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"I SPEAK ENGLISH, BUT I AM STILL ME"- THE ROLES OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN ALTER DO CHÃO, BRAZIL

Tese submetida ao Programa de Pós-Graduação em Inglês da Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina para a obtenção do Grau de Doutora em Inglês: Estudos da Linguagem. Orientadora: Prof.ª Dr.ª Gloria Gil.

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Para Francisco e Elza, a minha casa no mundo.

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates and discusses the roles that the English language plays in the language practices of six inhabitants of Alter do Chão village, located in the state of Pará, Brazil. Placed in the area of Applied Linguistics, highly influenced by post-colonial researches and following the ethnographic perspective, this study advocates, mainly, that people are creative in their linguistic encounters and that as languages are "mobile resources" (Blommaert, 2010), they find their places in social practice and their forms change according to the uses to which they are put (Canagarajah, 2008). This investigation also highlights the unprecedented phenomena of the English language spread, which, as Siqueira (2011) points out, has provoked debate among applied linguists. One of the main goals of the discussion of this unprecedented language spread is that no one has any privileged status as a speaker and that the English language belongs to everyone who speaks it in whatever way, shape or form as Rajagopalan (2009) states. Highlighting discourses of appropriation, legitimacy, agency and authority of speakers, this study also discusses the encounters among languages and cultures (Garcia, 2009) that the technology, the recent mobility of people, the diasporas and engagements in new forms of popular culture have facilitated, which led to the possibility of new language practices, as Lucena (2015) argues. The results echo the ideas of Pennycook (2010), who points out that what we do with language in a particular place is a result of our interpretation of that place and that the language practices we engage in reinforce that reading of the place. The roles that the English language plays in Alter do Chão village, often highlighted through hybrid language practices, are constituted by locally situated discourses, related to agency and creative performances of the six participants.

Keywords: The spread of the English language, situated language practices, agency, linguistic hybridism.

RESUMO

Esse estudo investiga e discute os papéis que a língua Inglesa exerce nas práticas de linguagem cotidianas de seis habitantes da vila balneária de Alter do Chão, no estado do Pará, Brasil. Situado na área de Linguística Aplicada e influenciado por pesquisas pós-colonialistas, este estudo, que segue a perspectiva etnográfica, advoga, principalmente, que as pessoas são criativas em seus encontros linguísticos e que as línguas, como "recursos móveis" (Blommaert, 2010) que são, encontram seus lugares na prática social e sua forma muda de acordo com os usos que os falantes dão a elas (Canagarajah, 2008). Essa investigação também destaca a expansão sem precedentes da língua Inglesa no cenário mundial que, como aponta Siqueira (2011) vem sendo o foco de uma discussão crítica transnacional, gerando intensos debates entre linguistas aplicados. Um dos pontos centrais dessa discussão, como destaca Rajagopalan (2009) é que, como a língua inglesa está presente em todos os quatro cantos do planeta, nenhum falante tem status privilegiado, ou seja, ela pertence a todos que a falam independentemente do modo ou da forma. Trazendo discursos de apropriação, legitimidade, agência e autoridade de falantes, esse estudo também discute a colisão de língua e de culturas (García, 2009) proporcionada pela tecnologia, pela mobilidade recente de pessoas, pelas diásporas e pelo envolvimento com novas formas de cultura popular, o que fazem com que novas possibilidades de práticas da linguagem apareçam, como bem argumenta Lucena (2015). Os resultados dos dados gerados evidenciam as ideias de Pennycook (2010) que aponta que o que fazemos com uma língua em um dado lugar é o resultado de nossas interpretações do mesmo, e as práticas de linguagem as quais nos engajamos reforçam a nossa leitura desse lugar. Os papéis da língua Inglesa em Alter do Chão, muitas vezes evidenciados através de práticas de linguagem híbridas, se constituem através de discursos localmente situados, relacionados à agencia e as performances criativas dos seis participantes.

Palavras-Chave: Expansão da língua Inglesa, práticas de linguagem situadas, agencia, hibridismo linguístico.

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(O velho e o mar- Rubel Cassola)

A MUSICAL PREFACE

I began this dissertation by using the lines of a song called "O velho e o mar"[1], performed by one of my favourite Brazilian singers, Rubel Cassola. This was mainly due to two reasons. Firstly, I consider myself an extremely musical person and, undoubtedly, music was what really sparked my interest in learning the English language. When I was initially learning English, one of my favourite ways to practice it was to listen to a song on the radio and try to write the lyrics on my own. In fact, music helps me to be creative, and I had to be imaginative when I accepted the challenge of telling the tale of six people, a village and a language that has an unquestionable presence worldwide. The second reason is that the verses of "O velho e o mar" remind me of my journey as a student, a teacher and as a researcher. As the verses note, the path I have traced has always been based on the metaphor of "launching my boat into the sea" and handling with whatever "wind" that would come next.

My "boat" was first launched in 2010, when I came to Florianópolis to carry out a Masters in English language, as I had the desire of becoming a teacher in the Federal University that had been opened in my hometown, Santarém, in 2009. I was already a teacher at a private University and I had really fallen in love with the environment the university had to offer. In fact, as an English teacher, I was able to work with all age groups, from young children to people in their sixties, who come back to the public school after a long break. I really enjoyed working at public schools and at an English private course because I was able to develop activities with my students that went beyond the concepts of language as a code. Although at that time I was not aware of all the theories I am keen to advocate now and that are going to be clear as the reader sails throughout this dissertation, I consider that, when I look back at all the waves I have faced whilst an English teacher, I have always believed that language is a social practice. This private English course was my harbour for over three years and when the sea I was sailing in seemed to become calmer than expected, the "waves" of a possible Master on the other side of the country arose.

At the time of my Masters, my boat had to face the "winds" of the anxiety of being away from family and friends in a different place that I had never been before, an inferiority complex in comparison to my colleagues, and self-questioning regarding my

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[1] The Old Man and the Sea

legitimacy as an English speaker. At that time, I was interested in the English language inside the classroom, and I cannot put into words how my academic experiences since then have helped me to (re) construct the teacher I believe I will be from now on. The Masters was, without a doubt, the first massive storm my boat had to face. However, as the song says, every time my boat sank, I was able to swim.

I thought I was done with all the "waves" and "storms". I was ready to take my boat and go back home, to the calm waters of the rivers, back to the safety of the port. But I decided to apply for the Doctorate in English in order to give continuity to my studies. As expected, in my PhD studies, the "winds" became stronger and, I must confess, the "winds" of the ethnographic perspective, which had taught me that real life would never follow my research plan, almost made me drown. Nevertheless, I should have known that a smooth sea never made a skilled sailor, and my boat had to cross-unimaginable barriers.

In 2015 I had to "swim" in the waters of a different country, and I crossed the ocean to the United Kingdom. In Portsmouth, which was my harbour for ten months, I had to share experiences and to negotiate meaning with "sailors" from different backgrounds than mine. The "winds" brought me back and, in writing this dissertation, looking back at all the challenges, findings, reflections and accomplishments I have faced since I launched my boat, as the song says, I am now ready to fly.

1. WHAT THIS DISSERTATION IS ABOUT

1.1   "O PESQUISADOR PESQUISA A SUA DOR"[2]

In 2013, while attending a Master's defense presentation of one of my colleagues from the research group I took part at Federal University of Santa Catarina, in Brazil, I heard one of the members from the examining committee[3] saying something that struck me and made me wonder: "O pesquisador pesquisa a sua dor". Triggered by those words, throughout the defense presentation, I caught myself reflecting upon my own journey as a researcher, and on my own long life desire to conduct qualitative researches in English teaching/learning located in my home region, Santarém, in the state of Pará in Brazil, as not many studies on applied linguistics had investigated our linguistic, social and cultural realities.

When carrying out my Master's, in 2010, I had already investigated some English teachers of my hometown with the goal of identifying their representations about the English language and of themselves as speakers of this language. The professor's words in the defense presentation helped me to realize that my Master's research had been triggered by my own intense struggle as an English teacher, as at that time I did not consider myself a legitimate speaker of the language, although I was aware that this feeling of inferiority did not make any sense. To me, English was, at that time, a foreign language, who did not belong to me, although I made use of it almost daily.

Time went by, and due to several readings, reflections, and discussions with my teachers and colleagues, my stance regarding the English language has undergone a dramatic change, and, hence, my notions of language ownership/appropriation. English started to be understood by me as a language that was pluralistic and hybrid and I decided that I would carry out a study that echoed my current theoretical concerns. In this process of trying to outline the possible objectives of my future research, I came across a text that sparked my interest in understanding English language practices, through an ethnographic perspective.

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[2] "The researcher, in fact, researches his/her own pain"
[3] Professor Rosane Pessoa, from Universidade Federal de Góias

I decided to follow this perspective in conducting this research because ethnography adopts the position on language learning as language socialization rather than acquisition (Watson-Gegeo, 1988) as well as ethnographic fieldwork is aimed at finding out things that are often not seen as important, but belong to the implicit structures of people's life (Blommaert & Jie, 2010), two features that really motivated me as a researcher.

Although I have already read this text before, it started to make real sense to me during a conversation with Gloria Gil, one of my advisors, when I was telling her how anguished I was, since I was not confident enough regarding the issues I wanted to deal with in my PhD dissertation, as well as the data that could (or not) emerge. The text was "Shakespeare in the bush" and it is a widely known text written by an anthropologist, Laura Bohannan, in the 60's, in which she narrates her experience with the Tiv tribe, in West Africa. My advisor made me reflect, using Laura Bohannan's text as an example, that my anxiousness (just like Laura's) was giving me a narrow view of my work. Against this narrow view of data gathered, she put her argument saying that every data that I could gather would seem desirable to my study, since it was grounded on an ethnographic perspective.

Alongside with my interest in the ethnographic perspective, language as a local practice was also an issue that caught my attention in the first semester of 2013, when I was attending a class at PPGL (Pós Graduação em Línguistica), conducted by professor Maria Inez Probst Lucena (My co adviser). While reading the book "Language as a local practice" by Pennycook (2010) for a presentation, the topic interested me to a considerable extent, since it presents "a view of language as local practice whereby languages are a product of the deeply social and cultural activities in which people engage" (Pennycook, 2010, p.1). As a consequence, I started to read more about local practices in order to broaden my understanding of the construct. During the second semester of 2013, my wish to deal in depth with language as a local practice gained strength, as well as my interest in the ethnographic perspective.

After having decided the framework that I would follow as well as the context of this investigation, I started to define the key terms and then outline the principles that would guide my study. Constructs such as language and identity, language and globalization, language as social practice happening in the local, the phenomenon of the spread of the English language and its different conceptualization regarding the use people have made of it in the contemporary society, as well as the ethnographic perspective from the literature of applied linguistics

arose in my mind while I was outlining my study.

Highly influenced by theories that advocate that English practices nowadays have to be understood using a postcolonial view, I intend, in this study, to analyze what roles does English play through localized practices of this language performed by six inhabitants of Alter do Chão village, a popular tourist destination for locals and with increasing numbers of tourists, located on the banks of the Tapajós River, in the state of Pará, Brazil.

Clemente and Higgins (2008) use *postcolonial* (or postcolonialism) as a term that encompasses historical and socio-cultural dimensions. These authors argue that those who write within the discourses of postcolonialism "have attempted to shift the ways in which the social-cultural relations are composed in the globalized world" (p. 9). What also matters here, are the ideas of De Hay (2007) and Young (2003), who point out that postcolonial studies seek to change radically the way people think and behave in order to produce a more just and equitable relation between the different peoples of the world. In fact, the postcolonial scenario, the forces of globalization, the spread of the English language, the increasing mobility of people and discourses and the complexity that encompasses social practices among individuals are the backdrop of this study that seeks to address the relations of these issues.

1.2 RESEARCH QUESTION AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The central goal of this study is to investigate what happens in the context of investigation in regards to English language practices. Following the ethnographic perspective, I entered the field seeking to answer the question: "what roles does English play in Alter do Chão village, taking into consideration social practices the participants engaged to when using this language?". How the participants use and perform the English language in their local context, a contact zone where Portuguese is the mother tongue, but interactions may occur in English, and more importantly, what these practices represent to them, were of paramount importance to me. Moreover, I also intend to contemplate the three objectives of my research:

1. To unveil what sort of strategies the participants adopt in order to negotiate meaning in English.
2. To reflect upon to what extent (if any) the participants posit themselves locally towards global movements in their English language practices
3. To identify ideological significances (if any) the participants give to English language.

1.3 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE WORK

English is, definitely, the language of globalization as it has spread throughout several domains, as for instance, trade, politics, and entertainment. As expected, English has also become a means of communication in the academia. As Turunen (2012) points out, international research groups, workshops, panel discussions and the like make use of English, as well as more and more academic papers are written in English. This dissertation, also written in English, takes part in the group of works that addresses the unprecedented situation of language spread that we witness with English. More specifically, this dissertation belongs to the group of works that attempt at dealing with the forms English takes in situations of contact.

In stating the significance of this research, I put my argument that people are creative in their linguistic encounters. I also bring Canagarajah's (2008) idea that, as language finds its place in social practice, its form changes accordingly to the uses to which it is put. The

form does not govern the speakers of a language, Canagarajah (2008) complements; speakers negotiate with form, to use it for their interests. Speakers exercise their agency to populate the language with their values, meanings and intentions (Canagarajah, 2008).

I also believe, as Williams (1977) argues, that a definition of language is always, implicitly or explicitly, a definition of human beings in the world, and that social phenomena cannot be reduced to fixed forms, as "all the known complexities, the experienced tensions, shifts, and uncertainties, the intricate forms of unevenness and confusion are against the terms of the reduction and soon, by extension, against social analysis itself" (1977, p. 129). Thus, as language is a social phenomenon, a conceptualization that goes beyond a structural code is paramount, and this is going to be found throughout this research.

Moreover, if the spread of English is a well-rehearsed point, works that address English language in situations of contact are increasingly being discussed with great enthusiasm. In light of the social changes, languages cease to be seen as separate from each other, and the notion that they are "mobile resources" (Blommaert, 2010) and that they are always hybrid and mixed in linguistic performances are being increasingly discussed.

So, given the already extensive literature on the spread of the English language, why add further to it? Because I believe that this study is an attempt to bridge the gap of the need for "clearly situated qualitative studies with a strong ethnographic element" (Seidlhofer et al. 2006, p. 21). Based on the emic perspective, the data gathered of this study, together with the works that address English usage in contact situations, such as within the business community (Ehrenreich, 2010; Stark, 2010) and higher education (Shaw, Caudery & Petersen, 2010; Bjorkman, 2010), will assist in the understanding of what sort of strategies individuals adopt in their linguistic encounters. Moreover, as this study took place in a village, which means it does not encompass the classroom environment and pedagogical issues, it can be deemed as an opportunity of accommodating all theories that try to describe naturally occurring linguistic encounters in real life.

Bordini and Gimenez (2014) point out the need for more researches that highlight the Brazilian context when it comes to the English language in situated use. In a overview of Brazilian studies that address English as a global lingua franca for instance, the authors have identified a predominance of pedagogical concerns in the majority of these studies that reflect a massive gap of empirical data that accommodate the theories followed in academia, thus, English language

teacher programs "have to rely on essay based literature, which predominates in our country" (Bordini & Gimenez, 2014). Taking these authors' reflections and concerns into consideration, I am keen to emphasize that this present research envelops this massive void in the empirical investigations regarding the English language used in real life in Brazil, as well as it opens up space for new ways of theorizing communicative practices that result from the current global cultural flow. More importantly, this study is highly significant because it presents empirical data that helps to clarify how the English language is used, negotiated, appropriated and interpreted at a village in the North of Brazil, a region that does not hold many researches addressing these issues.

1.4 CHAPTERS OF THE STUDY

I have divided this study into five chapters. I have opened this dissertation using metaphors in order to tell personal stories as well as to justify the choice of the methodological approach. I also have introduced the significance of this study, the objectives and the research question, and the organization of the dissertation. In Chapter 2, I describe the methodological procedures of this research, highlighting the guiding principles related to the ethnographic perspective. I also describe the negotiation of entering the field, life in the field, the context of the investigation, as well as the participants of the study. After that, I explain the instruments and procedures for data generation and analysis. In Chapter III, I present a review on the theoretical background that serves as the backdrop of this investigation. I discuss the significant relation between language and identity in the postcolonial scenario, as well as the unquestionable presence of the English language worldwide, and the different attitudes towards this situation of language spread. I also provide an explanation regarding the terms I use in this study, when it comes to ideological significances of the English language that arose in the data. In Chapter IV, I discuss the data gathered taking into consideration the theoretical framework I chose to follow. I also present in this chapter, theoretical frameworks and issues that emerged from the data gathering and that could be considered in further studies. Finally, in Chapter V, I present my final remarks, which includes a summary of the dissertation, limitations of my study and suggestions for further research.

2. ALTER DO CHÃO É MINHA MACONDO[4]: FIRST, LET'S SET THE SCENE.

In this chapter, I present the methodological procedures that I used in order to develop my study. In doing so, I start by outlining the principle that guides my work: the ethnographic perspective. Afterwards, I describe the negotiation of entering in the field, the life in the field, the context of the investigation, as well as the participants of the study.

2.1 ETHNOGRAPHY IS ABOUT WHAT "IS"[5]: THE ETHNOGRAPHIC PERSPECTIVE

> An ethnography cannot give us a glimpse of reality that resides beyond the story told within the ethnography; the story is all. (Thomas Kent, 1993).

Ethnography is about telling social stories, argues Murthy (2008). To this author, when ethnographers come back from "the field", they, like Walter Benjamin's (1969, p.84) "storyteller"[6], have "something to tell about". In the pages that follow, I myself as astoryteller, describe the path that I traced to carry out my research. Grounded on an ethnographic perspective, this study aims at untangling the roles that the English language plays in Alter do Chão village, a popular tourist destination for locals and with increasing numbers of tourists, located on the banks of the Tapajós River, in the state of Pará, Brazil, as already described.

In choosing to follow the ethnographic perspective, I follow Watson Gegeo, who describes ethnography as the study of people's behavior in naturally occurring, ongoing settings, with a focus on the cultural interpretation of behavior (Watson Gegeo, 1988, p. 576). I also understand the "ethnographic perspective" in a similar way as Milstein, Clemente, Dantas-Whitney, Guerreiro and Higgins (2011), who,

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[4] This is going to be explained later in this chapter.

[5] Canagarajah, S. (2009).

[6] Benjamin, W. (1969). Illuminations. New York: Schocken Books.

drawing on the writings of Fabian (2007), point out that ethnography "tries to produce and represent the knowledge of the others, our interlocutors" (p.15). To these authors, ethnography is a result of interaction and ethnographers must acknowledge their interlocutors as co- producers of the work, similar to Lassiter (2005) to whom ethnography is, by definition, collaborative.

In line with Spradley (1980), I also believe that ethnography is the work of describing a culture, and that its central aim is to understand another way of life from the native point of view. In this regards, I follow Fabian (2006, p. 509), to whom "the study of other culture is possible due to the fact that there is intersubjectivity wherever human beings encounter"[7] being this intersubjectivity a result of the interaction between the researcher and her co-producers in "shared times" [8](Fabian 2006, p. 509). Still following Spradley (1980), I acknowledge that rather than studying people, ethnography means learning from people. Or, as Denzin and Lincoln (2000) suggest, the ethnographic perspective is an attempt to make sense of, or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000).

Moreover, the ethnographic perspective highlights "human meaning in social life and in its elucidation and exposition by the researcher" (Erickson, 1990, p. 77-78). According to this author, people and their worlds are paramount in the ethnographic perspective, hence, such approach has interest in interpreting cultural meanings of a certain context and group of people.

As my central goal in this study is to investigate what happens in the context of investigation in regards to English language practices, I borrow Heller's ideas (2008) that language practices have been well investigated following the ethnographic perspective, as this author points out:

> Ethnographies allow us to get at things we would otherwise never be able to discover. They allow us to see how language practices

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[7] My translation. In original: "o estudo de outras culturas é possível por haver intersubjetividade onde quer que seres humanos estejam juntos".

