

## ASPECTS OF ENGLISH AS LINGUA FRANCA IN BRAZILIAN SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH

### ASPECTOS DE INGLÊS COMO LÍNGUA FRANCA EM BRASILEIROS FALANTES DO INGLÊS

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**Resumo:** Este trabalho aborda uma análise linguística de brasileiros falantes do inglês no exterior. A análise é feita a partir dos pressupostos teóricos do uso do Inglês como Língua Franca onde procura-se observar inteligibilidade e fluência na comunicação. O objetivo deste estudo é observar a produção linguística desses falantes e apontar elementos que possam compilar dados do brasileiro falante do inglês a partir de influências oriundas do português. Para esta análise, coletamos dados de dois grupos de interação: 1) dois brasileiros com falantes de inglês não-nativo; 2) dois brasileiros com falantes de inglês nativo. No primeiro grupo, os dados mostram que influências do português são visíveis neste tipo de interação, mas não interferem na inteligibilidade do ato enunciativo. Já com o segundo grupo, as duas fontes de dados remetem não somente a influência de características do português, mas também questões de propriedade de língua relacionada aos nativos e submissão de uso da Língua estrangeira pelo falante não-nativo.

**Palavras-chave:** Língua Franca. Inteligibilidade. Falantes não-nativos.

**Abstract:** This paper is about a linguistic analysis with Brazilian speakers of English living abroad. The analysis is proposed based on assumptions of English as Lingua Franca where it observes intelligibility and communication. The aim of the study is to observe the speeches of these speakers and point out elements that can coincide with influences of their mother tongue, Portuguese. For this analysis, data were collected from two groups of interaction: 1) Brazilians speakers of English with other non-native speakers of English; 2) Brazilians with native speakers of English. In the first group, data shows that influences of Portuguese can be seen in their speeches but intelligibility is not compromised. In the second group, data show not only these influences but also highlight from both speakers that ownership and submission in communication are detected during the use of L2.

**Keywords:** Lingua Franca. Intelligibility. Non-native speakers.

## 1 INTRODUCTION

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The way English has spread worldwide has raised discussions about the kind of English schools should teach. Brazilian teachers of English, working far from any English speaking country, have been exposed to several influences of this language, but the question that has been asked by students is if there is a better one, or, still, which English will help them to be understood abroad.

English has become the language for international communication and English teachers in Brazil have been struggling for voice as it is known that in this country English is poorly taught as well as learned in regular (public and private) schools because of many different reasons, such as low number of classes per week, mostly schools offer one or the most two 50-minute-English-class per week, English classes taught in Portuguese and some other reasons that are not our focus here. It means that if someone wants to speak fluent English, they have to look for a language Institute and pay for it (DUTRA, 2011). Those schools are not easily affordable which reinforces our gap to learn another language and has placed this country in an alarming position concerning English learning: to fill the gap between those who know English and those who do not. Still, we lag behind many countries: Brazil ranks number 46 among 54 non-native speaker countries, according to Education First, a world exchange group (SANT'ANNA, 2012).

For many years, English Language was strongly linked to two territories, first the United Kingdom, represented by England and, the second one, to the United States. The former is linked to the birthplace of the language and its historical and cultural connotations, and the latter, brings deep connections and influences from its language, its whole culture and way of living, with modernity, technology and pop culture. Those two countries have become influential especially in schools that claim for validity and efficiency. Recent news has shown that despite the efforts to speak fluent English, students still lack skills demanded by the market and by academic purposes what has fueled discussions about English teaching in Brazil (TAKAHASHI, 2012; ABREU-E-LIMA, *et al*, 2015). What once was conceived as the unique and acceptable way to teach English, does not cover Brazilian needs anymore. As new questions lead to new answers, studies considering globalization and the mass use of English have put us before a new phenomenon, known as English as Lingua Franca (ELF). In this paper we will observe conversations between non-native speakers of English considering the phenomenon mentioned above: English as Lingua Franca. In order to sustain our data, we will present some theoretical assumptions in an attempt to describe this phenomenon among linguists and give two examples from the part of native speakers on how they undergo this phenomenon.

In an attempt to collaborate with this framework, in this article we will analyze five audio scripts of four Brazilian speakers of English and the influences they show by performing this language. Our

goal is to observe how the phenomenon of ELF has reached Brazilian speakers of English and how it has affected their communication. We desire to collaborate with the studies that attempt to observe and shape conjectures about the new phenomenon of ELF, in this case, from the part of Brazilian speakers of English.

## **2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

### **2.1 CONCEPTUALIZATION**

English as Lingua Franca (ELF) is mainly considered when it is used as a means of communication between speakers of different lingua-cultural backgrounds (BERNS, M. *et al*, 2009). This concept matches Brazilians' needs to communicate overseas as it also conveys the information Crystal (2003) revealed about use of English: one out every four users of English in the world is a native speaker of this language. So, who in fact has used this language to communicate? For this language, Graddol (2006) has called "Global English"; Rajagopalan (2012), instead, has advocated for "World English" and presents scholars a list of more than fifteen names trying to define the phenomenon that has been changing the way English is spoken, taught, learned and covered over the globe.

All these names bring specific characteristic presented by their researchers; ELF, however, appears to us as a land of no owners, a place where everyone can stroll safe and sound without running the risk of being called Mrs. or Mr. Someone. As the "land of no owners" was brought up here, it is important to mention that "no owners" has nothing to do with no organization. Maybe the concept of "no rules" is not appropriated here, neither, as ELF is organized enough to put two unknown speakers opposite to each other sharing diversity and new ways of perceiving the world having in common a similar way of saying things, which is not their native languages.

