work.	would have told	357/1170	(31%)
	will tell	275/1170	(24%)
	must have told	199/1170	(17%)
	had told	310/1170	(26%)
(49) Our neighbours aren't very polite, and _____ particularly quiet!	neither they aren't	482/1170	(41%)
	either they aren't	307/1170	(26%)
	nor are they	204/1170	(17%)
	neither did they be	145/1170	(12%)
(50) We had expected that they _____ fluent English, but in fact they didn't.	would speak	371/1170	(32%)
	spoke	408/1170	(35%)
	had spoken	157/1170	(13%)
	were speaking	214/1170	(18%)
(51) I'd rather _____ next weekend, but I do!	not to work	561/1170	(48%)
	I didn't have to work	150/1170	(13%)
	I don't have to work	144/1170	(12%)
	no working	286/1170	(24%)
(52) Harriet is so knowledgeable. She can talk about _____ subject that comes up.	whatever	647/1170	(55%)
	wherever	280/1170	(24%)
	whenever	121/1170	(10%)
	whoever	99/1170	(8%)
I always _____ milk in my coffee.	have	735/1170	(63%)
	make	213/1170	(18%)
	eat	153/1170	(13%)
	cook	50/1170	(4%)

SECTION 6 - VOCABULARY	I _____ TV every evening.	watch	995/1170	(85%)
		see	94/1170	(8%)
		look at	58/1170	(5%)
		hear	7/1170	(1%)
	Can you give me a _____ with my bag?	hand	807/1170	(69%)
		head	91/1170	(8%)
		leg	84/1170	(7%)
		back	168/1170	(14%)
	Before you enter the triathlon, please bear in _____ that you're not as young as you used to be!	question	178/1170	(15%)
		mind	548/1170	(47%)
		thought	170/1170	(15%)
		opinion	242/1170	(21%)
	The breath test showed he had consumed more than three times the legal limit of alcohol, so the police arrested him for _____.	drunk driving	891/1170	(76%)
		trespassing	77/1170	(7%)
		speeding	104/1170	(9%)
		mugging	72/1170	(6%)
	The meeting was _____ and not very interesting.	time-wasting	437/1170	(37%)
		time-using	97/1170	(8%)
		out of time	442/1170	(38%)
		time-consuming	163/1170	(14%)
	After the movie was released, the main _____ point was its excessive use of violence.	conversation	134/1170	(11%)
		discussion	729/1170	(62%)
		speaking	124/1170	(11%)
		talking	164/1170	(14%)
There have been several big _____ against the use of GM foods recently.	issues	181/1170	(15%)	
	campaigns	675/1170	(58%)	
	boycotts	107/1170	(9%)	
	strikes	178/1170	(15%)	

Appendix V

Table 1: Percentage of correct answers provided by students to the placement test

Type	Item	Sentences	Correct answers (%)
Structure	1	My name is Juan and I _____ from Spain.	94
Vocabulary	33	I often _____ football when I'm at the beach.	93
Vocabulary	54	I _____ TV every evening.	85
Vocabulary	16	I have no _____ what time the swimming pool opens.	81
Vocabulary	35	Don't forget to _____ the light when you go out.	81
Vocabulary	14	I will _____ you tomorrow.	79
Structure	41	Who _____ in that house?	77
Vocabulary	57	The breath test showed he had consumed more than three times the legal limit of alcohol, so the police arrested him for _____.	76
Structure	7	The police wanted to know exactly how the money _____ stolen from the bank.	73
Vocabulary	55	Can you give me a _____ with my bag	69
Structure	23	Harry _____ his father's car when the accident happened.	66
Vocabulary	40	Greg is _____ a lot of time at Yvonne's house these days!	66
Structure	5	Tokyo is _____ city I've ever lived in.	63
Vocabulary	53	I always _____ milk in my coffee.	63
Structure	32	Did you hear what happened to Kate? She _____.	61
Structure	2	Where _____?	59
Vocabulary	13	I always go to the movies _____ Fridays.	59
Vocabulary	38	He _____ that he hadn't stolen the computer, but no one believed him.	59
Structure	42	I will call you when I _____ home.	59
Vocabulary	60	There have been several big _____ against the use of GM foods recently.	58
Structure	4	'_____ to Australia, Ginny?' 'No, I haven't.'	57
Structure	10	I think you _____ leave now, it's getting late.	57
Structure	44	I don't know where _____ last night.	55
Structure	52	Harriet is so knowledgeable. She can talk about _____ subject that comes up.	55
Vocabulary	15	Hannah's a really _____ person. She's always smiling	50
Vocabulary	36	I hope this cut on my hand _____ quickly.	48