[8] My translation. In original: "tempos compartilhados".

are connected to the very real conditions of people's lives, to discover how and why language matters to people in their own terms, and to watch processes unfold over time. They allow us to see complexity and connections, to understand the history and geography of language. They allow us to tell a story; not someone else's history exactly, but our own story of some slice of experience, a story which illuminates social processes and generates explanations for why people do and think the things they do (Heller, 2008, p. 250).

To follow the ethnographic perspective in order to cope with language issues means, according to Lucena (2015, p.79), to hold "a culturally sensitive look, demanding from researches and participants' critical reflections about their own lives"[9]. This author goes on to argue that "the context, which encompasses political, cultural and social realities is untangled and (re) known through collaborative movements, shared and negotiated in the time and space of the research"[10] (Lucena, 2015, p. 79).

In order to try to depict such realities that are pivotal to the context of investigation, Lucena (2015) argues that researches need to have a "flexible plan", since the interpretive perspective allows the adaptation of decisions made throughout the investigation. In this regards, Fazzioni (2012) points out that while carrying out a fieldwork, it is necessary to go back and rethink the questions one had in mind before entering the field. In the same vein, Blommaert (2006) acknowledges that "fieldwork is the moment when the researcher climbs down to everyday reality and finds out that the rules of academia are not necessarily the same as those of everyday life". This being so, researchers who choose to follow the ethnographic perspective have to

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[9] My translation. In original: "um olhar culturalmente sensível, exigindo tanto de nós, pesquisadores, como dos participantes, reflexões críticas sobre a própria vida".

[10] My translation. In original: "O contexto, formado por realidades políticas, culturais e sociais, vai sendo desbravado e (re) conhecido por meio de movimentos colaborativos, divididos e negociados no tempo e espaço da pesquisa".

adapt an initially "formulated coherent research plan with questions, methods, readings and so on to the rules of everyday reality" (2006, p. 3).

At several moments of my journey, my findings echoed Mason's ideas (2002) that called the attention to the range of dimensions that may arise from an ethnographic fieldwork. According to her, these might include social actions, behavior, interactions, relationships, events, as well as spatial, locational and temporal dimensions (Mason, 2002, p. 84). Equally truly, Mason (2002) also emphasizes that experiential, emotional and bodily dimensions may also be part of the frame.

The ethnographic perspective is deemed as an interpretive approach. According to Erickson (1986), the term *interpretive* refers "to the whole family of approaches to participant observational research" (p. 119). Erickson (1986) goes on to argue that "interpretive, participant observational fieldwork has been used in the social sciences as a research method for about seventy years" (p. 120). Still according to him, "interpretive fieldwork research involves being unusually thorough and reflective in noticing and describing everyday events in the field setting, and in attempting to identify the significance of actions in the events from the various points of view of the actors themselves" (Erickson, 1986, p. 121).

Having highlighted some basic principles of the ethnographic perspective and its importance to this study, in the following section, I describe the methodological procedures that I followed for data generation.

2.2 DATA GENERATION[11]

Being the main roles of the ethnographer, to observe and to ask (Erickson, 2001, p. 13), I spent ten months living in Alter do Chão experiencing as much as I could of the lifestyle of the people with whom I was working.

Through interviews and fieldwork, which included participant

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[11] I use the term data "generation" in alliance with Garcez et al: "We use the term "generation" instead of the most used, "collection", due to the fact that we understand the social life which interests us is evanescent, thus cannot be captured by any device or recording method" (Garcez et al., 2014, p. 262). [My translation]

observation and interactions, I carried out a close analysis of situated language in use. In so doing, I followed Blommaert (2006), to whom, when carrying out a fieldwork, the researcher "observe[s] all the time. Whenever your eyes and ears are open and you are in a clear state of mind, you register things that strike you. In everyday life we don't have a word for this (we just do it); in fieldwork we call this observation" (Blommaert, 2006, p. 28).

This author goes on to argue that "you start by observing everything and gradually start focusing on specific targets. The main instruments for that are your eyes, your ears, your mouth and your notebook, and you can use visual and other recording devices in support of that" (Blommaert, 2006, p. 28). I followed his ideas and through periods of intense observation, I developed a diary where I wrote down my reflections as well as transcribed my recordings. The participant observation occurred every time I was talking with one of the participants, when I could interact with them, sharing experiences and consolidating a relationship of trust with them, as well.

The recordings also were very important in gathering data because, as Blommert (2006, p. 30) asserts, "they provide you with an archive of your own research". I had a considered amount of recordings divided into two categories, "interviews" and "talks", which were random conversations/ interactions that the participants engaged with me or with others interlocutors.

 In addition, as this author pointed out, "recordings made in the beginning of fieldwork will be different from recordings made at a more advanced stage of your work, the reason being that your gaze has shifted towards more specific topics and events" (Blommaert, 2006, p. 30) and that was exactly what happened during the work in the field.

The interviews were conducted with the participants and with other villargers of Alter do Chão, providing an account for the roles of the English language in the village. These "other villagers" were the participants' families, co-workers, and friends, who helped me to understand deeper the journey the six participants have traced in using the English language in Alter do Chão. In a way, interviews echoed Blommaert's (2006) ideas that "1. interviews are conversations 2. you are part of the interview 3. the importance of anecdotes in interviews 4. there is no such thing as a bad interview" (2006, p. 39).

In fact, the interviews were conducted as conversations; in a way that the participants felt free to discuss what they thought was remarkable for them in regards to English practices in Alter do Chão. Once again, I acted in accordance with Blommaert (2006), in his claim

that "a conversation is *not an interrogation*. It is talk between people on a variety of topics. I emphasise *topics*, not *questions*, because not all there is to be found out can be found out by *asking*" (Blommaert, 2006, p. 41). I had in mind that, during the interviews, I would co-construct the conversation, which I did, but always respecting turns and participants' voices.

Also, when referring to anecdotes, I mean "features of ordinary conversations and one of the well-known features of that is *narrative*" (Blommaert, 2006, p. 46). The participants, during the interviews, shared with me their narratives, and this was very important in outlining the roles they assigned to English. As Blommaert (2006) points out, "in narratives, people produce very complex sociocultural meanings. It is through an anecdote that we see what exactly they understand by a particular term, how our questions resonate in their own life worlds, how relevant it is, how their own life worlds are structured, what influences they articulate" (2006, p. 47).

In January 2014, I moved to Alter do Chão and started to undertake this research. It was the rainy season, and I could get to know the other side of the village. If before I only visited Alter do Chão as a tourist, in the dry season, now I was living in a calm place, since it only gets busy when the beach is not flooded. I had no idea how different the place can be in the two seasons of the year. As soon as I arrived, I talked to some people and I exposed the reason why I was moving to the village. These people were the district agent of the community and the vice president of one of the two folkloric groups in the village.

I was very welcomed by them who even indicated me some people who could be possible participants in this research.Ed, the vice president of Boto Tucuxi[12] and I have been friends since we graduated in Portuguese language in Santarém. He was a Portuguese teacher at the school in the village but he was an English teacher in Alter do Chão for a short time as well. In our first conversation, Ed suggested to introduce me to Ursula Iguaran, because, in his words: "she had already lived in England, maybe she could help" (informal talk with Ed, January 2014)[13] .

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[12] Boto Tucuxi and Boto Cor de Rosa are the two folkloric groups of Alter do Chão village.

[13] All the informal talks in this dissertation were conducted in

He also suggested that I introduced myself firstas an English teacher and not as a researcher, because "people here are used to grant interviews regarding the village itself, not regarding themselves" (field note, January 2014).In my understanding, that was the first linguistic identity issue that I faced in this study. Ed brought to our conversation a deep rooted representation that living in a country where English is the mothertongue is something very important and primordial to a non-native English speaker/ teacher[14] . Similar to other studies in Brazil, as for instance, Rossi (2004), Sousa Fernandes (2006), Marques (2007), and even my MA thesis, where I drew on representations of English teachers in Santarém, there is an overvaluation of native speakers in Ed's talk.

When suggesting to me that I should talk to Ursula because, in his own words, "she had already lived in England, maybe she could help", Ed perpetuates the belief that the foreign country is the ideal place where the effective learning may occur (Marques, 2007). As Basso (2006) argues, there is the belief that being immerse in language/culture of the other, is like having the feeling that fears, insecurities and inferiority complexes would be minimized (p. 73).

I followed his advice and, in my first approaches when meeting new people, I presented myself as an English teacher who was living in Alter do Chão. This led to many questions such as "are you going to open a course in here?", "could you give me classes?", "and how much would you charge to teach me English?" There was the interest in learning the language, although Ed advised me "It is only at the beginning. After some days they start to skip classes" (informal talk with Ed, January 2014), echoing some situations that already happened in the village, where English teachers from different places started classes without finishing with a significant number of students. In order to cease any misunderstanding regarding my role in the village, I then decided to introduce myself as a researcher and I started to explain my study to possible participants in the first encounter, and the majority of them were welcoming to the idea and willing to help.

Portuguese; I translated them into English in order to facilitate the reading.

[14] I refer non-native English teachers here because he was an English teacher before, as I have already pointed out.

I was an outsider, and, obviously, I could not predict how the inhabitants would see me in their local context. The process of "being together" with other people is not always an easy process, and, at the very beginning of my journey, I was very concerned about the conflicts that could arise, such as different political or social views. My feelings at that time resembled Blommaert's (2006) words:

> It is a scary thing, isn't it: the idea of being alone 'in the field', trying to accomplish a task initially formulated as a perfectly coherent research plan with questions, methods, readings and so on – and finding out that the 'field' is a chaotic, hugely complex place (Blommaert, 2006, p. 3).

Erickson (1984) claims that the researcher, when entering in the field, also brings with him/her, different social and cultural identities, in a way that his/her way of seeing things cannot be deemed neutral. In fact, I add that I believe this approach helps researchers to be more tolerant towards views, beliefs and behaviors that were widely different from his/her own. The attempt to see the world through other people's eyes is definitely an exercise of open mindedness.

While I was taking my first steps in this ethnographic perspective study, several afternoons and evenings I went to the center of the village, attempting at developing close relations with possible participants in my study. I arrived in the fieldwork as an outsider[15], which means I had limited knowledge of the people, the ordinary patterns of everyday conduct, and culture of the place. It took me a while to realize that, to be recognized as a member of the community, I would rather be patient and try to experience their lifestyle.

This being so, I bought a bicycle to get around the village as the participants used to do. I started to go to "Mãe Natureza" bar to watch players and dancers of carimbó, the regional dance of Pará state on Thursday nights. I also volunteered in a non-governmental organization called "Vila Viva" in order to help the teacher to take

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[15] Although I am from Pará, I have never lived in Alter do Chão village before.

care of twelve children[16]. In addition, at the time there was a huge number of tourists in the village in the dry season, I was always around in order to help inhabitants to communicate with guests (if necessary, as I was highly interested in the inhabitants'own styles of using the language). As I began to meet people, I became more comfortable with my study and with my role in the community and as a researcher, as well.

During the rainy season, I established close relations with the participants. I visited their houses, met their families and shared with them personal experiences. As time passed by, we established a relation of trust and rapport in the fieldwork, which led to critical reflections and valid insights they shared with me, corroborating Erickson's (1986) ideas that trust and rapport in fieldwork are not simply a matter of niceness because:

> (…) a no coercive, mutually rewarding relationship with key informants is essential if the researcher is to gain valid insights into the informant's point of view. Since gaining a sense of the perspective of the informant is crucial to the success of the research enterprise, it is necessary to establish trust and to maintain it throughout the course of the study (Erickson, 1986, p. 142)

I tried to conduct a close observation with all the participants in their local context, this being so, under previous permission, I used to spend the afternoons at Ursula's tour agency, at Remedios' sweet shop, and even at Melquíades', Jose Arcadio' s, Fernanda's and Pilar's homes. In order to gather my data, I used to carry with me a voice recorder, my tablet, and a notebook. I was always with these materials with me, as in the field we have to be ready to take part in social practices in real life.

I consider that all the methodological procedures aforementioned were relevant to this study, and suit the requirements when it comes to conducting an ethnographic perspective research. Besides, they allowed me to have a broader view of the context of the investigation, encompassing its social, economic and political dimensions, since some participants were keen to emphasize that

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[16] All children were inhabitants of the village, from three to six years old.

English had also a political role in the village, as will become clear in the data analysis chapter.

Ultimately, I am keen to agree with Whyte (1996, p. 11), who points out that "the researcher has a role to play, and he has his own personality needs that must be met in some degree if he is to function successfully". To this author, a real explanation, then, of how the research was done necessarily involves a rather personal account of how the researcher lived during the period of the study. Following his ideas, I am quite pleased to keep a more personal tone in telling the experiences I lived while carrying out this study.

Having presented a description of the methodological procedures used in conducting the research, in the next section I describe this study's scenario, the Alter do Chão village.

2.3 "EM ALTER DO CHÃO NÃO SE SENTE DOR, TEM UM POVO POBRE, MAS ACOLHEDOR"[17]

Known as "Amazonian Caribbean", Alter do Chão village is located at 34 kilometers from downtown Santarém, the most important town on the Amazon between Belém, some 970 km (600 miles) downriver to the east, and Manaus about 725 km (450 miles) upstream to the west. The village, currently, holds a population of almost 8.000 inhabitants, being most of them descendants of the Borari people who are also descendants of the Tupaius and Munduruku people, the first inhabitants of the   Tapajós basin[18]

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[17] Short sample of a very famous song from Alter do Chão that means: "In Alter do Chão one does not feel pain. Its people is poor, but friendly"

[18] Information taken from tour agencies located in Santarém.

Figure 1: *Alter do Chão map (Source: notapajos.com.br)*

The history of Alter do Chão village is similar to other places that have had their history shaped by the experience of colonialism. A Portuguese explorer called Pedro Teixeira founded[19] the village in 1626[20]. The traveler's nationality explains the etymology of the name of the village: Alter do Chão is also the name of a city in Portugal. Similar to other places in Brazil, the priests of the Society of Jesus, more commonly known as Jesuits[21] established a mission in

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[19] Although I use the word "found" as it is how the history is written, I hold dearly to the view that a whole tribe of Borari people already lived in the village before the Portuguese explores arrived.

[20]Information given by inhabitants from Alter do Chão.

[21] Beginning in 1609, the Jesuits established an extensive chain of missions in the borderlands of Paraguay, Argentina, and Brazil. The Jesuit missions, also known as reducciones, were by all accounts the most successful group of missions established on the fringes of Spanish America, and at their height in the early 1730s had a population of as many as 140,000 Guarani. The basis for the mission economy was the

Alter do Chão village. In 1659, Priest Antônio Vieira reached the Aldeia Borari, how Alter do Chão was first called, and established a settlement.

This settlement in Aldeia Borari was similar to the others, - autonomous, self- sufficient indigenous community, with two Jesuit priests at its head and assisted by a council of eight to twelve native leaders (known as a cabildo) who met on a daily basis to monitor the progress of the town and its inhabitants. Usually two priests were assigned to each settlement. One was in charge of the "care of souls", catechetical instruction, and the liturgy. The other was in charge of corporal matters: communal goods, land, and workshops[22]

In 1900, during the rubber boom[23], Alter do Chão was raised to the category of village. From the 1990s to the present day, Alter do Chão focuses on tourism to evolve economically. The village is, currently, one of the most visited places in Pará, being these visitors, people who come from all over the world.

To those who come from outside the village, Alter do Chão has many natural enchants. The "Ilha do amor", for instance, is one of the postcards of the village. This white sand bank is located in front of the village and the visitors can get there by using the "catracas", which are small boats with oars, guided by the "catraieiros", most of them natives from the village. In November, the apex of the low-water season, the Ilha do Amor can easily be reached on foot. On the island itself, there are a number of beach shacks serving fish dishes and cold drinks.

As the other parts of the Amazon region, Alter do Chão also is subject to the two seasons of the year, the rainy season and the dry

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division between communal production and production by each Guarani family. (Retrieved March 6, 2014, from www.h-net.org/~latam/powerpoints/JesuitsMission.pdf).

[22]Retrieved on March 6, 2014, from www.chiquitania.com/missions_history.

[23] According to Weinstein (1983), rubber production in the Amazon "took off" in response to increased overseas demand for raw rubber at a time when the Amazon was the world's sole supplier. Still according to this author, the rubber boom is one of a series of boom-bust cycles that took place in the Brazilian economic history.

season. Consequently, from December to May (rainy season), the beach that surrounds the village, as well as the "Ilha do Amor", disappear. During the wet season, the rainfall limits many activities. The inhabitants who work at the beach shacks or selling handicrafts, for instance, have to seek for other financial possibilities. However, the job market at the village, during the rainy season, is limited.

From June onwards, the rains start to cease and the river diminishes in volume, allowing inhabitants and visitors to see the island, as well as the beach again. At the dry season, the inhabitants of the village start to focus on tourism. Many tours to visit the village and nearby communities are available. One of the most popular trips among tourists is the river tour, which allows people to visit the culturally dynamic communities within a few hours of Alter do Chão. There is an abundance of wildlife nearby, from monkeys to botos, the famous pink river dolphins.

Figure 2: "Ilha do Amor" in *Alter do Chão in the apex of the dry season. Picture: Gil Serique*

Figure 3: "*Ilha do amor" in Alter do Chão in the apex of the rainy season. Picture: Gil Serique.*

Departing from Alter do Chão, people can also go on boat trips down the Igarapés (river inlets), and to the beach of Pindobal (excellent for swimming and fish dishes at tables set out along the sand and in the water). It is also possible to visit the Floresta Nacional do Tapajós (a well-preserved area of original forest) and Belterra, the all-American town founded by Henry Ford in 1933 to produce rubber[24]. These small trips can be found in the tour agencies settled in the village, and they offer tour guides who speak English and, sometimes, German.

In addition, in Alter do Chão village a very famous festival entitled "Sairé" happens in the second week of September, which calls the attention of many tourists from all over the places. The festival is the most ancient cultural and popular manifestation in the Amazon, dating back more than 300 years. Its origin retraces to the times of the Jesuits missions among the Indians.

[24] Information taken from: http://www.hiddenpousadasbrazil.com/

According to the histories told byancient inhabitants of the village, the festival was created by the Indians as a way to homage the Portuguese who colonized the "médio e baixo Amazonas"[25]. Since the Portuguese arrived in the village displaying their shields, the Boraris started to make their own shield, called by them "Çairé", which is, until today, taken by the ancients during the "procissões"[26]which happens throughout the religious manifestation of the festival.

Figure 4: *Religious manifestation with the shield of Sairé in Sairé festival in 2014. picture*

Currently, besides the religious part of the festival, a

[25] The territory "Baixo Amazonas" in Pará is a region that holds 317.273,50 Km², and encompasses twelve cities: Alenquer, Almeirim, Belterra, Curuá, Faro, Juruti, Monte Alegre, Óbidos, Oriximiná, Prainha, Santarém e Terra Santa. Source of the information: www.territoriosdacidadania.gov.br.

[26] Religious processions, very common in Catholic places.

"profane" and cultural manifestation also happens. It is the dispute of the "botos". Among carimbó[27]dancers, and other fifteen allegorical figures, such as "Rainha do Sairé", "Rainha do LagoVerde", "Rainha do Artesanato", "Boto Homem" and "Cabloca Borari", the two "botos", "Boto cor de rosa" and "Boto Tucuxi", enchant locals and tourists while performing one of the most important myths that make part of every "amazônida"[28]: the legend (and seduction) of the "boto"[29]Similar to other popular festivals that occurs in many parts of Brazil, the dispute happens between the two "botos" and among the items that both have to present. A jury committee evaluates every allegorical figure, and after three days of the festival, the champion is announced.

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[27] Carimbó is the regional music and dance of Pará state.

[28] Amazônida is how people who born or live in Amazônia are called.

[29] The legend of the boto, told by the ancient people (mostly "ribeirinhos, the ones who live in communities scattered along the rivers in the Amazon), tells the history of the boto who, in nights of full moon, become a very handsome man and seeks to night-time parties, which are very common in the "comunidades ribeirinhas". Like a gentleman, he flirts, enchanting the first pretty, young woman he sees, and takes her down to the river. Nine months later, the girl deliveries a baby and every person in the community is absolutely sure the father is the boto.