In this paper, ELF was carefully chosen to create a distance from its common label as a "foreign language" which carries the idea of a language that does not belong to us but to others. Calvo and El Kadri (2011) say that this choice strengthens a language with no boundaries filled with complex feelings and contradictions.

### **2.2 ELF: NEW ROUTES IN A QUICK PERIOD OF TIME**

With ELF, the necessity to speak and to be understood ultimately comes first (RAJAGOPALAN, 2012, SEIDLHOFER, 2001). Lopes (2008), introducing his paper about English language in hybrid times, describes three stories which points our attention to three important roles English language evolved into: Imperialism, Exclusion and Technology. For technology data is clearly opened on the table (or tablets) and this is a road taken with no U turn. Never in history of language communication English was so easily available. Imperialism and exclusion, on the other side, have been described broadly and deeply by scholars showing different ways of facing them. Lopes (2008) illustrates these roles with the film “Turtles can fly” where mutilated orphan kids of the War of Iraq depend on a boy who can understand English and tune an old TV set in the right channel so that his people can get information about the war showing that the enemy, sometimes, is a friend in need.

In the beginning of the British Empire, English was forced as a means to acquire labor force and wealth from several colonies; then, after the Second World War, English Language was sold attached to North American technology as a commodity and well-being. There was a time English was being spoken because someone was pushing it, but studies of the ELF phenomenon have shown we have been going through a new era that is about to change the way English is making history. In the era of globalization English is being spoken not because North America or England are pushing it but because people are pulling it (WALKER, 2009). This process is not only bringing them new skills of communication but also new ways of shaping the world and being shaped by it. Pennycook (2007) describes this move into five overlapping processes going from the (1) Age of Christianizing and discovering; (2) to the enlightening design for the European world, (3) to help of developing countries based on European images, (4) to capitalizing/ universalizing designs to finally (5) corporatizing/globalizing. In his words:

Unless we incorporate this historical vision into an understanding of globalizations, we will lose sight of many current overlapping designs of the world. (PENNYCOOK, 2007, p. 26)

What he means by this is that all these moves have not replaced each other; they have merged into a new huge design where all of them co-exist at the same time. The concept of a lingua franca converges with the concept of a connected world. We need to rethink the concept of language as we have rethought the concept of the place we have lived in (PENNYCOOK, 2007). A place where limits are easily overcome and the unknown does not scare us anymore, on the contrary, it seems to be really interesting.

### **2.3 A FEELING OF NOSTALGIA**

New moves lead to new views and breaks of paradigms. The concept of learning a language has always been tied to the concept of land and territory as the concept of mother tongue has also been studied on the basis of a territory. Studies of ELF have shown new paths and possibilities, though. ELF lacks the shape which natural languages are conceived, as it is not natural because no one is born with this language, as generativists and many other linguists have described languages (RAJAGOPALAN, 2011). ELF comes up with a new way of conceiving language totally non-territorized because it derives from the necessity one has to interact at any distance overcoming any linguistic, cultural, social or background barriers. There was a time this interaction was made by following some principles such as one should learn a language properly and correctly and then interact. Now it seems English is everywhere, at all times, however it is not. It is not the language that has crossed borders and reached new speakers but speakers themselves have been finding opportunities to promote new relationships and discoveries and they all happen because of the contact of two or more people who can share, mutual intelligibility, through a same language (JENKINS, 2006).

Indeed, ELF has reached distances no one could ever expect and with it the concept of owning a language has been called into discussion. Native speakers, however, have been claiming the ownership of English language and some are really bothered by the way the river is flowing. ELF is the result of communication between two people who do not share the same mother tongue and “the difficulty that seems to be inherent is accepting a language that is not anybody’s native tongue as a legitimate object of investigation and description research” (SEIDLHOFER, 2006). Nevertheless, speakers of ELF have been judged with prejudice and have even been seen as no good users of English. Few native speakers have the feeling that English does not belong only to them. As an example, this can be seen in a Comedy TV program called QI Series hosted by the British screenwriter, journalist and comedian Stephen Fry who tries to explain that English has always evolved the way it has, changes have always happened to this language as to others and if a Saxon or an Angle heard the way British people speak English nowadays they would probably ask what they had done with their language. The same thing is going on with native speakers who inquire about what non-native speakers have been doing with a language they (native speakers) call English. Despite this historical and rational explanation, Fry and his guests laugh at the way Singaporean speak English concluding that they all dislike it.

Another interesting manifestation of ownership can be noticed by Gill (2012), one of The New York Times journalists, when he desperately demands *his* London back in one of his articles he wrote for this newspaper just before the Olympic Games arrive in 2012. There, he says “there is no

difference between us and them, not in “color”, ethnicity, dress or demeanor. Those who live in London and those who visit London look all the same”. It is interesting to see the way he says London has changed and unfortunately the millions of tourists who visit London every year and make British queues longer than they really are, daily, are not going to find the “cheeky cockneys, pearly kings and their queens and costermongers. Not even punks under 50 on the King’s Road nor more tweedy mustachioed, closeted gay writers in Bloomsbury, (...) there aren’t men in white tie, smoking cigars outside Pall Mall clubs and there isn’t any fog.” He justifies the unfriendliness of British based on the label they have on having exaggerated teacup manners and exaggerated pleases and thank *you*s. Gill ends his paper with a shout coming from one of the red-authentic British buses. A “middle-aged, middle-class, middleweight woman peered out of the window at the stalled traffic and furiously bellowed; Oh my God, is there no end to these improvements?” Gill affirms that this was an authentic voice of London.