Structure	27	I think Joey must _____ late tonight. His office light is still on.	47
Vocabulary	56	Before you enter the triathlon, please bear in _____ that you're not as young as you used to be!	47
Structure	24	I was wondering _____ tell me when the next plane from Chicago arrives?	45
Vocabulary	37	She just burst into _____ when she heard the tragic news.	45
Vocabulary	18	It was a great meal, but pretty expensive. Just look at the _____!	44
Structure	21	I'm not very interested _____ sports.	44
Structure	22	She likes _____ expensive clothes.	44
Structure	28	John tells me Jack's going out with Helen, _____ I find hard to believe.	44
Vocabulary	19	Laura rarely leaves the house without _____ her make-up on.	43
Structure	43	If you _____ me, what would you do?	43
Structure	3	Who did _____ at the party?	40
Structure	30	What _____ this weekend, Lance?	39
Vocabulary	34	My sister _____ the cooking in our house.	38
Structure	9	You _____ tell anyone about this, Sara. It's our secret, OK?	37
Structure	6	Is she the woman _____ husband is a famous musician?	35
Structure	11	I wish I _____ in such a cold country!	35
Structure	26	I like your hair. Where _____?	34
Structure	8	By the time Mary gets here, the movie _____.	33
Structure	45	John and Betty are coming to visit us tomorrow but I wish _____.	33
Structure	50	We had expected that they _____ fluent English, but in fact they didn't.	32
Vocabulary	20	Joel came back from his holiday in Brazil looking really _____.	31
Vocabulary	17	It was a beautiful day so we went on a boat _____ on the lake.	31
Structure	31	The weather has been awful. We've had very _____ sunshine this summer.	31
Structure	48	Surely Sue _____ you if she was unhappy with your work.	31
Structure	47	I regret _____ harder in school.	29
Structure	12	If Jack _____ music, he wouldn't have become a concert pianist.	28
Vocabulary	39	Could you _____ me that book for a couple of days, please?	28
Structure	46	I'm so hungry! If only Bill _____ all the food in the fridge!	28
Structure	25	If I _____ you had cancelled the meeting I wouldn't have turned up!	20
Structure	49	Our neighbours aren't very polite, and _____ particularly quiet!	17
Vocabulary	58	The meeting was _____ and not very interesting.	14
Vocabulary	59	After the movie was released, the main _____ point was its excessive use of violence.	14

Structure	51	I'd rather ____ next weekend, but I do!	13
Structure	29	We ____ to the new house by the end of the week, so we won't be here next Sunday.	10

Table 2: Percentage of correct answers provided by students to the placement test (Structure)

Type	Item	Sentences	Correct Answers (%)
Structure	1	My name is Juan and I ____ from Spain.	94
Structure	41	Who ____ in that house?	77
Structure	7	The police wanted to know exactly how the money ____ stolen from the bank.	73
Structure	23	Harry ____ his father's car when the accident happened.	66
Structure	5	Tokyo is ____ city I've ever lived in.	63
Structure	32	Did you hear what happened to Kate? She ____.	61
Structure	2	Where ____?	59
Structure	42	I will call you when I ____ home.	59
Structure	4	'____ to Australia, Ginny?' 'No, I haven't.'	57
Structure	10	I think you ____ leave now, it's getting late.	57
Structure	44	I don't know where ____ last night.	55
Structure	52	Harriet is so knowledgeable. She can talk about ____ subject that comes up.	55
Structure	27	I think Joey must ____ late tonight. His office light is still on.	47
Structure	24	I was wondering ____ tell me when the next plane from Chicago arrives?	45
Structure	21	I'm not very interested ____ sports.	44
Structure	22	She likes ____ expensive clothes.	44
Structure	28	John tells me Jack's going out with Helen, ____ I find hard to believe.	44
Structure	43	If you ____ me, what would you do?	43
Structure	3	Who did ____ at the party?	40
Structure	30	What ____ this weekend, Lance?	39
Structure	9	You ____ tell anyone about this, Sara. It's our secret, OK?	37
Structure	6	Is she the woman ____ husband is a famous musician?	35
Structure	11	I wish I ____ in such a cold country!	35
Structure	26	I like your hair. Where ____?	34
Structure	8	By the time Mary gets here, the movie ____.	33
Structure	45	John and Betty are coming to visit us tomorrow but I wish ____.	33