Figure 5: *Sairé festival in Alter do Chão. My picture*

Figure 6 : *Sairé Festival. Picture: Miciê Braga*

Figure 7: *Carimbó dancers perform to a group of tourists in the village. My picture.*

Though much is said about the natural enchants of the village, it also encompasses a set of deep-rooted social problems in Brazilian society, such as limited employment possibilities for those in the popular classes, poverty, lack of education[30], crime, lack of infrastructure, and shortage of housing. The access to the internet is possible in the main square, located in the center of the village, which has a wireless free zone, and through mobile phones. In the village, there are no hospitals, only a small health centre, which works 24 hours a day, where the village can make use of basic health care assistance.

Throughout my sojourn in the village, I could notice that there are a large number of people who are not originally from Alter do Chão living there. There are even people from abroad (mostly from South American and European countries). It certainly must not be missed that the most beautiful houses, the biggest stores and the nicest restaurants are all from people who are not from Alter do Chão. Their owners are from nearby cities, from other regions in Brazil and from other countries.

For natives, the life in Alter do Chão is simple. The majority of inhabitants get around the village riding bicycles. There are plenty of small grocery stores (called "mini box", or "mini center" named and spelled in English), where one can find almost everything. It is noteworthy that the prices of groceries in the village are higher than in Santarém, for instance, which led people to head to Santarém in order to find lower prices and more variety. This road trip lasts one hour in average. There is only one bus line, and the buses are, most of the times, full of students who enrolled in private or public schools located in Santarém. Despite the fact that there is one school in the village where people can attend classes until high school, it can be easily perceived that many students go to Santarém in order to pursuit education. The bus route encompasses all the Universities in Santarém, allowing students to attend classes in Santarém and come back home in safety.

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[30] Recent researches point out that, when it comes to Education, Pará holds the 26th place in comparison to the other states in Brazil.

Figure 8: *Mini Center at the main square in Alter do Chão village. My picture.*

Figure 9: *"Borari Art's"- English in the scenes. My picture.*

Figure 10: *"Pasta "and "Italian restaurant"- English in the scenes. My picture*

As many inhabitants live in neighborhoods that are far from the village center, they have to face some difficulties regarding the lack of infrastructure in the streets, since they are not paved. This is to say that, on sunny days, there is dust and it is quite hard to keep the house clean. On the other hand, on rainy days, there is clay and mud on the streets. Still regarding the infrastructure, the household waste disposal service does not occur in some neighborhoods.

Having presented the context of investigation, in the following section I introduce the main participants of this study.

2.4 "CHOOSE A GOOD NAME, TELL A GOOD STORY, SHOW US TO THE WORLD"[31]

Since the very beginning of the data gathering, in alliance with all participants, I decided to make use of pseudonymous. This decision was an outcome of our discussions, when they portrayed the concern: "but, are you going to put my name?" With this in mind, I chose to use pseudonymous, as a way of not make them uncomfortable. At first, I asked them to choose any pseudonym they wanted; however, most of them were keen to emphasize that I, as a researcher should choose the names. Although they let me free to pick any name I wanted, they always asked me to try to tell a good history of them. This being so, I started to think about characters of good stories I have read myself, since a random choice was not an interesting option to me.

During this process of finding pseudonymous, I reminded myself of a conversation that I had with a friend in Alter do Chão village some years ago. Both of us were not living in Santarém[32] anymore, but we used to meet each other at the end of each year in our hometown. After a fun weekend we had in the village, he made a comment regarding Alter do Chão making an interesting analogy with one of our favourite books: "Alter do Chão is my Macondo".

Macondo is a fictional town described in the book "One Hundred Years of Solitude", written by the Colombian author Gabriel García Marquéz. First published in 1967, One Hundred Years of Solitude is the history of the isolated town of Macondo and of the family who founds it, the Buendías. For years, the town has no contact with the outside world, except for gypsies who occasionally visit, peddling technologies like ice and telescopes. Gradually, the village loses its innocence, solitary state when it establishes contact

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[31] Excerpt taken from an informal talk with one of the participants that occurred when I was asking which pseudonym to use when referring to her. In original: "ah, escolhe tu um bom nome…conta uma história boa da gente, mostra a gente pro mundo".

[32] As explained before, Alter do Chão village is very close to Santarém, my hometown, thus, is quite common for "Santarenos" to go to the village on weekends.

with other towns in the region. Macondo changes from an idyllic, magical, and sheltered place to a town irrevocably connected to the outside world through the notoriety of Colonel Buendía[33]

At that time, I found this comparison very interesting and thus, when this remembrance emerged, I decided to depict participants with names of characters of one of my favorite stories ever told. It should be made very clear, however, that I have no intentions to compare my study to the book or my participants to the characters; rather, it was the inspiration adopted to name the participants.

In the following subsection, I present portraits of the individuals who shared with me their stories, memories, experiences and feelings regarding English language throughout my stay in Alter do Chão village.

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[33] Retrieved from www.sparksnotes.com/lit/solitude.

2.4.1 "Things have a life of their own"[34]

This tale started when I was introduced to Ursula by Ed, the vice president of one of the folkloric groups of the village and my friend from my former graduation. As I stated before, after I explained to him the goals of my research, he told me that Ursula had already lived in England, thus, he believed she would help me as a participant. Since the first day we met, Ursula showed an interest in being a participant of my study, stating that it was a good opportunity, in her words, to show that, in the middle of the Amazon, people could speak a language that the entire world understands.

To be honest, my relationship with Ursula went beyond the relation between a researcher and her interlocutor as we were able to develop a relationship of friendship and trust, throughout my sojourn in the village. She was always open to my questions, and my presence in her tour agency was very welcomed anytime. I visited her house and met her history, her family and her experiences when it comes to the use of English language.

Ursula, a 41-year-old very friendly woman, was single and with no children. She lived in a bedroom behind her tour agency, but, in the same backyard, there is her parents[35]'s house, where three siblings live currently. She told me that her older sister was married to a man from England, and that was the reason why she went to visit that country three times. However, her first contact with the English language occurred earlier, as she told me:

> Eu nasci e me criei aqui né, em Alter do Chão. Quando eu era criança, ainda adolescente, [Alter do Chão] já era bastante visitada por turistas americanos, e a gente tinha essa cultura de ir pra praça, vender artesanato, a mamãe era uma artesã também, e como culturalmente as mães trabalham e levam

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[34] It is a quote from the book "One Hundred Years of Solitude". I use it in here as a metaphor to illustrate the unique personality of each participant.

[35] Both had already passed away.

> toda a cambadinha[36][@@@]. Ela fazia artesanato e a gente ia, acompanhava, já fomos crescendo nessa atividade turística naturalmente (Ursula, interview, September, 2014).

Due to her interest and facility in learning the language, her mother paid her an English school in Santarém. Although it was expensive and beyond the income of the family, Ursula affirmed that her mother believed that speaking English was a matter of survival, since it could improve their financial situation. She also studied at home, when her mother could not afford the tuitions. Currently, the majority of her family works on the tourism field, they own a bar at the beach, which sells regional food and beverages, and also they make regional sweets to sell.

Ursula went to England and lived there for one year. This experience was remarkable to her, in the sense that she believed that it helped her to improve the language. This can be seen in the excerpt below:

> Cada dia eu aprendia mais. E o vocabulário, que cresceu muito. Então essa é uma coisa chave, né? Que a gente morando fora pega muito vocabulário, cresce rapidamente, desenvolve muito rápido (Ursula, interview, September 2014)[37]

It is interesting how, similar to Ed, in her talk above, Ursula also echoes the deep rooted belief that living in a country where English is spoken as a mother tongue is the perfect atmosphere for learners to appropriate the language. However, in the same interview, she seems to question this idea[38], claiming that:

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[36] In Pará state, when a family has many children (Ursula has ten siblings), it is common to refer to them as "cambadinha", a metaphor for schools of fish.

[37] I learned more and more every day. My vocabulary has improved. It is a key thing, when you live abroad, your vocabulary improves, and it develops very quickly.

[38] Ursula's ideas are going to be better explored in Chapter 4.

> Quando eu tô falando com britânicos, por exemplo, aí eles puxam pro lado deles, "ah, então você fala bem porque morou na Inglaterra", é engraçado que até hoje eles acham que o inglês deles é o melhor, né?[39] (Ursula, interview, September 2014).

When she returned to Brazil, with the money she saved whilst working in restaurants in England, Ursula opened a tour agency in Alter do Chão. It was in her agency that I witnessed some interactions between her and her clients; most of them speakers of English as a Lingua Franca. English as a Lingua Franca, which means a language that serves as the means of communication between speakers of different first languages, is a very important concept in this dissertation and it will be properly adressed in Chapter 3.

Ursula never felt uncomfortable with my presence in the agency; on the contrary, she always tried to carry on a conversation in English so I could identify her own styles of using this language. In fact, she was a confident English speaker, who used to tell jokes and be linguistically creative when talking to her clients.

Being able to speak and understand the English language gives to Ursula a sense of self-accomplishment, as well as it is a source of financial improvement, as can be seen in her reflection below:

> Aqui em Alter do Chão precisa de mais gente falando... pra gente mesmo, sabe? Pra nossa economia, pra gente que mora aqui ganhar dinheiro. Pra mim junta os dois, eu tenho uma satisfação pessoal em falar, mas também gosto do aspecto financeiro[40] (Úrsula, Interview, September 2014).

Ursula majored in Portuguese Language, and currently she is

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[39] When I am talking to British people, they say "you speak well because you have lived in England". It is funny that until nowadays they think their English is the best.

[40] In Alter do Chão, we need more people speaking English. To our economy… to earn money for ourselves. To me, to speak the language is a personal accomplishment, but I also like the financial aspect.

attending a postgraduate course in teaching of Portuguese and English languages. She wants to be an English teacher, mainly because she likes the language, but also because, in her own words, "Conhecimento é compartilhar...a gente se sente útil" [41](Ursula, interview, September, 2014).

Although Ursula seems to believe that English belongs to certain nations as she pointed out that "it is a key thing, when you live abroad, your vocabulary improves, and it develops very quickly", at the same time she questions the idea that British English is the variation every speaker must aspire to. Due to her future- teacher identity, she also believed that we have to share knowledge, and because she believed in that, she had taught some English classes for children in Alter do Chão some years ago. According to her, some of her formers students are now English teachers in English courses in Santarém.

When I asked Ursula whether she knew someone who could help me to understand language practices regarding the use of English in Alter do Chão, she told me about Remedios. According to her, Remedios was a very smart girl who worked at the main square and who could talk in English to the tourists. One afternoon she showed me Remedios's sweet shop and then I approached her, first as someone who wanted to buy some regional sweets, and, as she was alone in the shop, I started to have a conversation with her.

Despite the fact I did not recognize her since the beginning; I have known Remedios for a long time. I first met her in 2000 when she was 8 years old, in her grandmother's house in Alter do Chão village as in 2000 I was starting to use the English language in the context of this investigation, helping the tour guides in Santarém and in Alter do Chão with their duties. In her grandmother's house, her family used to prepare exhibitions for the visitors from all over the world who arrived in Alter do Chão village in transatlantic cruise ships. The main goal of the exhibitions, in Remedios' words, was to let the visitors "know and try many things that are part of our daily lives (Amazonian inhabitants), just like caipirinha[42], açaí[43], fried fish

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[41] Knowledge is sharing. We feel useful.

[42] Caipirinha is Brazil's national cocktail, made with cachaça, sugar and lime. Cachaça is Brazil's most common distilled alcoholic beverage (Source: Wikipedia)

underground, fried banana, tapioca[44], sugar cane and latex[45]” (field notes, June 2014).

Although I met Ursula first, Remedios was the first person I approached on my own, with some questions of a possible interview in mind, because Ursula had warned me to meet people first and afterwards to conduct an interview with her, as she had already agreed in having me in her tour agency in order to gather data. When I first approached Remedios, it was the very beginning of the data gathering and I was a little uncomfortable and still trying to get used to the situation of living in the field. However, she was a very friendly, lively and extroverted young girl who kept smiling at me every time I went to the main square, where the sweet shop she works is located. She told me later on that she had recognized me since the first day I arrived.

As the majority of the participants, she was born and raised in Alter do Chão village and thus she has an indigenous heritage of which she was very proud. At the time of the data gathering, she was 22 years old, single, without children, and she worked at the sweet shop that her family owned. Remedios always liked to point out that, although when I met her at the exhibitions she was at her biological father’s family house, she is currently only close to her mother’s family, and that she considered her grandfather her true father.

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[43] Açaí is a berry that grows on palm trees in the Brazilian rainforests. Because it is rich in nutrients, it is used to make energy drinks (Definition: Dictionary.com). In the Amazon region, it is usually consumed with sugar and tapioca or with salt and fried fish.

[44] Tapioca is a starchy substance in the form of hard white grains, obtained from cassava and used in cookery for puddings and other dishes (Definition: Oxforddictionaries.com). It is very common for Amazon inhabitants to eat tapioca in their breakfast instead of bread.

[45] In original: “(...) era pra eles conhecerem e experimentar as coisas que fazem parte da gente, né, donosso dia a dia, tipo caipirinha, açaí, peixe assado debaixo da terra, banana frita, tapioca, cana de açúcar e látex”.

According to Remedios, her family has a limited, but adequate income. She lives with her cousin, but her mother, her younger sister and her grandparents live at the same backyard, although at a different house. All of them were involved in making regional sweets in order to sell to visitors and inhabitants of the village. Despite the fact that she claimed she was not very close to her father's family, she told me she had two aunts, her biological father' sisters, who currently live in Switzerland. Both of them are married to men from that country that they met at Alter do Chão village some years ago, being one of these aunts someone she really misses.

It is noteworthy that she told me about her aunts who live abroad as soon as she started to see her currently husband, a young man from Finland, that she met at the sweet shop in August 2014. In her own words: "people are going to say that I want to be like them (my aunts), but I don't care. It was not on purpose, just happened[46]" (my field diary, August 2014). Remedios and her boyfriend used to communicate in English. When he had to go back to Finland, they kept in touch through the internet, always using English as a means of communication[47].

At first, I did not expect Remedios to be a participant of this study because at the very beginning of the data gathering, she categorically asserted that she did not know how to speak English. Interestingly, she made this assertion using this language, in her words: "I don't speak English, I understand [English]" (field diary, June 2014). At this moment, Remedios's talks echo Blommaert (2010) ideas regarding voice. To this author, "voice stands for the way in which people manage to make themselves understood or fail to do so" (2010, p. 4). When she claims "she does not speak, but understands" the language, Remedios denies her voice as a speaker,

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[46] In original: "vão começar a falar, dizer que quero ser como elas (minhas tias), mas olha, eu não ligo. Eu nem queria, não foi de propósito. Aconteceu, só"

[47] Remedios managed to come to Europe in 2015 in order to stay with her boyfriend in Finland for three months. During my stay in the UK, we met each other in Norway and she told me they had plans to be engaged. They still use English as the main means of communication, although he is learning Portuguese, too. Currently the couple is married and they live in Finland.

as Blommaert (2010) has suggested:

> (People) have to draw upon and deploy discursive means which they have at their disposal, and they have to use them in contexts that are specified as to conditions of use. Consequently, if these conditions are not met, people 'don't make sense' -- they fail to make themselves understood -- and the actual reasons for this are manifold (Blommaert, 2010, p. 5).

Remedios believed that she did not make sense when talking in English as she mentioned it to me many times. However, Remedios was always at the sweet shop, in the main centre of the village, interacting with clients, most of them visitors of the village and I started to notice that, when the visitor did not speak Portuguese, she tried to carry on a conversation in English, in most cases being able to understand and be understood. As she warmed to the idea of being a participant in this study and grew more comfortable in talking in English in front of me, I could identify her English practices together with her clients or her foreigner friends.

Undoubtedly, Remedios was the participant of this study who most shared with me her personal experiences, representations and feelings towards the English language. I have a significant amount of talks and even reflections she made regarding herself as being an English speaker. As stated before, she has been in contact with the English language since she was a child, at her grandmother's house. In terms of formal education, Remedios studied most of her life in public schools, where she started having English classes. She tried to apply to the University sometimes after finished school, but she did not succeed in passing the entrance exams, so she decided to work and attend to training courses in order to try the entrance exams again. When she was 15, she got a scholarship to study at a private English school in Santarem, which, according to her, helped to develop her interest and abilities in English, as she states[48]:

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[48] In order to preserve the voice of the participants, I present the dialogues in original. A translation is provided in footnotes.

Na verdade, eu ganhei uma bolsa de um cursinho pra estudar lá no Iespes. Escolheram os melhores alunos da escola, aí eu fui. Era muito legal, ali eu percebi que podia falar inglês de verdade. Quando a professora falava e eu entendia era legal demais! Só que durou um ano e a professora foi embora. Era três vezes na semana. Aí o que eu aprendi fui treinando sozinha. E também com os gringos, né? Assim como tu tá vendo, misturando tudo".[49] (field notes, April 2014)

In her talk above, Remedios pointed out that, in order to understand and being understood by her interlocutors, she used to mix English and Portuguese in the same sentence. Actually, it was a very common practice in Remedios' interactions and in all these interactions, English and Portuguese seemed not to be two different codes, as it is going to be clear on Chapter 4.

It is interesting that how, once again, she locates herself as a receptor, when she claims, "When the teacher talked and I was able to understand, it was so nice!". It seems like the voice in English is always from someone else (in this specific case, from her teacher), not hers. Remedios did hold this fear of not being "perfect" and "adequate", as can be seen in another situation, where she was discussing why she did not enjoy talking only in English with some friends, claiming, using English and Portuguese, that: "the problem is people **querem** que **você** speak perfect" (field notes, June 2014). This conversation is going to be discussed in Chapter 4, as an instance of English as a lingua franca interaction, a social practice that was very common in Remedios's attitudes towards English.

Because she did not consider, at the beginning of this study,

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[49] In fact, I got a scholarship to study at an English course in Santarém. They chose the best English students at my school and I was one of them. It was very nice, at that point, I realised my understanding and ability to speak English was good enough. When the teacher talked and I was able to understand, it was so nice! However, this course only lasted a year, because the teacher had to go away. From there I started to learn and practice English by myself. In addition, I practiced with the *"gringos"*. Just the way you can see here, mixing (Portuguese and English) everything (Taken from my field diary, 2014).

that she could be a participant, as she did not see herself at that time as a legitimated English speaker, Remedios tried to helped me in another way. She started to think about inhabitants of the village that, in her understanding, could be participants in this research. She mentioned Pilar, a tour guide that lived in Alter do Chão.

Actually, Remedios was not the first person to tell me that Pilar was "a very good English speaker". Since I started to know more people in the field, everybody who knew that I had the interest in meeting people who spoke English in Alter do Chão village used to tell me to talk to Pilar. She was known in the village as a good tour guide and a person who was connected with social and political movements in the Amazon region. Pilar, in fact, was a quite interesting and assertive young woman. She was 27 years old, married without children. From a lower-middle class family, she and her husband lived in her mother's house; however, they have built a kitchen and a bathroom in their bedroom, as a way of having more privacy.

As she really enjoyed her job, she did not think about having children, which, according to her, was very unusual for women at the village. Her older sister, who is married to a French man and currently lives in Oceania, seems to be a role model for her, since Pilar pointed out that she used to admire the fact that her sister could speak English, as can be seen in the excerpt below:

> Minha irmã mais velha falava [inglês], então eu ficava com aquela inveja branca, sabe? De querer estar falando, entender[50] (Pilar, interview, August 2014).

She majored in environmental management and she was a tour guide trained to take group of visitors to walk through the forest that surrounds the Tapajós River, spending, according to her, at least three days inside the forest. Most of these visitors were speakers of other languages, thus she used English as a lingua franca in order to negotiate meaning with them. As can be seen in the review of the literature, this paradigm has emerged from the necessity to devote attention to contexts where English is mainly used as an international language (Saraceni, 2010, p. 84). Thus, ELF can be described as a

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[50] My older sister spoke English, (...) so I wanted to speak, to understand.