What it seems to us is that what the London Gill and the middle-aged woman are looking for no longer exists. London is filled with new people from many parts of the world bringing a new color to that place, a different way of dealing with conflicts, working, having fun and speaking among themselves. As London, English Language has changed; the London Gill claims for no longer can be visited, and the language that was once mocked by Fry and his guests, is stronger and more different each year and shared among people who see it as window for the world. Pennycook (2007) is clear when he says that “there is no going back: trying to use the nation state or localization as strategies of resistance is largely reactionary nostalgia”.

What Gill does not know about is what is really going on with the language he calls his. Gimenez et al. (2011) would certainly bother Gill with their appointments about an experience a Brazilian English teacher came across when she was invited to teach English to a remote native tribe in the South of Brazil. Her task was to introduce English language for a group of native-indian teens that she assumed were going to be in touch with that language for their first time. What this teacher did not expect was an interruption right in the first class by one of the 7<sup>th</sup> graders. He approached her and carrying his mobile phone asked her whether she could teach them one of Lady Gaga’s songs, Bad Romance. This singular episode enlarges the dimension not only language but also culture of this language has reached in the world. By the time Gill claims for an end of these improvements, a native-indian kid, in a remote area thousands of miles away from that small island, claims for the start.

These stories display a very important aspect raised by Seidlhofer (2000) when she calls into question that ELF is spread and not distributed as it has happened with English so far. Widdowson describes this phenomenon clearly:

...I would argue that English as an international language is not *distributed*, as a set of established encoded forms, unchanged into different domains of use, but it is *spread* as a virtual language... When we talk about the spread of English, then, it is not that the conventionally coded forms and meaning are transmitted into different environments and different surroundings, and taken up and used by different groups of people. It is not a matter of the actual language being distributed but of the virtual language being spread and in the process being variously actualized. The distribution of the actual language implies adoption and conformity. The spread of the virtual language implies adaptation and nonconformity. The two processes are quite different. (WIDDOWSON, 1997 *apud* SEIDLHOFER, 2000 and SEIDLHOFER, 2001)

The same inconformity that bothers Gill (2012) can be felt by the Brazilian English teacher as well as by her new native-indian student. From the teacher's side, there is an inconformity concerning the new boundaries this language has reached, boundaries that once could only be overcome in four rooms, inside a school and under her control. From the part of the native-indian student, inconformity changes to nonconformity, as Widdowson has described and was perceived by Gimenez et al. (2011) when they analyze the episode based on two assumptions, first that English is the main instrument to a new imperialism that acts ruthlessly upon local cultures, or second, that English might shape new identities overlapping will and resistance.

Furthermore, one of the main concerns of those who teach and study English is if it can be spoken following its roots and rules or if it is possible to be changed by its speakers in order to reach communication. Concerning these questions, we have found studies on intelligibility (SEIDLHOLFER, 2011; DETERDING, 2014) in which raises awareness on whether language (English) should be taught and learned through a narrow perspective of static accuracy rather than dynamic intelligibility. Considering the number of speakers worldwide who use this language daily to work and to produce knowledge, inevitable questions raises whether these non-native speakers of English would have the right to be the norm developing rather than simply norm dependent. Moreover, when we discuss intelligibility, we have to keep in mind who this intelligibility is to. Two non-native speakers can understand each other more, sometimes, than native a speaker of English and a foreigner. So, if communication is the goal, intelligibility in ELF can be as important as accuracy in language.

Intelligibility goes beyond the issue of inappropriateness (JENKINS, 2009). When we consider the two most particular native speaker English accents, the Received Pronunciation (RP) and the General English (GA), which are spoken by the minority of the speakers of English, we always associate them as superior accents of English, the real, the authentic ones, but a large-scale empirical research has identified features that RP and GA pronunciation can be important for intelligibility, but also unnecessary aspects of RP and GA damage intelligibility (JENKINS, 2009).

This paper will describe and analyze interactions of speakers of English considering the assumptions that sustain this phenomenon called English as Lingua Franca in Brazilian interactions

described so far. It will be considered linguistic aspects, such as intelligibility, Brazilian-Portuguese influence, idiosyncratic adaptations of the language, inversion of noun and adjectives and redundancy as markers of data conceived on natural interactions between Brazilian speakers of English and another speakers of English from other nationalities (YANO, 2009; JENKINS, 2006).

### 3 METHODOLOGY

While English as Lingua Franca is seen as a Global development, it is possible to start to observe it through a regional perspective (MOLLIN, 2006). The small, but significant corpus presented in this paper emerge findings that can be compared to future researches on ELF in Brazil. The five spoken dialogues transcribed here reflect English language as it is used daily lives and were analyzed in search for common lexicogrammatical and morphosyntactic features among Brazilian speakers of English. We will also raise a discussion based on the communication of these speakers with non-native speakers and with native speakers of English.

There are five excerpts of conversation between the following speakers:

Chart 1: Identifying speakers

	Nationalities	Recording	Amount of Recordings	Relationship
1.	Brazilian X Japanese	AT1, AT2	2	Roommates
2.	Brazilian X Ecuadorian	AT3	1	Husband, wife
3.	Brazilian X South African	AT4	1	Husband, wife
4.	Brazilian X South African	AT5	1	Husband, wife

Source: The Authors

All the recordings were made with cell phones and sent to us by e-mail and Facebook (privately). The first two dialogues were recorded in Dickinson, North Dakota in the USA and the three others came from London, UK. All the conversations were transcribed by the authors and are fully presented in this paper.