Structure	50	We had expected that they _____ fluent English, but in fact they didn't.	32
Structure	31	The weather has been awful. We've had very _____ sunshine this summer.	31
Structure	48	Surely Sue _____ you if she was unhappy with your work.	31
Structure	47	I regret _____ harder in school.	29
Structure	12	If Jack _____ music, he wouldn't have become a concert pianist.	28
Structure	46	I'm so hungry! If only Bill _____ all the food in the fridge!	28
Structure	25	If I _____ you had cancelled the meeting I wouldn't have turned up!	20
Structure	49	Our neighbours aren't very polite, and _____ particularly quiet!	17
Structure	51	I'd rather _____ next weekend, but I do!	13
Structure	29	We _____ to the new house by the end of the week, so we won't be here next Sunday.	10

Table 3: Percentage of correct answers provided by students to the placement test (Vocabulary)

Type	Item	Sentences	Correct Answers (%)
Vocabulary	33	I often _____ football when I'm at the beach.	93
Vocabulary	54	I _____ TV every evening.	85
Vocabulary	16	I have no _____ what time the swimming pool opens.	81
Vocabulary	35	Don't forget to _____ the light when you go out.	81
Vocabulary	14	I will _____ you tomorrow.	79
Vocabulary	57	The breath test showed he had consumed more than three times the legal limit of alcohol, so the police arrested him for _____.	76
Vocabulary	55	Can you give me a _____ with my bag	69
Vocabulary	40	Greg is _____ a lot of time at Yvonne's house these days!	66
Vocabulary	53	I always _____ milk in my coffee.	63
Vocabulary	13	I always go to the movies _____ Fridays.	59
Vocabulary	38	He _____ that he hadn't stolen the computer, but no one believed him.	59
Vocabulary	60	There have been several big _____ against the use of GM foods recently.	58
Vocabulary	15	Hannah's a really _____ person. She's always smiling	50
Vocabulary	36	I hope this cut on my hand _____ quickly.	48
Vocabulary	56	Before you enter the triathlon, please bear in _____ that you're not as young as you used to be!	47
Vocabulary	37	She just burst into _____ when she heard the tragic news.	45

Vocabulary	18	It was a great meal, but pretty expensive. Just look at the _____!	44
Vocabulary	19	Laura rarely leaves the house without _____ her make-up on.	43
Vocabulary	34	My sister _____ the cooking in our house.	38
Vocabulary	20	Joel came back from his holiday in Brazil looking really _____.	31
Vocabulary	17	It was a beautiful day so we went on a boat _____ on the lake.	31
Vocabulary	39	Could you _____ me that book for a couple of days, please?	28
Vocabulary	58	The meeting was _____ and not very interesting.	14
Vocabulary	59	After the movie was released, the main _____ point was its excessive use of violence.	14

Annexes

Annex I

Inside Out Quick Placement Test

Name _____ Date _____

Section 1

Choose the best word or phrase (a, b, c or d) to fill each blank.

- (1) My name is Juan and I _____ from Spain.
- a) is
 - b) be
 - c) are
 - d) am
- (2) Where _____?
- a) does he work
 - b) he works
 - c) he does work
 - d) works he
- (3) Who did _____ at the party?
- a) you saw
 - b) you see
 - c) saw you
 - d) see
- (4) '_____ to Australia, Ginny?' 'No, I haven't.'
- a) Did you ever go
 - b) Will you ever go