"language that serves as the means of communication between speakers of different first languages, a language with no native speakers" (Seidlhofer, 2001, p. 146), suiting Pilar's practices as an English speaker.

During our first talk, I noticed that Pilar was the most politically knowledgeable and active participant in this study. As the majority of the inhabitants in the village, she had an indigenous heritage, as her family was descendant from the first inhabitants of the village, and this was not only something she was proud of but also her strongest identity location. Pilar also told me that she would like to speak the language of her ancestors, as a way of paying homage to them.

Formally, she started learning English at public schools she attended; however, as she reported in her interview, her appreciation for the English language arose when she was a child, as can be seen in the excerpt below:

> Então, desde criança, muito, muito nova eu já me interessava na língua inglesa, era especial na língua inglesa, parecia que não tinha outra que eu tinha que aprender. E pra eu aprender eu via que eu gostava muito (Pilar, interview, August 2014). [51]

In her childhood, she developed an emotional attachment to English, when she discovered songs and movies in this language, and, according to her, she tried to "imitate the way some actors talk" (Pilar, interview, August 2014). When I asked some examples of actors she liked, she cited names of famous actors from movies produced in some speaking countries, for instance, in the United States and England. She also liked to sing in English, although, in her words "I didn't understand, but I knew how to sing" (interview, August 2014). During her teen years, her most memorable experience

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[51] Since I was very young, I have been interested in English language, a special interest. It seemed that there was not any other language to learn. I noticed that I appreciated the language very much (Pilar, interview, August 2014).

regarding English language occurred, as shown in the following excerpt from her interview:

> E como eu gostava muito eu ficava cantarolando sempre as músicas em inglês por aí. E uma vez eu tava ajudando um artista de Santarém que tava fazendo um trabalho aqui em Alter do Chão, na igreja e eu me voluntariei pra trabalhar com ele. E quando eu ficava cantarolando, ele ficava prestando atenção, porque ele falava inglês (...) então ele falou assim, que ele tinha uns parentes que tinham uma escola de inglês em Santarém e que ele ficaria muito feliz de conseguir uma bolsa pra mim na época e eu fiquei bem interessada né, porque na época a minha irmã já tinha feito inglês e a gente sabia que era uma dificuldade conseguir pagar todo mês a escola, né?[52] (Pilar, interview, August 2014).

According to her "all children there already spoke English, since they were very little they had classes, and, in my way of seeing things, I was already starting late" (interview, August 2014). Improving her own English was a big motivation to her, and Pilar acknowledged that the three years she spent in the course were a very good experience and a period she could made some reflections of the English language learning, as can be seen in the excerpt bellow:

> As pessoas têm a impressão que inglês se aprende num módulo só e não é assim. O inglês a gente aprende todos os dias um pouco, não tem essa de pagar pra aprender

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[52] As I liked to sing in English very much, I was always singing. One day, an artist from Santarém was working here in Alter do Chão (with paintings and sculptures), in the church, and I volunteered to help him. He started to pay attention when I was singing, because he spoke English, so he told me he had some relatives who owned an English private school in Santarem and he would be very happy to obtain a scholarship for me. I got very interested, because my older sister had already attended English classes and we knew that would be very difficult to afford the whole course (Pilar, interview, August 2014).

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> rápido, um mês assim. Por isso que muitas pessoas não aprenderam aqui em Alter, pela falta de interesse também e por achar que é uma coisa que acontece muito rápido, não é.[53]

Pilar shed light on a topic that other participants as Ursula, Melquiades and Jose Arcadio also mentioned, the fact that, in their understanding, learning English is a process that requires time and commitment, and, according to them, some people in Alter do Chão do not agree with that. I believe that this is due to the fact that to speak English in Alter do Chão is still seen as a means of financial improvement, and taking into consideration the economical level of the majority of the inhabitants and the lack of well remunerated jobs and opportunities, such hurry in making use of the language in their local context is understandable.

During one of our conversations, Pilar asked me whether I had talked to Jose Arcadio, another tour guide who lives in Alter do Chão, regarding my work. She also mentioned that she had attended classes in the English school his family used to run in Santarém some years ago. As a matter of fact, Jose Arcadio was the first person I had in mind when I decided to conduct this study in Alter do Chão. This was due to the fact that we were colleagues when I worked as a tour guide in Santarém, and Jose Arcadio was one of the most prestigious and well known guides in town.

However, as I wanted to know more people and get out of the comfort zone of being with people I already knew, I did not talk to him first. After talking to Pilar, Jose Arcadio was the next. I went to his place and he showed me around, where English was the language written everywhere on the walls. He also showed me his blog, where he presents himself in English as follows:

> "I was born and raised on the banks of the Tapajos River in the municipality of Santarem, Amazon, Brazil. I spent my entire childhood in immediate contact with all the wonders of the Amazon rainforest. This

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[53] (…) people have the impression that you can learn English in just a module, but it is not like that. We learn English day by day, you can't just pay and learn quickly, like in a month…That is why many people here in Alter do Chão did not learn English, because they think it is going to be fast (to learn the language) (Pilar, interview, August, 2014).

> formative experience forged a bond with nature that I never relinquished. (…) I currently reside in beautiful Alter do Chao, outside of Santarem. After the birth of my beloved daughter, two years ago, I moved here from the city to raise my family. While I am not working, I love to windsurf, or relax in my hammock overlooking the Amazon River and Jungle, the home to which I owe this wonderful life[54]

In fact, the English language plays a central role in this 51-year-old man's life. In one of our informal talks, he assured me that he uses Portuguese, the language that holds the status of official language in Brazil, "just for small talks", as he uses English in his daily life.[55] From his house, in Alter do Chão, he is connected to people in any part of the world, through the internet. He also accepts guests from anywhere in the globe, for short or long stays, and take these people to trips around the Brazilian Amazon.

His family has a strong connection with the English language, since they were owners of an English school in Santarém. Similar to Pilar's history, who have followed her older sister's steps, Jose Arcadio' s older brother, a very known and respectful English teacher in town, also was his role model and great encourager, as he told me:

> O Flávio, meu irmão, ele sempre era muito "anglofile", ele gostava muito da cultura inglesa e tal, especialmente da música, depois da poesia, e da literatura em geral. E quando ele se formou no colégio, ele já falava Inglês quase que impecável, ele semprefoi muito mais didático[56] que eu. Quando ele se tornouguia, como era o irmão mais jovem

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[54] Taken from his personal blog. I have been authorized by him to use this information.

[55] His attitudes towards Portuguese will be more explored in Chapter 4.

[56] I believe he meant "autodidata", self-taught.

> dele, ele me levava pra Manaus para ver a atmosfera de guias e tal, e os guias ficavam brincando de dicionário, vocabulário, você dizia uma palavra e tinha que dizer o sinônimo e tal, e ele foi me encorajando dessa forma (José Arcadio, interview, August 2014). [57]

I believe that due to his profession, and his family historical of owners of a private English school, Jose Arcadio held deep-rooted beliefs regarding language. When he claimed that his brother "already spoke remarkable English", he showed to have purist views on language. Because the school used to exalt the British variation, Jose Arcadio seemed to agree with two of the myths regarding the English language that have been widely put at stake recently, namely that British English is the only valid standard of English and that the 'native speaker' is the only model that all learners should aspire to. Moreover, in his talk above, he comments on the importance the structure of the language had to his brothers and his future co-workers, as he explained "they played games with dictionary, vocabulary in English, you said a word and had to find a synonym".

He became a guide right after graduating from high school and currently he is specialized in bird identification and ecology. According to him, since graduating in high school, he has been self-taught. Thus, being a tour guide is something that really brings to Jose Arcadio feelings of self-accomplishment. In his blog, he lists many of his accomplishments:

> In 2007, I published my first book, "Your Personal Guide to Amazon Wildlife". I am currently writing my latest book on Birds of the Amazon, and assisting Joe Jackson on his book about the Amazon Gold Rush. Other books I have collaborated on include; Joe

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[57] Flavio, my brother, he was "anglofile", he enjoyed the English culture very much, especially music, and then poetry and literature. When he finished high school, he already spoke a remarkable English, he was always more didactic than me. When he became a tour guide, as I was his younger brother, he took me to Manaus to know the tour guides environment and they played games with dictionary, vocabulary in English, you said a word and had to find a synonym, so he encouraged me in this way.

Jackson´s The Thief at the End of the World,
Greg Grandin's The Rise and Fall of Henry
Ford's Forgotten Jungle Town, and Andrew
Blackwell's Visit Sunny Chernobyl, amongst
others. I have contributed texts and
photographs to various magazines and books,
including The Ecologist and the cover of Dr.
Mark Hines' Jungle Marathon. Alan Dean
Foster (author of Star Trek, Star Wars, and
Alien) dedicated his book, The Drowning
World, to me. He also mentioned me in
another book, Predators I Have Known
(2010).[58]

It is interesting to note all the references he cited above are
connected with social status. Undoubtedly, Jose Arcadio was the
participant who had more cultural capital, as well as more economic
capital. His family was very well known in Santarém because of
their English school, and Jose Arcadio had access to different forms
of cultural capitals, as for instance, he had travelling experiences
inside and outside Brazil, as well as the opportunity to be in touch
with different cultural practices.

When citing texts, books, photographs, and even movies in
the excerpt above, José Arcadio highlights the Cultural aspects he
had access to. Holliday (1999) makes the distinction of Culture with
a "big C" and culture with a "little c." To this author, Culture with a
"Big C" relates to the key works of a given society: the masterpieces
of the arts and the academy. Culture with big C, thus, encompasses
history, literary works, the formal institutions, fine arts, and the
sciences, aspects that Jose Arcadio highlights in his talk.

Given his family's class standing, since he was young, José
Arcadio has had access to different forms of cultural capital. He can
speak Spanish, Italian, and German, and he had travelling experiences
outside Brazil, some of them to give talks on the Amazonian wildlife
in other countries, for instance the United States. When I asked him
whether he felt comfortable giving talks in English he replied to me
that, if the topic is within his field of interest, speaking in English to
an audience is not a problem. In addition, he told me that:

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[58] José Arcadio's personal blog.

> Aqui [se referindo a casa dele] é tudo em inglês, entendeu? Vem muito gringo aqui. Eu posto as coisas no facebook em inglês (José Arcadio, interview, August, 2014)[59]

Being in contact with other cultures is something that Jose Arcadio has been practicing since childhood, as can be seen in the excerpt below:

> A gente tinha muitos amigos de outros lugares que ficavam na nossa casa e tal, né? É muito legal, eu lembro que o meu irmão quando via um estrangeiro na rua, ele ia pra trocar uma ideia com o cara, e depois chegava na minha casa, pedia pra minha mãe pros caras ficarem em casa, então a minha mãe, meus pais, tinham uma sacada muito boa, que isso não só ajudava a gente a aprender a falar inglês, mas ajudava a gente também a ter uma ideia melhor das coisas do mundo, e a gente exercitava a nossa hospitalidade. Que são três coisas muito massa. [60] (José Arcadio, interview, August, 2014)

Jose Arcadio currently lives in Alter do Chão with his cousin, who helps him in his tours and his only child[61], a three-year-old girl. He told me he is raising her bilingual, and I bring some of their conversations in Chapter 4. Through Jose Arcadio, I got to know another participant of this study, Melquíades. He was also a

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[59] Here (at my place), everything is in English. Many foreigners come here. All my posts on facebook are in English.

[60] We had many friends from different places that stayed in our house. It is nice, I remember that my brother, when he saw a foreigner in the street, he engaged in a conversation with him, and asked my mom to host him at our house. My parents had this feeling that it would help us, not only to learn English, but also to have a better idea of the world, and we practice our hospitality. Three nice things.

[61] Although currently the couple is not together anymore, the child's mother lives in a house in Jose Arcadio's backyard.

tour guide who lived in Alter do Chão and I hadworked with him in some tours in Santarém as well.

Interstingly, I did not face any resistance in approaching Melquíades as a researcher. After I described this study in detail, he offered himself to be a participant. Similar to Ursula, Melquíades had a specific reason to enjoy being a participant: more people would be aware that English is spoken and understood in the middle of the Amazon. As he explained to me:

> A pessoa já vem pra cá e "olha, eu não espero que na Amazônia vou encontrar um guia de turismo que saiba explicar, por exemplo, como é que se tira a seiva e tal, com palavras bem apropriadas, pra que a gente possa entender e seja bem didático e tal". Muitos não esperam que na Amazônia tenha pessoas formadas pra isso. Ele não espera. E pra mim essa questão do ingles é importante porque você acaba comunicando como você vive[62] (Melquíades, interview, September 2014).

Melquíades was 44-year-old, was married and had two children. He was born and raised in Santarém but he moved to Alter do Chão in 1999. When he was a child, Melquíades had his first contact with the English language, through his brother in law, who had gone to Canada and brought him a record from a band called Pink Floyd. According to him, the song "Wish you were here", performed by the band, was the starting point of his interest in the English language, as he wanted to understand the lyrics. At that time, he had a neighbour who also had an important role in his relationship with the language, a North American pastor and his family. As he pointed out:

> Eu fui crescendo ali naquele meio, eu ia pra casa deles [dos vizinhos norte-americanos],

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[62] People come here (to Alter do Chão) and (say), "I was not expecting someone here in the Amazon to explain things, with an accurate vocabulary". Many people do not expect that in Amazon there are well-qualified tour guides. To me this is the reason why English is important, because we can communicate how we live here.

> ficava ouvindo os filhos dele falando inglês, e aí eles passaram a me adotar, eu ia pra lá eu trocava comida com os filhos dele, porque eles gostavam da comida da minha mãe e eu gostava de comer doce, aquelas coisas que não tinham na minha casa. Então nessa brincadeira, eu comecei a aprender a falar inglês, né?[63] (Melquíades, interview, September 2014).

The pastor and his family went back to the United States, but he wanted Melquíades to keep studying English. Thus, he paid the tuition of an English course in Santarém, when Melquíades was eighteen years old. In 1987 and in 1991, Melquíades travelled to the United States to visit the pastor and his family, and right after going back to Brazil, he started to work as a tour guide. Currently, he is also an English teacher, and shared with me his opinions regarding his two professions:

> Uma mãe me perguntou um dia: "professor, é possível aprender inglês na escola?". Eu disse: É. Porque tem pessoas que realmente sabem o idioma, realmente querem que o aluno aprenda e realmente gostam de ensinar. E, não obstante todos os problemas, tu sabias que o porto de Santarém é sempre avaliado como um dos melhores do Brasil?[64] (Melquíades, interview, September 2014).

Friendly and a massive storyteller, Melquíades enjoys being

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[63] I was growing in that context, I went to the priest's house and I listened to his children speaking English, and they, in a sense, adopted me. I exchange food with the children, they liked my mom's cooking and I liked their sweets, there were not sweets in my house. Therefore, I started to speak English like this.

[64] A mother whose child was a student of mine asked me, teacher, do you think that it is possible to learn English at school? I said yes. Because there are people who really know the language, they want the student to learn, they really enjoy teaching. In addition, in spite of all the problems, do you know that Santarém harbour is always rated as one of the best in Brazil?

a tour guide, because, in his own words, he can share his passion about the Amazon with other people from different places. Majored in English language, Melquíades is self-confident when it comes to the use of the English language in his context. Being able to speak English is something that Melquíades is proud of, as can be seen in the excerpt bellow:

> Na verdade, eu sou um pouco orgulhoso com isso [de poder falar inglês], eu acho isso o máximo. Quando você tem essa capacidade de se expressar em outra língua e você olha pra um turista e pensa, olha eu tô te explicando na tua língua, o que acontece aqui. Nesse ponto eu fico orgulhoso. Lembrei de uma coisa, o meu pai via com muita desconfiança eu estudar Inglês, "como é que você vai aprender Inglês se não sabe nem o português direito?", "esse menino vai ficar doido de tanto estudar", mas não. Eu tô aqui hoje, falando, contando nossas histórias, fazendo piadinha nessa língua. Não é bacana? Eu tenho orgulho de falar inglês por causa disso, porque eu quero contar a minharealidade aqui e é essa língua que o mundo ouve. De certa forma, é minha língua também, né?[65] (Melquíades, interview, September 2014).

In one of our conversations, Melquíades said, with his own words, "I am a romantic, a dreamer guy". He told me this because, at that moment, we were talking about being teachers and all the beliefs that teaching English encompasses and he was telling me that he truly believes that we can learn English at public schools, the context where he was inserted on when he started learning English. As a myth

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[65] In fact, I am proud of it (to be able to speak the language). When you have this ability to express yourself in another language, you look at a tourist and think, I am explaining in your language, what happens here. I am proud. My father sometimes seemed not to believe I could speak English one day, but I am here, telling our stories, making jokes in this language. Nice, isn't it? I am proud of speaking English because I want to tell my reality in here and English is the language that the world listens. In a way, it is my language too, right?

that used to be, and still is, widely found in Brazil that at public schools English is a subject that is not learned and does not have the same importance than the others, he considered himself a "romantic", a "dreamer" in still believing in the opposite.

Furthermore, his father's words, "how are you going to learn English if you don't even speak proper Portuguese?" echoes another of the myths of learning English in Brazil. In this regard, according to Dias and Assis- Peterson, the English teacher in Brazil many times has to face the student's feelings of not seeing the importance of what he is learning (Dias & Assis-Peterson, 2006). Teachers' lack of resources, low salaries, short classes and the large groups of students contribute to sustaining and re- enforcing the representation that at public schools the English language learning is impossible (Ortenzi, Mateus & Reis, 2002).

The prejudice that surrounds public schools regarding English learning can be even found in the PCN's (Oliveira & Paiva, 2011), for instance, when the document affirms that:

> In Brazil only a small part of the population has the opportunity of using foreign language as a means of oral communication inside the country or abroad. (Brasil, 1998, p. 20) [My translation].

According to Oliveira and Paiva (2011), the document does not take into consideration the possibility of social mobility, "assigning an elitist role to English", something that Melquíades struggled against inside his classroom. His struggle can be seen when he affirms that it is possible to lean English in public schools "because there are people who really know the language, they want the student to learn, they really enjoy teaching" and when he gives himself voice in this language and makes English a language of his own by saying: "In a sense, it is my language too, right?".

After getting to know Melquíades, I thought I had already met everyone that could take part in this study. I tried to be always around these five people, observing, talking to them, listening to their stories, and even understanding their silence when they were not willing to talk about English. Then, I started to notice that someone the majority of the participants knew was about to arrive. Her name was Fernanda and she was arriving from Norway. Fernanda was Pilar's younger sister, a friend of Remedios' and Ursula's and a cousin of Melquíades's wife.

It is interesting that, although Fernanda was at Alter do Chão by the time I arrived, we did not meet each other. Even when I went to Pilar's house[66], we did not have the chance to meet. Talking later about this unusual situation, as Alter do Chão is not a big place, Fernanda told me that she was there but did not go out very often, and after she went to Norway to spend three months with her fiancé. Born and raised in Alter do Chão village, Fernanda was the last participant I invited to take part in my study. Fernanda was, at the time of my research, engaged to a Norwegian man that she had met in Alter do Chão village, in 2012[67]

As stated before, Fernanda is Pilar's younger sister[68] and a very good friend of Remedios', who introduced me to her, as soon as she arrived with her fiancée in Alter do Chão village. The girls were looking forward to Fernanda's arrival, as they wanted to know whether she liked to live in Norway for the last three months. Remedios introduced me to her as "someone who wants to know about our way of speaking English". Fernanda, replied, reflecting, "I speak very bad English".

Since we met, Fernanda, 23, was willing to take part in this study. She introduced me to her fiancée, pointing out that with him she only spoke in English, as he did not understand Portuguese and she did not understand Norwegian. The couple had met at a party, in Alter do Chão, and since then they were in a relationship through the internet, until Fernanda went to Norway to visit the country. By the time I was gathering data, she had been to Norway three times.