Chart 2: Audio and File Titles

Audio Number	File Number	Speakers Involved
AT1	Voz034	Brazilian (S5f) X Japanese (S6f)
AT2	Voz036	Brazilian (S5f) X Japanese (S6f)
AT3	Voz020	Brazilian (S7f) X Ecuadorian (S8m)
AT4	Voz0754	Brazilian (S1f) X South African (S2m)
AT5	Voz019	Brazilian (S3f) X South African (S4m)

Source: The Authors



For this paper, all recordings were recorded under the following criteria: the sample could be collected in any territory, about any subject and by any length as long as it was produced by Brazilian speakers of English interacting non-native English speakers (NNS) or interactions with native-speaker (NS) of English. In order to obtain these recordings, we looked for Brazilian people living abroad and asked their permission to join this research by recording their conversation with another NNS or NS of English. The participation was hard to find as it depended on natural interactions that were being recorded by a friend or someone that accepted to join this research.

There are two extracts made by a Brazilian girl and a Japanese girl and a third one between another Brazilian woman and an Ecuadorian man that match the NNS X NNS criteria. There are also two excerpts that were recorded under the NNS x NS criteria: a communication between speakers of different lingua-cultural backgrounds (BERNS, M. et al, 2009).

#### 4. ANALYSES AND DISCUSSION

##### 4.1 NON-NATIVE SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH (NNS) X NON-NATIVE SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH (NNS)

All the excerpts are named Audio Transcription (AT) and followed by a number, so the first one is the AT1. The number that follows, as Voz 01 for example, is just the file number to be organized for the research. The abbreviation S5f stands for Speaker 5 female, in case the speaker is male, the abbreviation will be S8m (Speaker 8 male) and it is the way they are named, what follows next is the nationality, L1 stands for mother language. There are three columns in the excerpt; the first refers to the speaker, the second one to the number of the lines and the third one to the speech.

Chart 3: AT1 – Voz 01 (S5f Japanese, L1: Japanese; S6f Brazilian, L1: Brazilian Portuguese)

S5f:	1	<i>I got to see if she checked my e-mail, no?</i>
S6f	2	<i>Hum, where?</i>
S5f:	3	<i>In reedit, I won't reply, hum... hum</i>
S6f	4	<i>What is that?</i>
S5f:	5	<i>Hum, here... doesn't say anything, but here... this's something which I think I've already eh... opened</i>
S6f	6	<i>Hum.</i>

Source: The Authors

In AT1, the Brazilian speaker (S6f) does not seem to show any influence from her background language as she speaks only three sentences. The Japanese speaker (S6f), on the contrary, uses what

Yano (2009) calls duplication to emphasize. Instead of using a question tag in the first sentence, or just ending the sentence with the word e-mail, she simply says “no”. Another thing we can notice is the absence of the personal pronoun “it” in line 5. Important to say that no interruption was made and communication went smoothly.

The next recording is also with the same speakers, a Brazilian and a Japanese.

Chart 4: AT2 – Voz 02 (S5f Japanese, L1: Japanese; S6f Brazilian, L1: Brazilian Portuguese)

S6f	1	<i>As I sing in the Saturday's mass I always go and (?)...</i>
S5f:	2	<i>Hum...Are you going there with Mario?</i>
S6f	3	<i>No, no, he doesn't go to church.</i>
S5f:	4	<i>But I am sure he want to hear you singing (laughs)</i>
S6f	5	<i>(Laughs) Yeah I think so, I think he remembers me, I mean... singing... but, yeah, let's see when I come b... I go back home</i>
S5f	6	<i>Hum...hum</i>
S6f	7	<i>Yeah and Wen didn't reply...</i>
S5f:	8	<i>Hum...</i>

Source: The Authors

In AT2, once again there is no big performance from the part of the Brazilian speaker as she speaks four sentences. There is an attempt of self-correction in line 5 regarding the verbs *go back* and *come back*. Here her influence of Brazilian Portuguese matters as these verbs have, in some contexts, the same word: *voltar*. There are two different verbs in Portuguese for the verbs go and come, the first is *ir* and the second is *vir*. Brazilian speakers would never make any confusion about them in Portuguese. What happens is when the preposition back is added in both verbs, they both mean *voltar* but in different contexts. As S6f seems not to be at home, she needs to go back home, but in Portuguese either the sentence “when I go back...” or “when I come back...” are translated as *quando eu voltar* but they have to be used in different contexts. In line 4 we can check a phenomenon that has been described as part of a regularization of ELF, the lack of third person –S in the verb by S5f. (SEIDLHOFER, 2006). Even considering the observations above, communication was not threatened and both speakers accomplished communication.

The next excerpt is about a Brazilian and an Ecuadorian.