- c) Are you ever going
 - d) Have you ever been
- (5) Tokyo is _____ city I've ever lived in.
- a) the most big
 - b) the bigger
 - c) the biggest
 - d) the more big
- (6) Is she the woman _____ husband is a famous musician?
- a) which
 - b) that
 - c) who
 - d) whose
- (7) The police wanted to know exactly how the money _____ stolen from the bank.
- a) is
 - b) was
 - c) gets
 - d) did
- (8) By the time Mary gets here, the movie _____.
- a) will finish
 - b) is going to finish
 - c) will have finished
 - d) is finishing
- (9) You _____ tell anyone about this, Sara. It's our secret, OK?
- a) couldn't
 - b) wouldn't
 - c) mustn't
 - d) don't have to

- (10) I think you _____ leave now, it's getting late.
- a) can
 - b) would
 - c) will
 - d) should
- (11) I wish I _____ in such a cold country!
- a) didn't live
 - b) haven't lived
 - c) won't live
 - d) am not living
- (12) If Jack _____ music, he wouldn't have become a concert pianist.
- a) hadn't studied
 - b) didn't study
 - c) wouldn't have studied
 - d) hasn't studied

Section 2

Choose the best word or phrase (a, b, c or d) to fill each blank.

- (13) I always go to the movies _____ Fridays.
- a) on
 - b) in
 - c) at
 - d) by
- (14) I will _____ you tomorrow.
- a) shout
 - b) cry
 - c) call

- d) say
- (15)** Hannah's a really _____ person. She's always smiling.
- a) sensible
 - b) interesting
 - c) talkative
 - d) cheerful
- (16)** I have no _____ what time the swimming pool opens.
- a) belief
 - b) opinion
 - c) idea
 - d) feeling
- (17)** It was a beautiful day so we went on a boat _____ on the lake.
- a) ride
 - b) travel
 - c) drive
 - d) sightseeing
- (18)** It was a great meal, but pretty expensive. Just look at the _____!
- a) ticket
 - b) recipe
 - c) invoice
 - d) bill
- (19)** Laura rarely leaves the house without _____ her make-up on.
- a) doing
 - b) putting
 - c) having
 - d) getting

- (20) Joel came back from his holiday in Brazil looking really _____.
a) tanned
b) sunned
c) coloured
d) darkened

Section 3

Choose the best word or phrase (a, b, c or d) to fill each blank.

- (21) I'm not very interested _____ sports.
a) for
b) about
c) in
d) to
- (22) She likes _____ expensive clothes.
a) to wearing
b) wearing
c) wear
d) is wearing
- (23) Harry _____ his father's car when the accident happened.
a) was driving
b) drove
c) had driven
d) has been driving
- (24) I was wondering _____ tell me when the next plane from Chicago arrives?
a) could you
b) can you
c) if you could

- d) please
- (25) If I _____ you had cancelled the meeting I wouldn't have turned up!
- a) knew
 - b) have known
 - c) had known
 - d) know
- (26) I like your hair. Where _____?
- a) cut you it
 - b) did you have it cut
 - c) do you cut it
 - d) have it cut
- (27) I think Joey must _____ late tonight. His office light is still on.
- a) have worked
 - b) work
 - c) be working
 - d) to work
- (28) John tells me Jack's going out with Helen, _____ I find hard to believe.
- a) that
 - b) who
 - c) whose
 - d) which
- (29) We _____ to the new house by the end of the week, so we won't be here next Sunday.
- a) will have moved
 - b) will be moving
 - c) will move
 - d) are moving

- (30) What _____ this weekend, Lance?
- a) will you do
 - b) are you doing
 - c) will you have done
 - d) do you do
- (31) The weather has been awful. We've had very _____ sunshine this summer.
- a) little
 - b) a little
 - c) few
 - d) a few
- (32) Did you hear what happened to Kate? She _____.
- a) is arrested
 - b) arrested
 - c) has been arrested
 - d) is being arrested

Section 4

Choose the best word or phrase (a, b, c or d) to fill each blank.

- (33) I often _____ football when I'm at the beach.
- a) have
 - b) go
 - c) do
 - d) play
- (34) My sister _____ the cooking in our house.
- a) does
 - b) makes

- c) cooks
- d) takes

(35) Don't forget to _____ the light when you go out.

- a) turn up
- b) turn in
- c) turn off
- d) turn over

(36) I hope this cut on my hand _____ quickly.

- a) cures
- b) heals
- c) treats
- d) restores

(37) She just burst into _____ when she heard the tragic news.

- a) crying
- b) tears
- c) cries
- d) break down

(38) He _____ that he hadn't stolen the computer, but no one believed him.