Fernanda liked to talk with me about many things, as for instance, her passion for reading Harry Potter's saga, going to museums, and knowing different places and different cultures. After spending three months in Norway, she also could share her impressions regarding the English language. As I stated before, Fernanda told me she could speak very bad English", which brought

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[66] As mentioned before, Pilar lived in the same backyard as her family's house.

[67] Currently they are married and she lives in Norway

[68] Although they are sisters, I could not identify in Fernanda the same willing for fighting for the Indians rights as in her sister, Pilar. They also have widely different political views.

her feelings of inferiority, as she believed that if she could speak English well, her life in Norway would be better, since many people in that country can speak this language. As she told me:

> O que eu sei de inglês são frases decoradas. Eu decorei o máximo que pude. Às vezes dá certo. Mas eu queria mesmo falar sem preocupação, sem ficar pensando que tão rindo de mim pelas costas, porque tô falando errado ou engraçado,"que inglês zoado".[69] (Fernanda, interview, October 2014).

Fernanda stated that her days in Norway were somewhat difficult, as she spent most of the times alone at home. According to her, not knowing English well, in a way, narrowed her social life, as she was afraid of not understanding what people said. When I asked her if she believed that the linguistic aspect was a limitation for her life in Norway, she answered to me that:

> De várias formas [a língua me restringe]. Deixo de sair de casa, quase não faço amizade. Se eu soubesse falar inglês, eu tava feita, porque lá todo mundo entende. Não falar acho que é uma barreira. Eu fico bem triste as vezes, sozinha em casa.[70] (Fernanda, interview, October 2014).

Also, Fernanda told me that she would enrol herself in a Norwegian course, as soon as she moved to Norway, in 2015, when she had plans of getting married. Fernanda caught my attention because her attitudes towards English language were, at several times, controversial. Fernanda had a strong belief that English was a possibility for her to communicate with the world, however, at the

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[69] What I know about English are sentences I know by heart. Sometimes it works. But I would like to speak without worrying that people think I speak wrong or in a funny way, "what a messy English".

[70] In many ways (the language is a barrier). I don't go out; I don't have many friends. If I could speak English, that would be all right, because there (in Norway) everybody understands it. I don't speak English; I think it is a barrier. I feel sad sometimes.

same time, she was afraid of speaking this language and become someone else besides a Brazilian woman from the Amazon, as I explain in Chapter 4. After meeting Fernanda, I realized that I have found the collaborative participants I needed in order to conduct this study.

In this chapter, I presented the methodological procedures I used in order to conduct this research. Firstly, I underscored the principle that guides my work: the ethnographic perspective. Afterwards, I described the negotiation of entering in the field, the life in the field, the context of the investigation, as well as the participants of this study. In the next chapter, I present the theoretical debates used as a backdrop in this study.

3 "TO SAY LANGUAGE IS TO SAY SOCIETY"[71]-THEORETICAL DEBATES

This theoretical debate will firstly deal with the concepts of language as a *social practice* and language as *identity* and the significant relation between them. In addition, I will discuss the *roles* English plays nowadays, highlighting its relation within our globalised world and the concepts of *World Englishes*, *English as a Lingua Franca* and *translingual practices*.

3.1 LANGUAGE AS SOCIAL PRACTICE

I opened up this dissertation in my initial remarks by bringing some caveats regarding language as a local practice. In using the construct "practice", the line of thinking I wish to draw on is that language operates as an integrated social and spatial activity, as Pennycook (2010, p. 3) argues. In fact, taking into consideration the social practices of this study, I will heavily draw on Pennycook's ideas (2010) who advocates that "we need to appreciate that language cannot be dealt with separately from speakers, histories, cultures, places, ideologies (p. 6).

According to Duranti (1997), we could say that language is in us, speakers, as much as we are in language. As a way of not separating language from the speakers and their histories, cultures, places and ideologies, Duranti (1997, p. 337) goes on to argue that "by connecting people to their past, present and future, language becomes their past, present, and future". This being so, "language is not just a representation of an independently established world, language is also that world." (1997, p. 337). Still according to Duranti (1997), language is also the world, "not in the simplistic sense that all we have of our past is language but in the sense that our memories are inscribed in linguistic accounts, stories, anecdotes, and names just as much as they are contained in smells, sounds, and ways of holding our body" (p. 337).

In regards the relation between language and its speakers, I also highlight Canagarajah's ideas (2013) in his call for taking into consideration speakers' experiences since they renew and enrich the language. This opens up spaces to the understanding of language that

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[71] Sentence by Claude Levi-Strauss

has "far more space for people, for diversity, for other modes of language use, for desire and action" (Pennycook, 2010, p. 10). I believe that such caveats are important enough to be discussed here because, firstly, language is deemed in this study as something we do rather than a system we drawn on and that language emerges from the activities it performs, as Pennycook (2010) states. Being language a social practice, it is not so much located in the mind of the speaker as it is "a social process constantly reconstructed in sensitivity to environmental factors" (Canagarajah, 2007 p. 94). I am also keen to agree that what we do with language in a particular place is a result of our interpretation of that place, and the language practices we engage in reinforce that reading of the place (Pennycook, 2010, p. 2).

Schatzki (2002) points out that social life is "policed by a range of such practices as negotiation practices, political practices, cooking practices, banking practices, recreation practices, religious practices, and educational practices" (p. 70), which Pennycook (2010) complements by arguing that "practices are the key way in which every day social activity is organized, and language practices, as one such set of practices, are a central part of daily social organization" (p. 2).

Pennycook (2010) goes on to broaden the concept of practices by stating that "practices prefigure activities, so it is the ways in which language practices are moulded by social, cultural, discursive and historical precedents and concurrent contexts that become central to any understanding of language" (Pennycook, 2010, p. 9). This being so, a focus on language practices, "moves the focus from language as an autonomous system that pre-exists its use, and competence as an internal capacity that accounts for language production, towards an understanding of language as a product of the embodied social practices that bring it about" (Pennycook, 2010, p. 9).

To talk of language practices, therefore, as Pennycook, (2010) complements, is to move away from the attempts to capture language as a system, and instead to investigate the doing of language as social activity, regulated as much by social contexts as by underlying systems.

3.2 LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY IN THE POSTCOLONIAL SCENARIO

> Language becomes the medium through which a hierarchical structure of power is perpetuated, and the medium through which conceptions of 'truth', 'order', and 'reality' become established. Such power is rejected in the emergence of an effective postcolonial voice (Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G., & Tiffin, H., 2002)

Taking into consideration the significant relationship between language and identity, I locate my discussion of language and identity issues in light of the postcolonial theory. Put simply, postcolonialism is a study of the effects of colonialism on cultures and societies and it is concerned with both how European nations conquered and controlled "Third World" cultures and how these groups have since responded to and resisted those encroachments[72].

According to Young (2003), postcolonialism claims that all people on this earth have the right to have the same material and cultural well-being, and it involves, first of all, the argument that the nations of the three non-western continents (Africa, Asia, Latin America) are largely in a situation of subordination to Europe and North America, and in a position of economic inequality. Still according to Young (2003), postcolonialism "names a politics and philosophy of activism that contests that disparity, and so continues in a new way the anti-colonial struggles of the past" (2003, p. 4).

Broadening the understanding of the term, Young (2003) also claims that postcolonialism seeks to change the way people think, the way they behave, to produce a more just and equitable relation between the different peoples of the world. To this author, postcolonialism is about a changing world, a world that has been changed by struggle and whose practitioners intend to change further.

Bringing these concepts to the scope of Applied Linguistics, it is possible to understand the importance of taking into consideration the concepts of PostColonial theory when it comes to additional language learning, since, after all, language is the

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[72] Taken from "Key Terms in Post-Colonial Theory"- http://www3.dbu.edu/mitchell/postcold.htm.

intellectual practice by which postcolonial communication and reflection takes place (Glück, 2007). Thus, as postcolonial theory questions all types of imperialism, and since language is not merely a linguistic system but also encompasses a set of beliefs about culture, society and identity of Self and Other (Seargeant, 2009), the connections between language practices and unequal relations of power are put at stake by postcolonial scholars. In fact, as Fairclough (1989) claims "nobody who has an interest in modern society, and certainly nobody who has an interest in relationships of power in modern society, can afford to ignore language" (p. 3).

Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) state that, in many postcolonial contexts, world languages, such as English, French, or Portuguese, are appropriated as a means of expressing new national, ethnic, and social identities, rather than as a means of assimilating to former colonial powers. In dealing with participants' identities and agency as speakers of English, Pavlenko and Blackledge's (2004) ideas aforementioned are paramount for this study, as my main goal is to understand the roles of the English language in the practices participants performed in their postcolonial local context. This was possible throughout their postcolonial voices in English, as their voices were "the outlet of this language, the carrier of expression, the indicator of representations of themselves and others, and the vocal channel of the choices they make each time we communicate", as Anchimbe and Mforteh (2011, p. 3) points out.

As postcolonial performers of English, the participants who shared with me their experiences, beliefs and representations, also displayed the complexity that language and identity relation encompasses in such context. Throughout the fieldwork, I could confirm that "languages may not only be 'markers of identity' but also sites of resistance, empowerment, solidarity, or discrimination", as Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004, p. 5) have suggested.

Canagarajah (2008) states that "performance means gaining voice in a language by appropriating its forms and conventions for your purposes. To gain voice is to stamp the language with your identity. It often means that you must go against the grains of the language to reshape it to your expectations". Paradoxically, Canagarajah (2008) goes on to argue, that to gain voice in a language means also to resist the language. I believe that it is important to highlight the role of language and identity in the postcolonial world as one of the main premises of this study is that the participants who

took part in this research are postcolonial performers of English language.

In the postcolonial world, identity has become a key concept. Since the Second World War, the legacies of colonialism, globalization, and the growth of new social movements have put the question of identity at the center of debates in the humanities and social sciences (Weedon, 2004). The notion of identity as something stable and fixed has been put at stake by postcolonial scholars, such as Hall (2005), Bauman, (2003), and Gee (2000; 2001). As values and conceptions of life have been widely questioned, the construction of identity has become to be seen as an ongoing process, being identity now characterized as multifaceted, non-fixed and socio- historical-cultural constructed. This being so, identity is better understood as "an ongoing process that is never completely settled, in the sense that it can be always sustained or abandoned" (Hall, 2005, p. 106).

According to Block (2007), over the past 15 to 20 years, a more postcolonial view of identity has emerged and become influential in the social sciences. Such view started to question the strong form of biological determinism (Block, 2007, p. 11), the approach that affirms individuals are what their genes make them. Block (2007) goes on to argue and summarizes the concept of identity as "socially constructed, self-conscious, ongoing narratives that individuals perform, interpret and project in dress, bodily movements, actions and language" (p. 27) and that identities "are related to different traditionally demographic categories such as ethnicity, race, nationality, migration, gender, social class and language (p. 27).

In addition, according to Norton (2000), identity can be defined as how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future. Norton (2010, p. 2) also claims that "every time we speak, we are negotiating and renegotiating our sense of self in relation to the larger social world, and reorganizing that relationship across time and space". To this author, "our gender, race, class, ethnicity, sexual orientation, among other characteristics, are all implicated in this negotiation of identity" (2010 p. 2). Still according to Norton (2000), language is, at the same time:

> constitutive of and constitutive by a language
> learner's identity and that is through language
> that a person negotiates a sense of self within
> and across different sites at different points in
> time, and it is through language that a person
> gains access to- or is denied access to-
> powerful social networks that give learners the
> opportunity to speak (p. 5).

Such caveats are important to this study because I believe, similar to Alsagoff (2010), Norton (2010) and Gu (2010), that language and identity are intertwined. Taking into consideration the context investigated, a postcolonial place where postcolonial performers of English interact, in this study, language is seen "as a means of identity formation and representation, where local appropriations of global forms by speakers to construct and represent their thought, practices and culture are realized as fluid variations in a multidimensional discursive spaces" (Alsagoff, 2010, p. 126).

In a similar spirit, when discussing language, Bourdieu (1982) has pointed out its importance not as an autonomous construct but as a system determined by various socio-political processes. To this author, a language exists as a linguistic habitus, a set of practices that imply not only a particular system of words and grammatical rules, but also an often forgotten or hidden struggle over the symbolic power of a particular way of communicating, with particular systems of classification, address and reference forms, specialized lexicons, and metaphors (for politics, medicine, ethics) (Bourdieu, 1982, p. 31).

In the same vein but somewhat differently by bringing about the importance of interaction in identity construction, Gu (2010) points out that identity consequently reflects an individual's relationship with the external environment and is regarded as dynamic, multiple and fluid, constructed through the complex and recurrent interactions between the individual and the social (p. 140).

Taking into consideration the contact zone[73] this investigation took place; language in this study is seen as a complex social practice that supplies the means for individuals to express their identity (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). As language is " personal, dynamic, open, energetic and creative, spreading beyond fixed boundaries towards freedom of expression" (Shohamy, 2006), the users of

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[73] This concept is going to be discussed later in this chapter.

language "express and represent the unique individuality and personality of language users as they attempt to communicate and create meanings in ways that suit them best" (Shohamy, 2006, p. 6).

Ultimately, I bring Wenger's ideas (1998) that capture the fluid, evolving notion of identity and identification processes in a way that makes language a key node in researching and understanding it, by arguing that:

> Building an identity consists of negotiating the meanings of our experience of membership in social communities. The concept of identity serves as a pivot between the social and the individual, so that each can be talked about in terms of the other. It avoids a simplistic individual-social dichotomy without doing away with the distinction" (1998, p. 145).

This author also claims that "the resulting perspective is neither individualistic nor absolutely institutional or societal. It does justice to the lived experience of identity while recognizing its social character – it is the social, the cultural, the historical with a human face" (Wenger, 1998, p. 145)

In the following subsection, I discuss the relation of these two concepts, however, before going on with the discussion, it is important to highligtht that in this study, I develop the position of treating the context investigated as *a contact zone*. First introduced by Pratt (1991), this concept reminds us that we have to shift our focus from communities to the spaces where diverse social groups interact.

In Pratt's words, the term contact zones "refers to social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths, as they are lived out in many parts of the world today" (Pratt, 1991, p. 530). Still, according to her, this term is used to "reconsider the models of community that many of us rely on in teaching and theorizing and that are under challenge today" (1991, p. 530).

The author goes on to say that "the idea of the contact zone is intended in part to contrast with ideas of community that underlie much of the thinking about language, communication, and culture that gets done in the academy" (Pratt, 1991, p. 536). In adopting the term contact zones, Pratt argues against what she called "utopian

quality" that often seemed to characterized social analyses of language by the academy (1991, p. 537). In this "utopian" theory, "languages were seen as living in speech communities, and these tended to be theorized as discrete, self-defined, coherent entities, held together by a homogeneous competence or grammar shared identically and equally among all the members" (Pratt, 1991, p. 537).

Taking into consideration the diversity that permeates the context of investigation, where diversity identities, hence Englishes, interact, it seems to be necessary to shift from "a linguistics of community" to a "linguistics of contact" (Pratt, 1987). This reorientation has been highlighted when it comes to communication in our current context of late modern globalization.

In addition, Canagarajah (2015) points out that Pratt's (1991) "notion of the contact zone is not a secondary space between the more primary community. All communities are a contact zone that involve interactions between diverse languages and cultures" (p. 78). From this perspective, Canagarajah (2015) asserts that attempts to territorialize and circumscribe communities and languages in dominant theories of competence appear misleading.

Moreover, in accordance with Saraceni (2009), to whom, currently, "English should not be presented and taught as a foreign language, and hence as somebody else's language, but as an additional language to be added to one's linguistic repertoire" (p. 184), in this study, English will be deemed as an additional language in the participants' linguistic repertoire. In regards of the participant's linguistic practices as speakers of the English language, I borrow Shohamy's (2006) ideas that people are free to use language and express themselves in any way and form they wish.

Being English one of the main languages the participants make use of, and construct and reconstruct themselves in the contact zone investigated, in the next section, I present some important considerations regarding the present role(s) of this language in the world.

3.3 IN A WAY, WE ARE ALL CONNECTED

Matisyahu is an American reggae rapper and alternative rock musician who is known   for   blending Orthodox Jewish themes with   reggae, rock and hip   hop beatboxing sounds[74] Gogol Bordello is a Gypsy punk band from the Lower East Side of Manhattan that combines elements of punk, Gypsy music, theatrical stage shows and Brechtian cabaret led by the Ukrainian Eugene Hütz[75], who currently lives in Brazil. Both of them used to play in one of the participants of this study's playlist. "Do you know them?" she asked me. "Yes", I replied. "How do you know them? They are not that famous!" I asked her. "I know them from the internet. Nowadays, we are able to know everything. Everything is possible[76]", she replied to me, smiling.

This dialogue above occurred in Alter do Chão village and is an illustration of how the so called phenomenon of globalization has shaped a new worldwide order (Moita Lopes, 2003) that allows people from any part of the world to exchange information at any time or even follow them instantly through the TV or the internet. As Scholhammer (2002, p.267) states, in recent years, "nothing is completely unknown or unexpected due to the facility that information can reach people". In the same vein, Canagarajah affirms that "it is not necessary to travel thousands of miles from one's home to practice world citizenship. Nowadays, the global has interpenetrated the local, and the world inhabits our own neighbourhoods" (2010, p 18).

There is a vast and ever-growing literature on globalization. Nevertheless, according to Fairclough (2006), there are two general formulations of the complex sets of changes that have been widely referred to as "globalization" (2006, p. 2). One is the idea that globalization is a process (or set of processes) which embodies a transformation in the spatial organization of social relations and transactions generating transcontinental or interregional flows and

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[74] Taken from: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Matisyahu

[75] Taken   from: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gogol_Bordello   and http://www.allmusic.com/artist/gogol- bordello-mn0000670273/biography

[76] In original: Na internet. Hoje em dia a gente sabe de tudo. Tudo é possível

networks of activity, interaction, and the exercise of power (Held et al., 1999, p. 16). The other formulation is that globalization is complex connectivity, the rapidly developing and ever-densening network of interconnections and interdependencies that characterize modern social life" (Tomlinson, 1999, p. 2).

Taking a postcolonial perspective, Kumaravadivelu (2006) points out that the forces of globalization have inexorably restructured the contemporary world. Still, according to this author, globalization is a slippery term, which carries different meanings to different people at different times. Some may have advocated that globalization is simply a natural path that humanity has to follow in order to evolve. Others have pointed out that globalization has contributed only to the contraction of space, time and borders but not to the expansion of communal harmony among the peoples of the world (Kumaravadivelu, 2006).

Kumaravadivelu (2006), also states that the most distinctive feature of the current phase of globalization is the global electronic communication, the Internet, which has become the major engine that drives both economic and cultural globalization (p. 6). Blommaert (2012) also provides a broad spectre of these new communication patterns in this postmodern world claiming that "in the early 1990s, the internet became a widely available infrastructure, and by the late 1990s the Web 2.0 was there, offering a vast and unparalleled expansion of the means for exchanging long- distance information and for developing and maintaining translocal ties" (2012, p. 9). So from the mid- to late 1990s onwards, Blommaert states that:

> Communication patterns in the world changed dramatically, and with them the capacity to maintain virtual networks and communities, to circulate, produce and absorb information, and to engage in entirely new forms of social interaction such as in social media and mass online gaming (Blommaert, 2012, p. 9).

Some discourses on globalization have argued that the current phase of this phenomenon have been called postmodern globalization (Hall, 1997). As its main feature, postmodern globalization celebrates mobility and diversity (Canagarajah, 2013). Bringing the discussion to the scope of applied linguistics, postmodern globalization acknowledges that languages "relate to each other in fluid ways and,

therefore, become more hybrids in form" (Canagarajah, 2013, p. 26).

In fact, Jacquemet (2016) states that late modern globalization makes a significant impact on language. According to this author, "as people move, they learn new languages, often while maintaining previous ones. The movement of people across borders thus creates multilingual speakers" (2016, p. 21). The participants of this study belong to this process of movement, since they are in contact with people, languages and cultures that have crossed borders in this current increasing mobility.