Chart 5: AT3 – Voz 03 (S7f Brazilian, L1 Brazilian Portuguese; S8m Ecuadorian, L1 Spanish)

S7f	1	<i>Oi amor... Hi my sweet... you remember we gotta some friends, they will come for dinner tonight</i>
S8m:	2	<i>Yeah yeah yeah I mean they are very good friends, they are very close ah... friends and then we are gonna cook for them, you know rice and stroganoff that's the menu we already arrange for them</i>
S7f	3	<i>Yes</i>
S8m:	4	<i>That's what we are gonna do and then George is gonna aaaa...</i>
S7f	5	<i>a do...</i>
S8m:	6	<i>Make the caipirinha</i>
S7f	7	<i>The caipirinhas Brazilian</i>
S8m:	8	<i>Brazilian very typical Brazilian</i>

S7f	9	<i>And Leo, Leo he gonna do the desert, so the desert is gonna be the ... a...</i>
S8m:	10	<i>What is that? Carrot cake?</i>
S7f	11	<i>Carrot cake</i>
S8m:	12	<i>That's his specialty, yeah... we will love carrot cake, George is gonna do the caipirinha like I said before and then my friend he's doing this special drink which is from Ecuador</i>
S7f	13	<i>Is very different</i>
S8m:	14	<i>Very different is made with a tabasco and and lemon juice and salt and I've never tried before is a very very new thing from Ecuador</i>
S7f	15	<i>But is very nice!</i>
S8m:	16	<i>Is very nice yeah...</i>
S7f	17	<i>Have you, have you tasted before?</i>
S8m:	18	<i>No I've never tried no no this is the first time I am gonna try it and</i>
S7f	19	<i>I did and is very nice... I'm telling you</i>
S8m:	20	<i>Have you tried already?</i>
S7f	21	<i>Yes, very nice, I am telling you</i>
S8m:	22	<i>Would you like it?</i>
S7f	23	<i>Yeah</i>
S8m:	24	<i>Fantastic!</i>
S7f	25	<i>You have to try it!</i>
S8m:	26	<i>Now I will try it I need to to speak to my friend and he needs to keep me the recipe</i>
S7f	27	<i>Good... what about the caipirinha, what do you think about the caipirinha?</i>
S8m:	28	<i>Oh the caipirinha is fantastic I mean George is the best he a... he makes the best caipirinha basically, he is the caipirinha guy,</i>
S7f	29	<i>Yeah, yeah, he knows how to do it</i>
S8m:	30	<i>He knows how to do it</i>
S7f	31	<i>I'm telling you... is the best one I I drank already, you know?</i>
S8m:	32	<i>Yes, yes, he is the guy, is the man and I am sure everyone is gonna be happy tonight. We are looking forward to have all our friends tonight and we all are gonna have a good time tonight</i>
S7f	33	<i>Yeah, I am so, I am so that</i>
S8m:	34	<i>I am just gonna to stick to my beer because I don't like mixing my drinks anyway</i>
S7f	35	<i>Ah</i>
S8m:	36	<i>But I'll try everything anyway</i>
S7f	37	<i>Yeah... I dranked caipirinha already and I dranked beer</i>
S8m:	38	<i>Do you think it is...</i>
S7f	39	<i>and is fantastic... your friend's drinks is new for me but is fantastic, I love it.</i>
S8m:	40	<i>I haven't write but I will and I'll get his recipe tonight</i>
S7f	41	<i>So I am very happy to receive my friends here all Brazilians and your friends from</i>
S8m:	42	<i>Ecuador</i>
S7f	43	<i>Ecuador, and ahm... George from Portugal</i>
S8m:	44	<i>From Portugal, yeah</i>
S7f	45	<i>So we are very happy too</i>
S8m:	46	<i>And we will er... very good friends</i>
S7f	47	<i>To receive you guys here so</i>
S8m:	48	<i>Listen I will have a good time and enjoy so on a Friday night!</i>
S7f	49	<i>Yeah</i>
S8m:	50	<i>Uhu!</i>
S7f	51	<i>I love Fridays! Uhu...</i>

Source: The Authors

In AT3, there are considerable numbers of findings that can collaborate as a corpus to ELF studies. Despite some linguistic so-called errors, this interaction promotes mutual intelligibility and idiosyncratic adaptations of the language by two Latin (Spanish and Portuguese) speakers in order to render English more appropriate for their own use (JENKINS, 2006). Judging by a Native Speaker (NS) performance, S7f Brazilian Speaker would have forgotten almost all the personal pronouns, as

it can be seen in lines 13, 15, 19, 31 and 39. Nevertheless, all these sentences display strong influence from her Portuguese as in none of these sentences she would have to add the pronoun in her native language. In Portuguese this pronoun is not always necessary, as each verb would make the connection with the hidden subject because of verb conjugation. This phenomenon also happens to S8m speaker but not so evident. An example of verb change can be noticed by the use of *do* and *make*. Although there are no apparent criteria about the use of these verbs, they do not interrupt nor impede the normal flow of ideas and speech. In Portuguese, there is only one verb for *do* and *make*: *fazer*, so there is no consensus about their use unless the speaker memorizes all the grammar rules. In our corpus, S8m announces about the use of one of these verbs (line 4) and S7f suggests *do* (line 5), then S8m immediately changes to *make* (line 6) which seems to be acceptable for S7f at the moment but she quickly changes to “do the desert” (line 9) and is not interrupted by S8m who adjusts his speech to “do the *caipirinha*”<sup>3</sup> (line 12) instead of “make the *caipirinha*” as he had said before (line 6). They go back to this subject in lines 27 and 28 and each one chooses any of the verbs without any apparent problem. The same thing happens with the verbs *taste* and *try* in lines 17 and 20, each speaker chooses one verb and no interruption can be registered.

There is an inversion of noun and adjective position in line 7 which can be clearly understood by a Brazilian speaker as nouns come before adjectives in Portuguese. By listening to the audio, S7f transmits a feeling of nostalgia when she mentions “The *caipirinhas* Brazilian” which in Portuguese would be “*As caipirinhas brasileiras*”. In line 22, we can notice a question that suggests an offer according to English rules, however, what we can understand is that S8m meant whether S7f liked the drink when she tried it for the first time. This non-proper use of this sentence in this context does not seem to be noticed by any of the speakers who go on with the conversation.