- a) reassured
- b) informed
- c) insisted
- d) persuaded

(39) Could you _____ me that book for a couple of days, please?

- a) lend
- b) owe
- c) borrow
- d) rent

- (40) Greg is _____ a lot of time at Yvonne's house these days!
- a) taking
 - b) spending
 - c) having
 - d) doing

Section 5

Choose the best word or phrase (a, b, c or d) to fill each blank.

- (41) Who _____ in that house?
- a) does he live
 - b) lives
 - c) did he live
 - d) he lives
- (42) I will call you when I _____ home.
- a) get
 - b) will get
 - c) got
 - d) getting
- (43) If you _____ me, what would you do?
- a) was
 - b) would be
 - c) were
 - d) have been
- (44) I don't know where _____ last night.
- a) did he go
 - b) he did go
 - c) went he
 - d) he went

- (45) John and Betty are coming to visit us tomorrow but I wish _____.
- a) they won't
 - b) they hadn't
 - c) they didn't
 - d) they weren't
- (46) I'm so hungry! If only Bill _____ all the food in the fridge!
- a) wasn't eating
 - b) didn't eat
 - c) hadn't eaten
 - d) hasn't eaten
- (47) I regret _____ harder in school.
- a) not studying
 - b) not to study
 - c) to not study
 - d) not have studied
- (48) Surely Sue _____ you if she was unhappy with your work.
- a) will tell
 - b) would have told
 - c) must have told
 - d) had told
- (49) Our neighbours aren't very polite, and _____ particularly quiet!
- a) neither they aren't
 - b) either they aren't
 - c) nor are they
 - d) neither did they be
- (50) We had expected that they _____ fluent English, but in fact they didn't.

- a) were speaking
- b) would speak
- c) had spoken
- d) spoke

(51) I'd rather _____ next weekend, but I do!

- a) I don't have to work
- b) I didn't have to work
- c) not to work
- d) no working

(52) Harriet is so knowledgeable. She can talk about _____ subject that comes up.

- a) whatever
- b) whenever
- c) wherever
- d) whoever

Section 6

Choose the best word or phrase (a, b, c or d) to fill each blank.

(53) I always _____ milk in my coffee.

- a) have
- b) eat
- c) cook
- d) make

(54) I _____ TV every evening.

- a) watch
- b) look at
- c) see
- d) hear

- (55) Can you give me a _____ with my bag.
- a) leg
 - b) back
 - c) hand
 - d) head
- (56) Before you enter the triathlon, please bear in _____ that you're not as young as you used to be!
- a) thought
 - b) question
 - c) mind
 - d) opinion
- (57) The breath test showed he had consumed more than three times the legal limit of alcohol, so the police arrested him for _____.
- a) trespassing
 - b) mugging
 - c) speeding
 - d) drunk driving
- (58) The meeting was _____ and not very interesting.
- a) time-wasting
 - b) time-consuming
 - c) time-using
 - d) out of time
- (59) After the movie was released, the main _____ point was its excessive use of violence.
- a) discussion
 - b) speaking
 - c) conversation

d) talking

(60) There have been several big _____ against the use of GM foods recently.

a) campaigns

b) issues

c) boycotts

d) strikes

Annex II

Table 1: Key to the *Inside Out* quick placement test

Each answer is worth one point:

1)	d	(21)	c	(41)	b
(2)	a	(22)	b	(42)	a
(3)	b	(23)	a	(43)	c
(4)	d	(24)	c	(44)	d
(5)	c	(25)	c	(45)	d
(6)	d	(26)	b	(46)	c
(7)	b	(27)	c	(47)	a
(8)	c	(28)	d	(48)	b
(9)	c	(29)	a	(49)	c
(10)	d	(30)	b	(50)	b
(11)	a	(31)	a	(51)	b
(12)	a	(32)	c	(52)	a
(13)	a	(33)	d	(53)	a
(14)	c	(34)	a	(54)	a
(15)	d	(35)	c	(55)	c
(16)	c	(36)	b	(56)	c
(17)	a	(37)	b	(57)	d
(18)	d	(38)	c	(58)	b
(19)	b	(39)	a	(59)	d
(20)	a	(40)	b	(60)	a