I believe, echoing Lucena and Nascimento's ideas (2016), that this contact among people, messages, technologies and communicative resources may always have existed, however, in our recent modernity, they are unprecedented in terms of intensity, rapid pace and scope. This mobility, these multilingual encounters, and this "contemporary complexity of migration depends on, and is enabled by, devices such as mobile phones, tablets, and Internet-connected computers that make digital media accessible to everyone, producing an epochal transformation in access to knowledge infrastructure and in long-distance interactions", as Jacquemet points out (2016, p. 21).

An instance of this was the dialogue with one of the participants at the beginning of this section, where she states that, nowadays, everything is possible due to the internet. In that sense, Blommaert (2010, p. 1) lucidly points out that "the world has not become a village, but rather a tremendously complex web of villages, towns, neighbourhoods, settlements connected by material and symbolic ties in often unpredictable ways".

In this context of complexity, performances of communication and interaction are multitextual and multicontextual, ranging from face to face interactions to the clickings of thousands of mice throughout the cyber cafes of the world (Bauman, 2003). And, it is probably no exaggeration to say that the majority of these interactions, for various historical, economic and political reasons may occur in English (Clemente & Higgins, 2008).

Similarly, Canagarajah (2008) points out that in the context of globalization, where linguistic and cultural borders are porous, English enjoys a vibrant presence in almost every community. In addition, this author emphasizes that even communities not formerly colonized by Britain find English a significant medium of communication (Canagarajah, 2008).

In order to try to see these complex roles of English language more critically, Canagarajah (2013), states that "in recent contexts of postcolonialism and postmodern globalization, English has been undergoing further changes in relation to the diverse new languages and communities it has been coming into contact with. Many scholars are addressing the changes that the English language is going through as it travels beyond its traditional homes and speakers" (p. 56). Still according to Canagarajah (2013), the models of World Englishes (WE), English as an International language (EIL), and English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) are some of the models that offer useful insights into how English has to be understood differently when it comes into contact with other languages and develops hybrid grammars.

For the sake of this study, two paradigms that conceptualize the English language from pluralist and critical perspectives will be discussed. Such paradigms challenge the view of English as a homogenous entity offering a heterogeneous perspective of this language (Matsuda, 2012), putting at stake some purist positions about English. This being so, in the following subsections, I will present an overview of the current status of the English language, as well as an historical overview of English as a Lingua Franca school of thought.

3.3.1 **English language speakers nowadays: a** *"club of equals"?*[77]

It is undeniable that, with the English language, the world has been witnessing an unprecedented situation of language spread. To illustrate this point, Siqueira (2011) states that, nowadays, English is "spoken by almost two billion people, a third of the world's population, in all types of proficiency levels" (2011, p.88). To this author, undoubtedly, English language fills the role of "international language communication in business, in diplomacy, sports, science and technology, among other fields, in an increasing number of regions and cultural contexts" (Siqueira, 2011, p.88). Likewise, Rajagopalan (2010, p. 21), points out that "it is no longer debatable the total hegemony and, in a way, frightening, of the English language in the world we live in[78]"

Garcia (2011) states that the study of the phenomenon of language spread has three different but not mutually exclusive phases (p. 399), which are: the beginnings (1970's to 1980's), where language spread is described as a natural phenomenon to solve the language problems of the world, the critical period (1990's), where language spread is studied within the complex sociocultural processes that affect it in diverse ways, and the postmodern period (twenty-first century), where language spread is studied from a postmodern perspective, within a language ecology framework in which languages do not complete, but readjust themselves to fit into an environment. These three phases described have all happened to the English language, being the current one concerned with local desire and agency of the speakers.

In regards to this undeniable English spread, I agree with Rajagopalan (1999) who pointed out that "if English is what it is today, it is demonstrably due to a number of historical reasons. And it is pointless to wish that history were otherwise" (1999, p. 202). Thus, to this author:

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[77] A "club of equals" is how McArthur (1987) refers to the speakers of the linguistic phenomenon called "World Englishes".

[78] In original: "não se discute mais a hegemonia total e, de certa forma, assustadora, da língua inglesa no mundo em que vivemos".

we can learn to tell the history of the English language differently, in a way which may turn out to be more faithful to the way languages function in real life, and more congenial and less painful to the conscience of those who are today engaged in propagating it world- wide (1999, p. 202).

In similar spirit, Moita Lopes (2008) argues that English "is a possibility to gain access to other discourses about the world and about who we are and who we can be, hence, being a source to build another globalization based on the interests of its speakers"[79] (Moita Lopes, 2008, p. 318). Even shedding light on power relations and imperialistic, ideological and market interests that encompass the posit English holds nowadays, Moita Lopes (2008) stresses that speakers can cope with all these issues through agency and resistance.

The unprecedented linguistic phenomenon of English spread has provoked debate among applied linguists. This transnational critical discussion (Kachru, 1990, Phillipson, 1992, Canagarajah, 1999, Cox; Assis Petterson, 1999,Pennycook, 2001, Rajagopalan, 2004, Rubdy & Saraceni, 2006, Siqueira, 2008, El Kadri, 2010, Siqueira, 2011) has, by and large, focused on the causes and consequences of this worldwide spread.

The first serious attempt to call attention to the fact that the English language exists in different parts of the world was developed by Kachru (1988), who allocated the presence of English into three concentric circles [80]: the Inner Circle (e.g., Great Britain, the USA)

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[79] In original: "o Inglês é uma possibilidade de ter acesso a outros discursos sobre o mundo e sobre quem somos ou podemos ser, sendo, portanto, um veículo para construir uma outra globalização com base nos interesses de seus falantes"

[80] Despite its usefulness and benefits, as it is considered the first serious attempt to call attention to the fact that English language existed in different parts of the world, the Three Circle model is not without limitations. According to Bruthiaux (2003), one of the major reasons, why this model has been criticized is that it has little explanatory power and makes only a minor contribution to making sense of the current configuration of English worldwide.

where the language functions as an L1 (or native language), the Outer Circle (e.g., India, Nigeria) where the language was introduced upon the subjugated people by Britain and the Expanding Circle (e.g., China, Brazil) where English is learned as a foreign language. Currently, one of the central points of discussion of this unprecedented language spread is that no one has any privileged status and English belongs to everyone who speaks it in whatever way, shape or form as Rajagopalan (2009) states.

According to Saraceni (2009, p. 175), one of the purist positions regarding English language nowadays that has been challenged is the assumption, already referred to in the previous chapter, that "British English is the only valid standard of English and the notion that the 'native speaker' is the only model that all users[81] should aspire to". Attempting at coming up with an alternative to "an Anglocentric view of English" (Saraceni, 2009, p. 175), Saraceni (2009) points out that "a more democratic approach, whereby all varieties of English have equal recognition and status" (2009, p. 175) would be desirable.

This necessity of a paradigm shift in the conceptualisation of English, which began to be expressed in the mid-1960's (Saraceni, 2010, p. 5), has led to the emergence of two schools of thoughts that have, as their central goal, to discuss the complexities of the roles of English in the world. Challenging the conventional and canonical norm of English in linguistic research and teaching (Matsuda, 2012), these two schools, World Englishes (henceforth WE) and English as a Lingua Franca (henceforth ELF), have broadened the understanding, and provoked debates, regarding the roles and uses of English language around the globe.

Both perspectives are predicated on the following main common points: (1) non- native speakers of English outnumber native speakers; (2) native speakers of English can no longer claim exclusive ownership of the language; (3) native varieties of English, British and American English (or any other 'native' variety) do not represent relevant models for users of English around the world, be they in the Outer or the Expanding Circle; (4) the distinction between

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[81] In original, the author uses the word "learners "in this sentence. I chose to use the word "users" taking into consideration the contact zone this investigation took place. In my opinion, this adaptation was necessary in order to help to understand the context.

native and non-native speakers should be downplayed as irrelevant and unhelpful (Saraceni, 2009, p. 176).

Furthermore, Saraceni (2009) asserts that the WE analytical framework "was developed primarily in relation to contexts where English arrived as a colonial language and subsequently became established as an additional language within national linguistic repertoires" (2009, p. 176). Also, this author points out that in "those settings, English often has official status and is used intranationally in various domains, such as the media, education and creative writing" (Saraceni, 2009, p. 176). On the other hand, the term ELF "seeks to explore and describe the ways in which English is used in those contexts where English did not have such a historically established presence as in WE" (Saraceni, 2009, p. 176).

In similar spirit, Kubota acknowledges that "the world Englishes paradigm challenges the view of English as a homogeneous entity and offers a heterogeneous perspective" (Kubota, 2012, p. 56). In addition, to this author, ELF focus on "the reality that many global communication contexts in English exclusively involve non-native speakers of English" (Kubota, 2012, p. 57), paying close attention "to the ways in which such speakers use English to negotiate meaning in manners different from mainstream native speakers" (Kubota, 2012, p.57).

Bringing the discussion to the English as an additional language classroom[82], Matsuda (2012) also discuss the role of English language nowadays, defining WE as "a paradigm that challenges the view of English as a homogeneous entity, and offers a heterogeneous perspective" (p. 56). To this author, WE has important pedagogical implications, in the sense that "students need to raise their awareness that different varieties of English (or any other language for that matter) exist and that these varieties are developed through historical, economic and political processes" (p. 56).

Also, to Matsuda (2012), the WE paradigm challenges "the dominance of the Inner Circle varieties of English, particularly mainstream American and British linguistic norms" (p. 56), which means that "other varieties including the learner's own should be

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[82] Although this study does not encompass teaching issues, I believe that it is important to mention the consequences of this language paradigm shift on English as an additional language classroom as well.

valued as legitimate modes of communication" (p.56). In regards to teaching, Kubota (2012), makes a comparison between the two paradigms stating that "like World Englishes, ELF challenges the traditional emphasis on teaching based on the Inner Circle model" (p. 57).

Yet, she also points out, "it differs from World Englishes in that it aims to identify a new set of ELF norms used by speakers from different L1 backgrounds and to investigate how intelligibility and speaker identity are established" (Kubota, 2012, p. 57). These two paradigms share four common goals, which are emphasizing the pluricentricity of English, seeking variety recognition, accepting that language changes and adapts itself to new environments, and highlighting the discourses strategies of English-knowing bilinguals (Pakir, 2009, p.228). However, they differ in which context they take place, WE and ELF contexts respectively.

In this subsection, I have reviewed two school of thought, the WE and the ELF that highlight the pluricentricity of English, the possibility for language changes and adaptation to new environments. I consider these topics very important for my study since they address the roles the English language play in Alter do Chão village, a context that belongs to the Expanding Circle. English in Alter do Chão clearly is in its hybrid form, due to several reasons, as in other places from the expanding circle.

A closer observation of the data gathered has indicated that one of the main roles that English language plays in the village is as a means of communication. In Alter do Chão, a contact zone where Portuguese is the official language, many visitors from other countries and inhabitants chose English as a common resource in order to negotiate meaning. Such interactions belong to an increasingly common situation where English is adopted as a lingua franca in order to the interlocutors, who do not share the same mother tongue, negotiate meaning. This being so, in the next section, an historical overview of English as a Lingua Franca will be presented.

3.3.2 English as a Lingua Franca: an historical overview

> The idea of a world language is one of considerable antiquity; the Biblical story of the tower of Babel is but one instance of human yearning for a better world in which all people cooperate through a single tongue.

>Aspirations to make English a world language are in part a reflection of that same impulse (Bailey, 1985).

The last lines of Bailey's writings presented above are an illustration that the idea of the need for a lingua Franca is not new. However, as Crystal points out, "the prospect that a lingua franca might be needed for the whole world is something which has emerged strongly only in the 20th century, and since the 1950s in particular" (Crystal, 2004, p. 29). The first identifications of lingua franca "in its modern sense" (Turunen, 2012) were reported in the 1980s by German researchers, Hüllen and Knapp (Jenkins et al. 2011, p.282). The current use of the term lingua franca has moved away from its original meaning – lisan al farang in Arabic – when it was used to describe an intermediary or contact language (Turunen, 2012).

The English as a lingua franca paradigm has emerged from the necessity to give careful consideration to contexts where English was mainly used as an international language. According to Saraceni (2015, p. 100), the field ELF "began as a ramification of World Englishes and rapidly developed into a full-fledge research area" (2015, p. 100). Considered for many authors the seminal paper on ELF research, an article written by Seidlhofer (2001) "set the foundation for subsequent work in the field" (Baker, 2012). In this paper, Seidlhofer "drew attention to the conceptual gap between applied linguistics research on the English language, which focused on a narrow range of varieties of 'native speaker' English, and the 'reality' of English as it is used by the majority of its 'non-native speakers'" (Baker, 2012).

At first, the concept of English as a lingua franca can be deemed easily defined, as it was firstly described as a "language that serves as the means of communication between speakers of different first languages, a language with no native speakers" (Seidlhofer, 2001, p. 146). People in the Expanding Circle usually do not use English for day-to-day purposes in a local community, but they do use English as a lingua franca for international purpose in business negotiations or trades or transnational conferences (Sharma, 2008).

However, according to Sharma (2008), defining ELF from a formal perspective is not easy; it should be conceptualized in terms of negotiability, variability and degree of proficiency of the speakers in varying socio-political contexts. Additionally, Mauranen and Ranta (2009) point out that contexts of ELF use typically involve different

social formations from the speech communities of traditional analyses, and therefore norms, identities, and practices get negotiated on new grounds as well (Mauranen & Ranta, 2009).

Broadening the understanding of the term, House (2010) is another scholar who has discussed the features of EFL today claiming that "the focus in ELF research is on language use (rather than on development) and on the sociopragmatic functions of language choice" (2010, p. 266). From the perspective of pragmatics, House (2010) argues that:

> ELF as one type of non-native-non-native interaction is best examined with a focus on how meanings, forms and functions are negotiated given the varying resources available to lingua franca speakers. This interactional approach is concerned with social rather than individual or psychological aspects. (pp. 266- 267)

In fact, due to its continuing development, "there has been a definite shift of focus in the aims of ELF research, from attention being paid almost exclusively to the identification of salient linguistic features in ELF interactions to a growing interest in which ways ELF speakers draw from multiple semiotic resources in achieving mutual understanding" (Saraceni, 2015, p. 131).

In the Brazilian scenario, the ELF paradigm has been the focus of an increasing number of studies, papers and debates among applied linguists. In one of the main books that addresses ELF in Brazil, Gimenez, Calvo and El Kadri (2011) claim that, when making use of the term ELF to discuss the status of English language in our country, the authors intend to distance themselves of the "foreign language" perspective. Thus, by using the term ELF, the authors consider the English languagenowadays to be "a language that crosses boundaries and that, at the same time, creates ambiguities and contradictory feelings"[83] (my translation, Gimenez, Calvo & El Kadri, 2011, p. 7). Still, according to these authors, studies on ELF in Brazil seek to address and question mainly "traditional concepts of English teaching, which are, still, mainly based on Inner circle

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[83] In original: "uma língua que atravessa fronteiras e que produz ambiguidades, sentimentos confusos, contradições".

countries"[84] (my translation, Calvo & El Kadri, 2011, p. 17).

Mostly, Brazilian studies that address ELF draw upon some questions concerning the way the teaching of English is done in our country (Berto, 2011). According to Berto (2011), these studies advocate that it is highly important that English teachers become aware of the changes concerning the English language since they will be the ones to discuss such concepts with their students (Berto, 2011), thus they can "become agents of change in their classrooms and communities" (Canagarajah, 1999, p. 213). In fact, Berto (2011) claims that, in some studies carried out with Brazilian teachers of English, the results obtained through the analysis of data showed that most of these teachers are willing to learn more about ELF.

As can be seen, ELF has become "a vibrant and expanding field of research, which has also, and probably inevitably, sparked considerable debate concerning various issues, as such, its definition, the area of its investigation and how it relates to other disciplines and linguistic traditions" (Cogo, 2010, p. 295) as well as some criticism. As an illustration of limitations that can be found in ELF paradigm, Kubota (2012) points out that "as a limitation (of ELF) is potential disregard of learners' diverse aspirations and desires" (p. 60).

To Holliday (2005), a limitation of the ELF paradigm is that it can bring back a perception that the non-native speakers of English are forced to stay at the linguistic margin far removed from interactions with native speakers. Thus, a hierarchical relation among English speakers is still perpetuated. In addition, according to Pennycook (2008), the ELF school of thought is open to criticism for being potentially reductive and prescriptive. This author argues that while some proposals for ELF do indeed appear to have systematisation as their goal, others seem more interested in capturing the momentary negotiations of English.

Despite these conceptual problems of the ELF paradigm, it is important to take into consideration that ideological issues also may arise which are specifically related to fact that the global spread of English has revitalised the concept of a universal language, which means one tongue to unite the disparate peoples of the world (Seargeant, 2009). At first, this would seem very desirable, but, there

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[84] In original: "as concepções tradicionais de seu ensino, normalmente orientadas pelos países do círculo interno".

is, however, another point which has to be made.

This representation of the English language being a "natural", "beneficial" and "neutral" (Pennycook, 1994) means of global communication or that to have English is to have access to the wealth of the world that is otherwise obscured behind linguistic barriers (Seargeant, 2009), started to be put at stake by some social scientists. They have advocated that "no language, no knowledge and no pedagogy is neutral or apolitical" (Pennycook, 1994, p. 301). This being so, to understand that one main reason plays a significant role in the process of a language becoming a world language: the power of the people who speak it (Crystal 2004, p. 30) is desirable. By power, the author means political, technological, economical, and cultural power. Thus, a more critical approach when dealing to ELF paradigm should be paramount.

In recent years, ELF scholars such as Jenkins et al (2011) and Seidlhofer (2009) have begun to redefine and expand their analysis and have started to cite authors like Pennycook (2007) and Canagarajah (2007) on translingual practices, and given more emphasis to the exploration of pragmatic negotiations in contact situations (Canagarajah, 2013, p. 64). This is mainly due to the significantly amount of criticism and questions that ELF school of thought has raised.

As ELF started to be treated as a "variety that could be codified in terms of linguistic features" (Canagarajah, 2013, p. 63), some scholars have asked questions about the identity and power relations implied by the lingua franca corpus variety (Rubdy and Saraceni, 2006). According to Canagarajah (2013), evidence from other researches "casts doubts on the existence of a stable variety or commonly shared norms in multilingual contact situations" (Canagarah, 2013, p. 63).

Meierkord (2004), for instance, points out that language in contact situations (ELF contexts, for example) should be deemed as "a variety in constant flux, involving different constellations of speakers of diverse individual Englishes in every single interaction" (p. 115). This means to say, as stated before, that there is no stable variety that marks contact zone communication (Meierkord, 2013, p. 64).

In fact, "evolution in the conceptualization of language has occurred in the field of ELF" (Saraceni, 2015, p. 131) and I am keen to emphasize that ELF in this study encompasses more than a simple

definition. Pivotal to this study are the ideas of Cogo and Dewey (2012) that highlight that as ELF has continued to develop as a distinctive field, however, whose trend more recently has been for researchers to shift the focus away from identifying the features of ELF talk themselves towards an interest in the underlying processes that give rise to the emerging forms" (pp. 2-3). Still according to these authors, this has largely come about with the greater realization that ELF communication is by nature especially fluid, and that speakers' use of linguistic forms is especially variable.

Jenkins (2013) also acknowledges the fluid nature of ELF stating that, "ELF is marked by a degree of hybridity not found in other kinds of language use, as speakers from diverse languages introduce a range of non-English forms into their ELF use" (2013, p. 31). She complements by stating that "ELF is an entirely new, communication-focused way of approaching the notion of "language" that is far more relevant to twenty-first century uses of English (and probably other global languages) than traditional bounded-variety approaches, and one that has far more in common with postmodern approaches to language (2013, p. 37).

Without a doubt, the field of English as a lingua franca has raised debates and questionings due to its complexity and close attention to the process of identity construction of ELF speakers should be paramount. As Saraceni (2010) remarks, "of ELF we do not need to know the *what*, but the *how* and the *why*. We need to understand how people posit themselves towards it, how they locate it within their linguistic repertoire, how it contributes to shaping their identities and how they use it to participate in, or resist, aspects of globalisation (Saraceni, 2010, p. 99).