Another thing we can notice in S7f’s speech concerns the use of Present Perfect and Simple Past. If we take as an example the sentence in line 17 we have the same equivalence for the sentence “Did you taste...” in Portuguese, both means “*Você experimentou...*”. For Brazilian speakers, differences between Present Perfect and Simple Past seem too close and they, sometimes, mean the same. So, it is acceptable, from a Brazilian’s point of view S7f to use Present Perfect in line 17 and to answer it with Simple Past in line 19 as both sentences refer to a past tense.

Differently from Dewey and Jenkins (2010)’s corpus where the use of zero articles is observed in contexts in which English as Native Language (ENL) would require them, the definite article here has a widespread use. Every sample where the definite article *the* is used, such as in lines 6,7, 12 and 27 reflects the same use in Portuguese. There is the case of wondering about the speakers’ intention

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<sup>3</sup> A typical Brazilian drink made with *Cachaça*, lemon, sugar and ice)

in really wanting to define the noun or not, but in line 7, there is a clear example of zero article use as *caipirinhas* are from Brazil and the noun is in the plural.

As Yano (2009) mentions concerning Asian speakers, examples of exploiting redundancy can also be noticed in this speech. We see the repetition about their friends' description in line 2 and the retake of a previous subject in lines 12 and 28. Aspects of reinforcement of proposition can be observed in lines 19 and 21 when S7f seems to repeat the reinforcement, as S8m could not have understood it clearly.

Jenkins (2006) draws our attention to two linguistics attitudes towards these attempts to recognize ELF as a unique phenomenon. She argues about the difference between two kinds of linguistics, those who complain about every single variation of ENL produced by their NSs fellows and those who survey the language and see it as a sign of creativity and innovation. If this matters in ENL let alone in ELF. The main concern about variation lies in finding out what is innovation and what is a mistake. Based on our data, this difference can only be more visible insofar as data are described more quantitatively. Therefore, mistakes might scarcely be noticed in speeches, as variation will be more often seen as dots connecting ideas from different language/cultures more creatively and more coherently. In Line 33 there is an example of creativity as the speaker tries to agree with the sentence in line 32. A normative answer could be "So am I" but this structure is completely awkward for a Brazilian. Brazilians would never use any similar structure in Portuguese. S7f can identify the verb she would be supposed to use but she does not seem to find any background language influence to assemble it accordingly and agrees using an arrangement of words that reminds a Portuguese structure starting with the subject "*Eu também*" but still keeps the ENL words that should be used in this case but backwards. Nevertheless, there is still no problem during the conversation.

These three pieces of speech reveal significant Brazilian attitudes regarding ELF studies. Much similar to what some surveys on ELF have pointed out (GIMENEZ et al., 2010; JENKINS, 2006; YANO, 2009, SEIDLHOLFER, 2000), interaction in ELF can be no longer based strictly on proximity to Native Speakers norms but on intelligibility in ELF communication as our speakers could show. There was no interruption in the speech flow and speakers seemed to treat each other equally. The language used in these dialogues was not used because it is being pushed or imperative, but because there was a need and a will to interact and connect with the other.

Much has been said about the imperialistic reasons of English spread but this subject is not our focus this time. After recent changes in technology, places are nearer, people are closer and ideas seem more similar than they used to be, so searching for a means of communication that fits our needs and speed seems more reasonable than really worrying about the whole linguistic political and economic history behind it all. Nowadays everybody is connected (it is true some are more connected than others) but "in most areas where English is spoken today, it is part of a multilingual context.

English is one component of the sociolinguistic profile of many nations” (RAJAGOPALAN, 2011) and this case it is not different in Brazil.

#### 4.2 NON-NATIVE SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH (NNS) X NATIVE SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH (NS)

The next two excerpts were provided, coincidentally, by two pairs of nationalities. From one side, we have two Brazilian women and from the other side, we have two South African men. These excerpts raised discussion about intelligibility and ownership of English language. We have noticed a strong feeling of ownership by native speakers have when they are in a conversation and “their language” being spoken or written with deviation to the norms they are used to use. Coincidentally, both excerpts showed these aspects.

This feeling has led to many discussions about roles in communication in English and prejudice has emerged as if some speakers were allowed to deviate from their language structure while some other speakers of English were not. Moreover, ELF scholars have argued “the native speaker standards are no longer relevant to the needs of most learners” (PEDERSON, 2010; SEIDHOLFER, 2000; RAJAGOPALAN, 2011). Pederson (2010), however, disagrees about the separation between native speakers and non-native speakers as some ELF scholars have proposed. Rather, she sees this interaction as an opportunity for ELF speakers to deal with different kinds of communication and help them transcend language and culture boundaries.

That is the very point our excerpts reveal. Boundaries can be overcome but when NSs are on the stage, permission must be granted.

The following excerpt was recorded between a Brazilian speaker of English and South African speaker of English.