I would like to emphasize here that ELF is not considered a variety in this study, since "there is no stable variety that marks contact zone communication. Such communication works because speakers are prepared to adopt strategies to co-construct norms in situ, and achieve intelligibility through (not despite) their local varieties and identities" (Canagarajah, 2013, p. 64).

In this section, I have reviewed historically English as a lingua franca school of thought in an attempt to highlight the debates that encompass strengths as well as criticism of this field. In order to give continuity to the discussion, I discuss the concepts of translanguaging and translingual practices in the next section, because in acknowledging the complexity of the linguistic practices that occurred in contact zones where diverse groups interact, the

translingual paradigm helps to understand the strategies speakers adopt in meaning making.

3.3.3 English happening in real life: Translingual practices in interactions.

In dealing with language, which develops, expands, shrinks, borrows and mixes as part of the dynamic process of human interaction (Shohamy, 2006), applied linguists should be, in a way, open to new terminologies, when it comes to interpret the phenomenon of communication. Currently, these new terminologies address language as a social practice and acknowledge that postmodernist globalization flows through multiple paths and constructs social spaces that are highly diverse (Appadurai, 1996).

Taking into consideration the postcolonial context, scholars are constructing new ways to describe life in these social spaces where diverse social groups interact (Canagarajah, 2013). This being so, the big question applied linguists are trying to answer now is how to account for communication and meaning making in postmodern contexts of translingual contact (Canagarajah, 2013, p. 26).

These translingual contacts would occur through translingual practices, which, according to Canagarajah (2013), adopt a more dynamic orientation to language systems and semiotic resources, thus, mobile codes can freely merge to take on significant meaning and new indexicalities[85] in practice. In regards to the English language, a dynamic orientation would open up an understanding of it as it is used across multiple domains. Pennycook (2008) states that it is evident that there are very good grounds to move away from nations as the basis for our descriptions of English. In the same vein, Garcia (2011) points out that, as English has spread across cultures, cultures and languages have spread across English, enabling people to appropriate it differently to express global and local messages.

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[85] Blommaert (2005) states that in the globalized context of language use, inequality is significantly associated with orders of indexicality, a system by which languages or varieties of a language are attributed values and social meanings. According to this author, orders of indexicality allow institutions   to manage inequality by assigning values to language forms, one result of which is that standard varieties are accorded superior values whereas non-standard varieties are assigned inferior values.

Before going on with the discussion on translingual practices, some caveats on translanguaging are in order. Translanguaging, or engaging in bilingual or multilingual discourse practices, is an approach to bilingualism[86] that is centered, not on languages as has been often the case, but on the practices of bilinguals that are readily observable". (Garcia, 2009, p. 119). Translanguaging, then, is "hybrid language use," that is, a "systematic, strategic, affiliative, and sense-making process" (Gutiérrez, Baquedano- López & Alvarez, 2001, p. 128).

Garcia (2009, p. 122) broadens the definition of translanguaging stating that "when describing the language practices of bilinguals from the perspective of the users themselves, and not simply describing bilingual language use or bilingual contact from the perspective of the language itself, the language practices of bilinguals are examples of what we are calling translanguaging". Also, according to Garcia and Wei (2014), "translanguaging refers to *new* language practices that make visible the complexity of language exchanges among people with different histories, and releases histories and understandings that had been buried within fixed language identities constrained by nation-states" (p. 21).

Canagarajah (2011) provides a definition of translanguaging as "the ability of multilingual speakers to shuttle between languages, treating the diverse languages that form their repertoire as an *integrated* system" (p. 401), and I am keen to agree with this definition, taking into consideration the meaning negotiations the participants used to engage to. I also follow the ideas of Li Wei (2011), to whom, the act of translanguaging "creates a social space for the multilingual user by bringing together different dimensions of their personal history, experience and environment, their attitude, belief and ideology, their cognitive and physical capacity into one coordinated and meaningful performance" (p. 1223).

Still, according to Li Wei (2011), translanguaging opens space to both creativity and criticality; where speakers can question, problematize or express views (Li Wei, 2011). This being so, as Garcia and Wei (2014) have argued, translanguaging goes beyond to merely encompass a mixture or hybridity of first and second

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[86] According to Baker (2001), bilingualism is the ability to use more than one language.

language. In fact, according to these authors, "translanguaging works by generating trans-systems of semiosis, and creating trans-spaces where new language practices, meaning-making multimodal practices, subjectivities and social structures are dynamically generated in response to the complex interactions of the 21st century" (Garcia & Li Wei, 2014, p. 43).

Lucena and Nascimento (2016) also discuss translanguaging by stating that in this perspective, "language practices are legitimately seen as social practices since they are understood in individual's actions who make use of them in accordance with their interactional and contextual necessities" (p. 49). According to these authors, the diversity and complexity that multilingual individuals are constituted with allow them to experience and to use complex and multiple resources as far as individuals interact in communicative practices. Therefore, "translanguaging goes beyond the understanding of the complexity that lies on the spaces and multiple resources that individuals use and seeks to contemplate diverse, localized and situated linguistic practices, using diverse modalities and the multiplicity of perspectives" (Lucena & Nascimento, 2016, p. 50).

I believe that it is important to bring this discussion on translanguaging to this study because, as Cardoso (2015) states, this concept implies that creativity in language practices by bilinguals is a natural means of communication that holds a substantial linguistic repertoire from where the speakers select features strategically, in order to communicate effectively and to convey identities.

In her work, which focused on the constitution of language practices in the context of an introduction of bilingual education in a secondary school classroom in Brazil, Cardoso (2015) argues that students and teachers allowed themselves to make meaning from hybrid language practices, transgressing and resisting a policy of separation between languages and norms which are guided by the reproduction of an ideal Anglophonic culture. The meanings that the translingual practices acquired in the context studied by this author are related to the agency of the participants in the choice of their linguistic resources in order to achieve their communicative objectives, and also related to the creative performances of the participants, which involved cultural hybridization.This being so, according to Cardoso (2015), translanguaging also opens up spaces of tolerance and respect, whilst generates fluid subjectivities. Thus, the concept of translingual practices used in this study derives from these ideas of openness to speakers' personal histories, experiences,

attitudes, beliefs and ideologies and meaningful performances that translanguaging encompass.

In order to try to grapple with the concept of translingual practices, it is important to take into consideration that performed languages transcend words and involves diverse semiotic resources and ecological affordances (Canagarajah, 2013, p. 6). In addition, in translingual practice, the user can adopt language resources from different communities without "full" or "perfect" competence of them (as traditionally defined), and these modes of hybridity can be socially and rhetorically significant (Canagarajah, 2013, p. 10). The words from a language "mixed" with words from another language play significant roles for speakers' voices besides expressing values and identities (Cardoso, 2015). Through translingual practices, language is seen as a set of communicative or linguistic repertoires that are drawn upon as required in specific contexts (Pennycook, 2008; García, 2009; Sridhar, 1994).

Canagarajah (2013) points out that the translingual orientation understand language resources as mobile, and that these language resources acquire labels and identities through situated uses in particular contexts and get reified through language ideologies (2013, p. 15). However, this author emphasizes that translingual practices are old-dated phenomena, as "translingual social relations and communicative practices have always existed, postmodern social conditions and discourses did not create translingual practices. They have only created more visibility for them" (Canagarajah, 2013 p. 37).

Although focusing more on writing forms of language in their study, Horner et al (2011) claim that the translingual approach sees difference in language not as a barrier to overcome or as a problem to manage, but as a resource for producing meaning in writing, speaking, reading, and listening (2011, p. 303). In addition, they suggest that:

> When faced with difference in language, this approach asks: what might this difference do? How might it function expressively, rhetorically, communicatively? For whom, under what conditions, and how? (Horner et al, 2011, p. 304).

For a variety of reasons, scholars who have argued for a translingual approach have been concerned primarily with the

agency[87] of those producing language that appears to deviate from language norms (Lu & Horner, 2012). A translingual approach to agency, according to these authors, enables us to acknowledge a variety of rhetorical strategies language users deploy in specific historical social contexts (Lu & Horner, 2012, p. 2).

Broadening the understanding of the translingual approach, Lu and Horner (2012) point out that, as suggested by the prefix "trans", a translingual approach to language defines all acts of reading and writing, speaking and listening, as integrally related acts of translation and transformation as well as negotiation.

Leading the discussion to the scope of using and learning of an additional language, Rocha and Maciel (2015) understand translingual practices as a "strategy of resistance", that occurs through practice, bringing to light performances of agency and locality (2015, p. 432). Such performances, according to these authors, are dynamic and changing, and through them, the participants can put into practice their voices, subjectivities and identities.

To Pennycook (2008), to understand English in light of the translingual approach means an understanding of language that seeks neither national nor international framings of English but instead incorporates the local, agency, and context in their complex interactions (Pennycook, 2008, p. 30.7). In addition, Pennycook (2008) remarks that, rather than focus only on Expanding Circle use or Non-native speakers-Non-native speaker's interactions; "translingual English"[88] includes all uses of English. In this field, English users all over the world draw on various resources in English, which corroborates Rajagopalan's words, "in its emerging role as a world language, English has no native speakers" (Rajagopalan, 2004, p. 112).

In light of the translingual approach towards English language, Canagarajah (2013) states that "a translingual perspective

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[87] The notion of agency that is followed in this study encompasses "attitude, thoughts, subjectivity, and perspective" (Jordão, 2011a, p. 241).

[88] This author, in this specific paper, makes use of the terminology "translingual Franca English".

treats diversity as the norm in the study of English. It challenges the assumption of other models of global Englishes that sharedness and uniformity of norms at different levels of generality are required for communicative success. In contact zones, sharedness cannot be guaranteed" (p. 75). Still according to Canagarajah (2013), "to explain how unshared words or grammatical structures gain situated meaning, the model of translingual English attends to the local contexts and practices of negotiation with the fullest ecological resources" (Canagarajah, 2013, p. 75).

In addition, taking into consideration the context of this investigation, a contact zone where diverse linguistic identities encounters occur, another aspect of translingual approach towards English language has to be made. The translingual approach "treats practices as primary and grammatical norms as emergent" (Canagarajah, 2013, p. 68) and advocates that "without looking for a single uniform code, speakers will be able to negotiate their different Englishes for intelligibility and effective communication (Canagarajah, 2013, p.69).

The translingual approach helped me to understand how English in a contact zone, such as the context investigated, works and what sort of strategies the participants adopt in order to negotiate meaning. Based on Canagarajah (2013, p. 76), I argue that these strategies are not the same for everyone and for all situations; nevertheless, they are adopted by everyone for communicative success. Moreover, translingual English, as Canagarajah has coined, is open to difference being negotiable and serving as resource for communicative success (Canagarajah, 2013).

The concept of English as a translingual language has thrown useful light on the strategies the participants adopted when interacting in English in this study. To Canagarajah (2013, p. 79), these negotiation strategies are divided into four components: envoicing, recontextualization, interactional, and entextualization. According to this author, "these are macro-level strategies, as each of them contains more specific strategies situated in the interaction" (Canagarajah, 2013, p. 79). This being so, in envoicing strategies, voice plays a critical role in appropriating mobile semiotic resources in one's text and talk; recontextualization strategies frame the text/talk and alter the footing to prepare the ground for appropriate negotiation; interactional strategies are adopted to negotiate and manage meaning making activity; and entextualization strategies configure codes in the temporal and spatial dimension of the text/talk

to facilitate and respond to these negotiations.

Canagarajah (2013) also provides the connection among the strategies, stating that "recontextualization strategies are connected to envoicing, as they are ways of framing one's semiotic choices for successful uptake. Entextualization is relevant to all others, as speakers/writers orchestrate their semiotic resources to embed their voice, and cue the listener/reader on the appropriate footing to encourage interaction" (Canagarajah, 2013, pp. 79-80).

Of equal importance to this study is the notion that what we find in the translingual negotiations is the use of the strategies aforementioned to create new values and meanings for existing words or the construction of new indexicals (Canagarajah, 2013), what can be found in some of the participants' interactions and will become clear in the data analysis chapter.

Finally, in regards to the participants' strategies in order to negotiate meaning, I agree with Blommaert and Backus (2012) who state that "repertoires are individual, biographically organized complexes of resources, and they follow the rhythms of actual human lives" (2012, p. 8). By following the rhythms of the participants of this study's actual uses of English, grammatical rules of this language were developed and rooted through local social practices in order to negotiate meaning, and these rules are always open to renegotiation and reconstruction. To me, such caveats are another evidence of what I truly believe this work is about, that "language is much more creative than any grammar book can describe, encompassing a variety of sources, words, combinations, synthesis, codes, images, pictures and multi-modal manifestations" (Shohamy, 2006, p. 154).

3.4 NOTES ON IDEOLOGY

As Holborow (2007) argues, ideology can be deemed as a set of ideas that emerges from specific social relations and supports the interests of a particular social class. Language, this author claims, particularly because it is everywhere in society and a highly sensitive indicator of social change, is an immediate (although not the only) way of grasping ideology (Holborow, 2007). This author broadens the understanding of the relation between language and ideology by stating that far from language being ideologically predetermined, its speakers, as social actors in their own right and faced with different social developments, may at the same time accept some aspects of the ideology and challenge others (Holborow, 2007).

Throughout the data gathering, some ideological significances regarding the English language itself and its roles in the world have emerged. Through their English language practices, the participants used to display their set of beliefs even when it comes to their mother tongue, therefore, displaying their linguistic ideologies as well.

Although I do believe people exercise their agencies as speakers when choosing a code to negotiate meaning, I also agree that the set of beliefs the participants hold regarding the English language is not merely by chance or, as Saraceni (2015, p. 156) states, "people do choose English because it is the dominant language, no matter how freely they make this choice". However, the participants have made their choices in using English in their daily lives, for their own purposes, not behaving like merely receptors of a language that has spread worldwide.

In writing this subsection on notes on ideology, I intend to highlight the "linguistic imperialism" perspective. This is due to the fact that the participants seem to be aware of the set of beliefs this theory encompass and the responses to it that have emerged. Linguistic imperialism can be seen as "a harmful way how people are mentally colonized on behalf of globalization and of the universal access of the English language" as Rajagopalan (2005, p. 37) states. Those who advocate this perspective critique the spread of English from a political and ideological point of view (Phillipson, 1992).

The linguistic imperialism perspective "has provoked strong feelings and, accordingly, responses to it have tended to be expressed rather animatedly" (Saraceni, 2015, p. 154). Saraceni (2015) has attempted to categorize the responses to linguistic imperialism into main three types: agency, linguistic determinism and appropriation (2015, p. 154). In the section that follows, I, drawing heavily on Saraceni' s ideas (2015), discuss these responses, taking into consideration political and ideological significances the participants of this study gave to the English language.

3.4.1 The "agency" response

The agency response, according to Saraceni (2015), puts at stake the idea that those under "linguistic imperialism" are passive victims who have English pushed down their throats (2015, p. 155). The author argues that "this view has raised several objections by scholars who have asserted people's capacity to make independent

choices (2015, p. 155). As an illustration, Esseili (2008), remarks that "while it is true the actions of language agencies and the speeches of politicians provide evidence of the underlying agendas of some countries, like the USA, this is not proof that people and nations are unaware of such agendas, or that the choices they are making are uninformed, rather than driven by practicality and economics in the first place" (p. 274). Duff (2012), points out that the term agency refers to people's ability to make choices, take control, self-regulate, and thereby pursue their goals as individuals leading, potentially, to personal or social transformation. Still, according to her, "a sense of agency enables people to imagine, take up, and perform new roles or identities (including those of proficient L2 speaker or multilingual) and to take concrete actions in pursuit of their goals" (p. 15).

Broadening the understanding of the term, Duff (2012) goes on to affirm that "agency can also enable people to actively resist certain behaviours, practices, or positioning, sometimes leading to oppositional stances and behaviours leading to other identities, such as rebellious, diffident student". Summing up, she states that "agency, power and social context (structures) are, therefore linked because those who typically feel the most in control over their lives, choices, and circumstances also have the power –the human, social or cultural capital and ability they need to succeed (Duff, 2012, p. 15).

Regards to agency in one's second language learning[89], Pavlenko and Lantoff (2010) assert that while the first language and subjectivities are an indisputable given, the new ones are arrived at by choice. To these authors, "agency is crucial at the point where the individuals must not just start memorizing a dozen new words and expressions but have to decide on whether to initiate a long, painful, in exhaustive and, for some, never-ending process of self-translation" (pp. 169-170). In the data gathered, it can be noticed that the participants are not only passive individuals who have learnt English. They, although in different ways, have developed a sense of agency in English, which will become clear in the data analysis chapter.

Taking into consideration the participant's agency, as I already mentioned, in this study I use the expression "performance in English" to mean, "doing things with words, not just expressing ideas

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[89] Although I do not use this term in my study, I believe it is useful to a broader understanding of "agency" to include this position.

or displaying one's grammatical proficiency" (Canagarajah, 2008, p. 2). In line with this author, I hold dearly to the view that performance in English means constructing new, even imagined, identities for oneself. Still, according to Canagarajah (2008), we perform shifting, contextually relevant, strategic identities to accomplish our interests. This means that you exercise your agency to populate the language with your values, meanings, and intentions. Performance, therefore, means gaining voice in language by appropriating its forms and conventions for your purposes (Canagarajah, 2008, p. 2).

3.4.2 The "linguistic determinism" response

According to Saraceni (2015, p. 154), "some scholars have objected that "linguistic imperialism" seems to be based on a rather strong version of linguistic relativity, also referred to as linguistic determinism, in its suggesting that particular cultural/ideological values are "hard-coded" in the linguistic forms of English (i.e. its vocabulary, grammar and syntax)". Hence, this author points out, some scholars "feel that the problem doesn't necessarily lie specifically with the language itself, but with large socio-economic factors related, for example, to the unequal distribution of wealth (2015, p. 154).

One of the principles in "linguistic imperialism" is that between "language" and "culture" there is an inextricable link and each language express its own culture (Saraceni, 2015). Following this idea, some representations as "the minds of those who learn to speak English are inevitably "colonized" by the ideologies engrained in the language" (Saraceni, 2015, p. 157) have sparked considerable debates.

Pennycook (2012) also provides a broad spectre of this issue pointing out that it "is not English- if by that, we mean a certain grammar and lexicon- that is the problem. It is the discourses of English that are the problem, it is the way that an idea of English is caught up in, all the exacerbations of inequality that go under the label of globalization, all the linguistic calumnies that denigrate other ways of speaking" (Pennycook, 2012, p. 26). The "linguistic determinism" response echoes some of the participants' data, mainly when they put at stake the idea that whilst speakers of English, they are "embracing the culture that supposedly comes with it (Saraceni, 2015, p. 161).

Another important caveat is the fact that "most of the anti-imperialist discourse within the "linguistic imperialism" frame is in English" (Saraceni, 2015, p. 161). One of the participants of this present study addresses this point when pointing out that she uses English as a means of expressing her political views; corroborating Cox and Assis- Peterson's (1999) ideas that people are not passive consumers of hegemonic cultural forms and, if English is the language through which the forces of neocolonialism operate, then counter discourses need to be obviously articulated in English.

3.4.3 The "appropriation" response

> English is mine. Sometimes we talk about English in Africa as if Africans have no agency, as if there is not a distinct form of English spoken in Anglophone African countries. I was educated in it; I spoke it at the same time as I spoke Igbo. My English-speaking is rooted in a Nigerian experience and not in a British, American, or Australian one. I have taken ownership of English (Azodo, 2008).

> I am so proud of my ability to speak English because I can tell tourists my reality. And I can show them: there is someone here, in the Amazon, explaining the way he lives in your language. That is the way I see myself. And this is the language the world hears. In a way, this language is mine too, right? (Melquíades, interview, 2014).

In this present investigation, the discourse of appropriation of the English language is understood as "a way of claiming possession of the language, but also, and possibly even more importantly, a way of redefining the concept of "standard" more dynamically and locally situated" (Saraceni, 2015, p. 162). Although the participants seem not to be aware of the term or do not "openly declared" (Saraceni, 2015, p. 164) appropriation of the English, "they project themselves as legitimate speakers with the authority over the language" (Higgins, 2003, p. 615).