Chart 6: AT4 – Voz 0754 (S1f Brazilian, L1: Brazilian Portuguese; S2m South African, L1 English)

S1f:	1	<i>Lee... how it is your yoghurt (laughs) repeat, yogurt, I never, I never say, I never know to (s) how to say yoghurt...</i>
S2m	2	<i>Yoghurt</i>
S1f:	3	<i>Yoghurt ahh</i>
S2m	4	<i>Yoghurt!</i>
S1f:	5	<i>Yoghurt</i>
S2m	6	<i>Yeah, I am enjoying the yoghurt... is a delicious</i>
S1f:	7	<i>(laughs)</i>
S2m	8	<i>Very delicious</i>
S1f:	9	<i>With honey?</i>
S2m	10	<i>Yes, it has honey...(it) is aaaaa... I think is Greek, natural Greek yoghurt, it is very good, it is very good for the digestion... apparently</i>
S1f:	11	<i>Ahh.</i>

Source: The Authors

In line 1, S1f wants to ask S2m how her yoghurt is, but right before S1m, the native one, has the chance to answer, S1f interrupts herself as if she had done something wrong. She laughs, asks herself to repeat the word yoghurt because she thinks it was pronounced incorrectly, she repeats it again finally realizing she cannot say this word properly, feeling disappointed and a bit ashamed about her performance. Right after her own judgment, S2m agrees on participating in the conversation and does understand her partner's despair and helps her, saying the word properly. She repeats the word yoghurt in relief, then he (NS) says it again, she repeats it again as if, now, she now could go on with the conversation.

The yoghurt episode may lead us to two directions: the first one meets worldwide statistics ranking Brazil down below in education which might seriously affect Brazilian self-esteem performance education in a whole let alone in their English language performance. The second point is broader and has already been discussed among scholars; it is the suffering from an inferiority complex caused by glaring defects in NNSs' knowledge of English (SEIDHOLFER, 2000; BERNS, M. et al., 2009). By this, there is no way of leaving the whole history behind, Brazilian speaker seems to join the whole group of NNSs who believe they cannot speak English properly. This feeling comes from the time when learning English reached a very important political and economic position in the world and in Brazil and became a very lucrative activity embedding strong concepts, speeches and deep values from its native speakers mainly from the *global north*. A time when one's attitude towards English language learning was of repeating language instead of using it to build up meanings and reformulate attitudes (JORDÃO, 2011).

Regarding S1f, she seems to have deep marks from the second proposition, as she is sure she cannot say the word yoghurt. Perhaps, what she also lacks is the information that the word yoghurt is not an English word; on the contrary, this word is almost the same in orthography and phonology in many languages and pretty much the same word in her native language as well. There should be no need for such inconvenience, as S2m might have certainly understood it in the first time. Intelligibility here is clearly not in discussion but language supremacy from the part of the native who, even unconscious of his position, agrees that instead of context, information, speeches or ideas; norm must reign.

The following and last excerpt brings another interaction between a Brazilian speaker of English and a South African man.

Chart 7: AT5 – Voz 019 (S3f Brazilian, L1 Brazilian Portuguese; S4m South African, L1 English)

S3f:	1	<i>What, I am not, I am serious! Have you found out what are we getting for your mom's birthday?</i>
S4m	2	<i>No, not yet</i>
S3f:	3	<i>Yes we should</i>
S4m	4	<i>You were supposed to decide</i>
S3f:	5	<i>Yeah no, You are supposed to decide. I gave you an idea yesterday and you said: no "jealer". So...</i>
S4m	6	<i>No! Jewelry!</i>
S3f:	7	<i>Jewelry!</i>
S4m	8	<i>Yes</i>
S3f:	9	<i>So, what you think, what should we get?</i>
S4m	10	<i>What we get her last year</i>
S3f:	11	<i>We got her last year... we got her a, the suitcase</i>
S4m	12	<i>A suitcase...ah... ok but that was shared with two of my brothers, so this year...</i>
S3f:	13	<i>Are we going to do it just ourselves this year</i>
S4m	14	<i>Yeah</i>
S3f:	15	<i>Ok, what about the concert? We should have bought her the ticket concert</i>
S4m	16	<i>I don't think we can get them now</i>
S3f:	17	<i>Yes, not now, because now's so expensive to get them</i>
S4m	18	<i>And where is this, at the O2?</i>
S3f:	19	<i>O2, yes</i>
S4m	20	<i>O2 It still remains yeah</i>
S3f:	21	<i>And who is singing again?</i>
S4m	22	<i>Andrea Bocelli</i>
S3f:	23	<i>Andrea Bocelli</i>
S4m	24	<i>Yeah yeah so he is a ... I don't know we can still look see if we can get some tickets</i>
S3f:	25	<i>Ah</i>
S4m	26	<i>See.. will be uhm...</i>
S3f:	27	<i>What about dinner? When are we having dinner with her for her birthday?</i>
S4m	28	<i>Not during the week, her birthday in on Wednesday so are appointed there on Saturday</i>
S3f:	29	<i>Before or afterwards?</i>
S4m	30	<i>After</i>
S3f	31	<i>After</i>
S4m	32	<i>After yeah</i>
S3f:	33	<i>Ok and it is probably going to be just us</i>
S4m	34	<i>Yeah</i>
S3f:	35	<i>As your brother is having a baby</i>
S4m	36	<i>Yes, yes, so they will probably have the baby home and then so we'll probably just get her out to their house and have dinner there and see the baby, maybe just stay there for the night, you know?</i>
S3f:	37	<i>And what is your guess? Is the baby gonna be a boy, a girl?</i>
S4m	38	<i>I think a girl just to teach my brother a lesson (laughs)</i>
S3f:	39	<i>But you really really want to be a boy (laughs)</i>
S4m	40	<i>He wants to have a boy yeah</i>
S3f:	41	<i>Yeah, You too, you want him to have a boy too, don't you?</i>
S4m	42	<i>I don't mind, I don't mind really</i>
S3f:	43	<i>Yes, you guys are looking for a boy in the family, aren't you?</i>
S4m	44	<i>No, I think I will have the first boy...</i>
S3f:	45	<i>Yeah, you will have the first boy...that depends on me, man!</i>
S4m	46	<i>(Laughs) yes, so we'll see next weekend, next weekend we'll see</i>
S3f:	47	<i>Next weekend no; next weekend we have the wedding so needs to be afterwards. We have the wedding on Saturday we can go and see them on Sunday</i>
S4m	48	<i>Yes, yes, that's fine, Sunday this next weekend... get together ... we should have a... (?) by then</i>
S3f:	49	<i>We hope so</i>
S4m	50	<i>Should have</i>
S3f:	51	<i>Yeah... and what about the house, they are fixing it... how is it going?</i>
S4m	52	<i>It's still a construction site at the moment and my mother was around there yesterday and said that it's all so ... there's bricks and carpets and everything everywhere so. I don't know, I don't know how long it's gonna take, she's got a week left to due, so we'll just see just wait and see</i>
S3f:	53	<i>And what about the baby when the baby comes how's the baby's room, is everything right?</i>



S4m	54	<i>The room is fine up there, yeah, and what is going to happen is, I think it's been paint already and carpet's been redone, that's good. They put the curtain there I think, and that's about it, I think they're ready otherwise</i>
S3f:	55	<i>OK, perfect then.</i>

Source: The Authors

As the first excerpt of the second part of this paper, this one brings out the same point. The dialogue is about another Brazilian woman and another South African man who are supposed to decide what they are going to do for his mother's birthday. Despite S3f appearing to share the Inner Circle<sup>4</sup> closer than the other speakers of this paper, she could not get rid of native norms and, at this time, she was interrupted by the NS even when intelligibility was proceeding. One might think that by the way S3f pronounces jewelry in line 5, it could not be understood by native S4m, this subject, however, had been discussed the previous day and he knew what she was talking about. Opposite to AT4, the interruption here was made by the native speaker who seems to be annoyed by the way jewelry is spoken. S3f then, repeats the word trying to "correct" it and, only then, goes on with the discussion about the gift.

Both NNSs in this part of our corpus behave like a candle in the wind, but in these specific situations, knowing who to cling to, the native South African speakers. These two episodes raise some question about the role NNSs play in communication. Do they really need to cling to anyone? Can't they make their journey by themselves? Do "yoghurts" of English really bother the other to the point of interruption in interaction? Who has the right to infer in language to the point of ruling it over others? EFL phenomenon seems to play a significant shift in English communication by emphasizing appropriateness rather than correctness (SEIDHOLFER, 2000). ELF, multilingual settings, new forms of interactions, "call for an ecological approach to language (...) a need to emphasize the symbolic competence, rather their narrow linguistic competence in any or all of the languages that make up their overall linguistic repertoire (RAJAGOPALAN, 2011).

When we go back to Pederson's claim on keeping NSs concerning ELF research, we wonder based on our data if it is fair to play with NSs. It seems to us the game is unfair, they have all the rules, they master the game; NNSs have no chance to perform originally as NNSs' originality has always underlain NSs' originality. Originality, however, leads to identity, identity leads to culture, to language interaction, to history, to life events, to diversity. That's why this point needs more studies in ELF as distribution denies spread, correctness shifts to appropriateness and the question that is risen among many scholars is still who decides who is intelligible and in which context.

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<sup>4</sup> "Although there is not Always agreement upon definitions by scholars, for most, Kachru's (1985) paradigm of concentric circles, which divides the flow of Englishes between the Inner Circle (native speakers), Outer Circle (second language speakers) and Expanding Circle (foreign language speakers) serves as a good reference point" to consider competence in English language. (PEDERSON, 2011)

## 5 FINAL WORDS

Due to the opportunities to connect and join wider discussions in the globe, people are using English language each day more to communicate, so are Brazilians. Our motivation to collect this data meets the necessity to compile and describe aspects of ELF regarding Brazilian use of this language. In some of our cases, our data shares the same characteristics of data already described about Asian, African and European speakers, there are findings, however, that lack more explanations and up to now seem speculative as Yano (2009) also reported about data collected based on Asian speakers.

Our findings show that some ELF characteristics described so far meet previous description, as the lack of –S in the third person, redundancy in utterances, no use of questions tags and reinforcement of proposition. Some other findings display clearly influence of Portuguese language demanding more studies to be described as ELF description. So, findings such as adjective and noun inversion, lack of subjects mainly in sentences with verb to be, exaggerated use of the definite article, mixing similar verbs and the use of backwards structure should be more investigated. The piece of information that also called our attention was the coincidence of no interruption or correction between Non-Native Speakers' utterances and the interruption or correction between NSs vs NNSs' utterances.

The yogurt episode, however, calls for more discussion about performance, “as it is in the performance that the identity is created” and it is all about ELF (PENNYCOOK, 2007). In AT4, S1f does everything by herself, she speaks, interrupts herself, repeats for herself in an attempt to say yoghurt properly. She gives up and, then, is helped so that the conversation can go on. We can conclude from her performance is that what she really knows is that she does not know she knows it. This brief sample of performance can lead teachers and scholars to look for new ways and conceptions an additional language could be taught and learned in this country and other places, providing them with support, coherence and knowledge that a Lingua Franca can play a different role in communication.

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