During their linguistic practices, or when I was carrying on

interviews or engaging in informal talks, I could notice that the participants were confident, creative, and sometimes used English in a playful way, what, I believe were evidences of their appropriation. In fact, such attitudes towards English corroborate what Saraceni (2010,p. 15) points out that "those who feel a sense of ownership towards the language do not require authorization from professional linguists, whose seals of approval are of little consequence". In fact, with linguistic ownership/appropriation, speakers have "carte blanche to manipulate the language in whatever way they see fit to suit their own whims and purposes" (Seilhamer, 2015).

According to Ha (2005) some authors as Canagarajah (1999), Pennycook (2001) and Kramsch (2001) support the use of English for one's own benefit and equality, but at the same time urge English users to work together to eliminate the discourses of colonialism active in current imperial forms. These views suggest a new and more sophisticated notion of 'appropriation', which consists of resistance and reconstitution (Ha, 2005).

Of equal importance for this study is that it aligns itself with McKay (2003), who points out that many learners of English learn the language for specific purposes and use it in multilingual contexts. They also learn English to communicate their cultures and knowledge with others. This being so, I believe this is also a matter of appropriation.

Ultimately, I borrow Saraceni's words (2010) that "the ownership and the appropriation of English, as well as the right to subvert its rules, have very little to do with what linguists have to say about them. They reside intimately within the conscience, individual and/or collective, of speakers of English" (Saraceni, 2010, p. 14- 15).

In this chapter, I presented a review on the theoretical background that serves as the backdrop of this investigation. Firstly, I discussed the significant relation between language and identity in the postcolonial scenario. Being this postcolonial scenario, due to several social- historical reasons, marked by an increasing presence of the English language, different attitudes towards this situation of language spread, as well as how this so widespread language is appropriated by its speakers worldwide were also presented in this literature review. Taking into consideration the context investigated, a historical overview of English as a lingua franca school of though was provided, as well as translingual practices, as I advocate in this study, a view of language which is personal, dynamic, open, energetic

and creative, spreading beyond fixed boundaries towards freedom of expression", as Shohamy, (2006) has suggested. I also provided an explanation regarding the terms I use in this study, when it comes to ideological significances of the English language that arose in the data. In the next chapter, I will discuss all the data gathered.

4 "I SPEAK ENGLISH BUT I AM STILL ME"[90]- THE ROLES OF ENGLISH IN ALTER DO CHÃO VILLAGE

Following Lucena's (2015) ideas, in this data analysis, language is understood as a collective work, as a dynamic process of negotiation, interactions and mediations that result from mutual attempts to make meaning. Language, this author goes on to argue, can only be understood in research if its meanings are acknowledge as socially and locally situated (Lucena, 2015). This being so, taking into consideration the principles of the ethnographic perspective and the data gathered through participant observation, interviews, field notes and informal talks, this analysis is an attempt to understand how the participants "act in the world, making use of various languages when performing in their global and transnational contacts, without neglecting locally situated actions" (Lucena, 2015, p. 70).

In this chapter, I intend to answer the main question that guides this study: what roles does English play in Alter do Chão village, taking into consideration social practices the participants engaged to when using this language. As stated before, in using the term "social practices", I mean how the participants use and perform the English language in their local context, a contact zone where Portuguese is the mother tongue, but interactions may occur in English, and more importantly, what these practices represent to them.

Moreover, I also intend to contemplate the three objectives of my research:

1. To unveil what sort of strategies the participants

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[90] Remedios' talk, in the last day of my stay in Alter do Chão. She was sharing with me her reflections and representations about English language and she was pointing out how some of the representations she used to hold have changed. I chose to name this Chapter with her talk because I understand that English role in Alter do Chão also encompasses the process of reflecting.

adopt in order to negotiate meaning in English.

2. To reflect upon to what extent (if any) the participants posit themselves locally towards global movements in their English language practices

3. To identify ideological significances (if any) the participants give to English language.

4.1 "SE VOCÊ VER MEU FACEBOOK, TEM MUITA GENTE DE OUTROS PAÍSES. EU CONHEÇO ELES AQUI, NA PRAÇA. EU USO O INGLÊS PRA ISSO"[91] – STRATEGIES THE PARTICIPANTS ADOPT IN ORDER TO NEGOTIATE MEANING IN ENGLISH.

Being language a product of social action, I begin the data analysis by bringing a paragraph that I wrote on my field diary, as an instance of what has been said so far:

> At a table at the pizzeria in the main square in Alter do Chão (whose owner is an Italian man), Remedios and Zelig, her friend from Germany, discuss the better way of approaching a girl he fancies whilst drinking a soft drink that she describes, using English and Portuguese in the same sentence: "it is poison, mas é bom[92]". In her tour agency, Ursula tries to help a couple, from France, who has lost their camera inside the bus that crosses the village. In his house that is also his tour agency, Jose Arcadio Buendia talks, excited, about his projects of his new book with his friend and co- worker from Russia, who is helping him with the writing[93]

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[91] "If you see my Facebook profile, there are many people from other countries. I know them here, at the square. I like meeting new people. That is what I use English for", says Remedios.

[92] "It is poison, but it is good".

[93] As the other participants of my study, José Arcadio was very open to talk with me regarding his experiences as an English speaker. However, he was not comfortable with the idea of having his interactions recorded,

Melquíades, smiling and making gestures, tells one more time one of his Amazonian favourite tale, the Legend of the Boto[94], to a group of tourists from Germany. In her laptop, Pilar shows me a presentation she made regarding some political problems in the Amazon that she had discussed with some tourists from Japan. Fernanda and her fiancée from Norway are talking and trying to decide what to eat for dinner. (My field notes, 2014).

All these meaning negotiations above were conduct in English in the participant's local context, being part of Stort and Biondo (2016) statistics that at least half of the world's population uses more than one language in their daily interactions. The participants used English in their linguistic practices and, following their own purposes, they chose this language in their linguistic repertoire. When it comes to English, mostly of the participant's interlocutors were people who did not share the same mother tongue with them and who belonged to the outer or expanding circle of English speakers, an instance of the intensification of contact among people from different cultures and linguistic habits – fostered by mass tourism, immigration, international trade, by the Internet itself, as Storto and Biondo (2016) point out.

In this regards, I highlight Storto and Biondo' s ideas (2016) who claim that "as it is used by millions and millions of speakers throughout the world, English ends up fragmenting and adapting itself to the speakers' communicative needs in situated contexts" (p.

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as he considered that it would involve someone else. I respected that.

[94] In Amazonian folklore, the "boto" (fresh water dolphin) is a character that receives much interest, due to its legend. The legend of the boto, told by the ancient people (mostly "ribeirinhos, the ones who live in communities scattered along the rivers in the Amazon), tells the history of the boto who, in nights of full moon, become a very handsome man and seeks to night-time parties, which are very common in the "comunidades ribeirinhas". Like a gentleman, he flirts, enchanting the first pretty, young woman he sees, and takes her down to the river. Nine months later, the girl deliveries a baby and every person in the community is absolutely sure the father is the boto.

83). This being so, English can be deemed as "a language whose uses and meanings extend beyond the geographical boundaries of the countries usually associated with it and point to different normative and regulating centres" (p. 83).

Such linguistic practices aforementioned belong to an increasingly sociolinguistic phenomenon[95] where speakers from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds come into contact on a global scale and adopt English as a contact language, a *lingua franca*, in contexts where the language is used for various communicative purposes (De Bartolo, 2014). In this section, attention will be drawn to what communicative strategies the participants and their interlocutors, belonging to different "linguacultural" (Cogo & Dewey, 2012, p. 136) backgrounds, used in order to facilitate the achievement of mutual comprehension. In line with De Bartolo (2014), I acknowledge that, when choosing to follow ELF school of thought, we accept the creative, changeable, dynamic character of the language; in other words, we recognize the linguistic diversity which emerges from the contribution of speakers and listeners engaged in interaction (2014, p. 454).

Easily defined as "the common language of choice, among speakers who come from different linguacultural backgrounds" (Jenkins 2009, p. 200), ELF research have a great majority of the works followed the ideas of Seidlhofer et al.'s (2006, p. 21) for future ELF research "to proceed by way of clearly situated qualitative studies with a strong ethnographic element", by producing various studies concerning different communities of practice (Cogo, 2010). I believe my study suits this suggestion, since it seeks, following an ethnographic perspective, to identify the roles that English plays in a contact zone where Portuguese is the mother tongue but interactions may occur in English.

In this section, I build on pragmatic strategies that the participants and their interlocutors engaged in meaning construction and negotiation. When using "meaning" in interactions, I followed Thomas (1995), to whom:

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[95] ELF in this study is understood as a sociolinguistic phenomenon as sociolinguists investigate the relationship between language and society with the objective of understanding why we speak the way we do, the social functions of language (De Bartolo, 2014).

> Meaning is not something which is inherent in the words alone, nor is it produced by the speaker alone, nor by the listener alone. Making meaning is a dynamic process, involving the negotiation of meaning between speaker and hearer, the context of utterance and the meaning potential of the utterance (1995, p. 22).

In order to negotiate ELF interactions, "speakers actively and skilfully shape and co-construct the language; they manipulate its linguistic resources and give life to new repertories" (De Bartolo, 2014, p. 454). As the majority of these interactions use to occur in diverse cultural and linguistic contexts, "speakers in ELF communication establish communicative strategies to facilitate understanding and overcome non- understanding" (De Bartolo, 2014, p. 455). In recent years, research has paid particular attention to ELF speakers' shared repertoire, and explored the situated and strategic interaction which makes use of their multilingual resources (Cogo 2009; Klimpfinger 2009).

Before I start the analysis of the participants' interactions, a few caveats are in order. In drawing on such interactions, I was very interested in identifying the ways the participants used English as a common resource together with their interlocutors in naturally occurring face to face interaction. This being so, I focused on identifying the common strategies the participants used in order to achieve successful ELF communication, as well as how issues as identity and culture were expressed in these ELF encounters.

I believe that social interactions are always permeated by identity issues and although some ELF researches have suggested that ELF can be considered a culture and identity free means of communication (House, 1999, 2003; Meierkord, 2002; Kirkpatrick, 2007), in my study I align myself with Baker (2015), to whom, "in much of the discussions of 'neutral' ELF communication the claim seems to be focused on cultural identities associated with national conceptions of culture" (p. 123).

In this sense, Baker (2015) points out that the claim may be true in that there will almost certainly be instances where national culture identities are not made relevant by the participants in ELF

communication. However, Baker (2015) goes on to argue that "this is to take a rather essentialist view of cultural identity in assuming that the only cultural identity those interacting through ELF can make relevant is national identities as nation and culture associations and correspondingly national cultural identities are just one possible level or scale among many in interpreting culture and identity" (2015, p. 123)

In fact, when it comes to the English practices the participants engaged or the ones we co constructed together, I tried not to reduce their identities to their local habitat, although it naturally presented itself very strongly, and I was aware that, as Kalocsai (2014) have suggested, ELF can serve as an important means "in building and maintaining locally relevant identities" (2014, p 212), and, I believe, contributing to global and relevant identities, as well.

To briefly repeat, Alter do Chão is a contact zone where people from different backgrounds met and chose English as a common linguistic resource to negotiate meaning. Similar to any other ELF context, English linguistic practices in Alter do Chão cannot be based on national boundaries, as it is not easy to categorized ELF settings as "the other circle" or the "expanding circle" (Matsumoto, 2011). According to Promodou (2003), such contexts allow English speakers from all circles to comingle and develop uniquely situated norms of appropriateness. Such contact zones are third spaces- transcultural, transnational, interstitial spaces (Bhabha, 1994) that challenge the relevance of national borders in determining linguistic identity. According to Matsumoto (2011), in this third space, ELF speakers seem to have an equal claim to membership, and they exist in their own universe without being compared to other speakers.

In the next subsections, I present instances of strategies the participants adopted in order to negotiate meaning in English to their own purposes.

4.1.1 "Aí, o que eu aprendi fui treinando sozinha. E também com os gringos, né? Assim como tu tá vendo, misturando tudo"[96]- When English and Portuguese mix

When I asked Remedios about her local practices of English, she replied me that she used this language to meet new people, since, according to her, "everybody speaks English nowadays". She also pointed out that, in order to understand and being understood by her interlocutors, she used to mix English and Portuguese in the same sentence. Actually, it was a very common practice in Remedios' interactions with her friends from outside Brazil and with tourists, and in all these meaning negotiations, English and Portuguese seemed not to be two different codes. The same occurred in other participants' social networks:

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[96] When I asked Remedios regarding her practices in English language, she replied me with this utterance: "What I learnt, I used to practice by myself. And with the *gringos*, right? Just the way you are witnessing, mixing everything" (English and Portuguese).

Screenshot, 2014: *Pilar on her Facebook profile, using the two languages that coexist in her linguistic repertoire ("Go, Canada! My friend Roy", answering in Portuguese the compliment originally made in English and finally, mixing the languages: "Thank you!! Feliz Natal").*

Jacquemet (2005) argues that we need to take into account the recombinant qualities of language mixing, hybridization, and creolization. This change in perspective in order to understand and to approach communicative relations is paramount in a world where an increasingly number of people interact in communicative environments that are historic and culturally distant, through new technologies of communication, as Lucena and Nascimento (2016) point out.

In analysing these language practices, as for instance, the one that Pilar engaged in the example above, Jacquemet (2005) proposes to use the term transidiomatic practices to describe the communicative practices of transnational groups that interact using different languages and communicative codes simultaneously present in a range of communicative channels, both local and distant. These transidiomatic practices, Lucena and Nascimento (2016) goes on to

argue, help to understand how people in mobility situations negotiate meaning making use of a multiplicity of means in face to face or long distance interactions.

Pilar, on her Facebook profile interaction above, makes use of transidiomatic practices, because, as Jacquemet (2005) points out, transidiomatic practices usually produce linguistic innovations with heavy borrowing from English, for example, but any number of other languages could be involved in these communicative recombination, depending on the reterritorialization needs and wants of the speakers, in her case, Pilar chose her mother tongue, Portuguese.

In fact, Canagarajah (2013) points out that "users treat all available codes as a repertoire in their everyday communication" (2013, p. 6). Remedios and Zelig, her friend from Germany to whom she used to talk in English[97], seemed to corroborate this idea, as they used to mix two codes in order to reach mutual understanding. In these very common social practices, Portuguese and English "cease to be separate languages altogether and are simply part of one shared set of linguistic resources" (Saraceni, 2015, p. 123). In this sense, according to this author, the way Remedios and her friends "make use of their shared linguistic repertoire is not at all different from what other people do when they use only one named language" (Saraceni, 2015, p. 123), as for instance, English, Portuguese or Spanish. Instances of this language hybridity can be seen in the vignette below:

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[97] This was a common practice between the two friends, in order to have fun. Zelig can speak Portuguese, However, they sometimes negotiate meaning using English as a língua franca, the common language of choice.

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Remedios, Amaranta[98] and I were at the pizzeria in Alter do Chão. Zelig[99], and one of his closest friends[100] were with us. They were trying to speak in English at the table. Remedios started the conversation by saying in Portuguese: "Ah, fala vocês também" Amaranta replied in Portuguese: "Eu não, não entendo nada que vocês falam" Remedios then said: "Tu entende sim. Entender é mais fácil, falar é difícil". Zelig tried to go on a conversation in English, cheering the girls up by saying: "Everybody can speak English, but nobody is speaking". I believe Amaranta felt comfortable enough and said in English: "How are you, baby" [@@] Remedios was not laughing, and replied to Zelig: "I can't [speak]. I can understand [English]. Zelig said, pointing in Remedios' direction: "Everybody can. But you are very shy!". She did not agree and said: "I understand. I am not shy". Zelig went on: "Many people, I mean, when you are speaking" = Remedios interrupted him, stating, in both Portuguese and English: = "the problem is   people querem que você speak perfect" (Taken from my field diary, August 2014). [101]

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[98] Amaranta is Remedios' friend, but not a participant of this study.

[99] Zelig is a German young man who speaks Portuguese and comes very often to Alter do Chão   village, mainly in the dry season. He owns some business in Germany and he is a triathlon athlete, as well. He speaks Portuguese and he has many friends in the village, most of them native inhabitants. Zelig told me he likes to speak in English with the girls because he believes it is important to learn other languages. He also told me he taught some words in German to Remedios, because he considers her a very smart girl, who learns things very fast.

[100] Another German young man who does not speak Portuguese and, in his own words, speaks very little English.

[101] Remedios: Ah, you guys have to speak English, too! Amaranta: Not me! I don't understand   anything you are talking about. Remedios: You do understand! To understand is easier, to speak is difficult. Zelig: Everybody can speak English, but nobody is speaking. Remedios: I can't. I can

It is noteworthy that, in the majority of the interactions between the participants of this study and the visitors of the village, English was used as a Lingua Franca in order to achieve mutual understanding. However, in the specific interaction above, Remedios and Zelig *chose* to use English in order to negotiate meaning. It would be worthwhile to consider it a matter of choice because Zelig can speak Portuguese, however, English at that night was the shared code chosen by the two friends to suit their conversation purposes.

Although she showed some resistance at the beginning of the conversation in English ("ah, fala vocês também") speaking in Portuguese and trying to make Amaranta and I speak in English as well, Remedios goes on to argue that she considers difficult to speak in this language. In a very informal and natural way, Remedios and Zelig mix English and Portuguese, corroborating Blommaert (2010) claiming that languages are "mobile resources" (Blommaert, 2010, p. 49) that are appropriated by people for their purposes and these resources index meaning and gain form in situated contexts for specific interlocutors in their social practices.

In this regards, Blommaert (2010, p.143) proposes a "sociolinguistics of mobile resources" and according to Storto and Biondo (2016), it is "a way of understanding and coping with the complex, fluid sociolinguistic contexts of globalization, Blommaert seeks to associate languages with the mobility of people and discursive practices and to bring to light the diversity of meanings deriving from the meshing and blending of language resources" (p. 82). In the vignette below, more instances of this mobility between languages can be seen:

> The conversation went on, in English and Portuguese. [The waiter brings a coke to our table]. Remedios said: "é poison. Mas é bom". Zelig's friend, so far in silence, asked in English: "so, when I meet people who speak Portuguese, what can I say? Remedios replied: "e aí, tudo bem?" "Whats up"? "Beleza"?

understand. Zelig: Everybody can. But you are very shy [he talks to Remedios]. Remedios: I understand. I am not shy. Zelig: Many people, I mean, when you are speaking...Remedios: The problem is people want you to speak *perfect*! [In original, Remedios use code mixing to say this sentence].

Everybody at the table laughed. Amaranta asked a question that, at first, seemed not to be following the conversation: "como é que fala gato?" Remedios said in English: "cat" Amaranta, then replied: "não, em alemão" Remedios turned herself to Zelig: "how they say in German?" Zelig said in German: "katze". Amaranta said in Portuguese: "ah, então, volta lá pro português: olágatinha". Zelig seemed to understand the point and said, nodding his head: "no, no, no, it is crazy"[102]. Remedios argued: "No is crazy, is cute". Zelig, in an attempt to made himself very clear, used both languages: "only here in Brazil you can do it. Oi, gatinha. Não pode não". Remedios tried to convince him by saying: "pode ser assim: "oi, Silvia, tá gatinha hoje". É diferente" But Zelig, in order to cease any doubts regarding his opinion, said in Portuguese: "falar gatinha não é legal"[103] (Taken from my field diary, August 2014).

A closer observation of the dialogue above shows that, as Canagarajarah (2013) points out, "languages are not necessarily at war with each other, they complement each other in communication" (2013, p. 6). In the conversation above, English and Portuguese mix and this does not cause any loss to the mutual intelligibility. In fact,

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[102] I believe Zelig disagreed because he understands that to refer to a woman using the word "gata" can be very invasive, especially if you are not close to the person.

[103] Remedios: It is poison. However, it is good! Zelig's friend: So, when I meet people who speak Portuguese, what can I say? Remedios: "Hey, how are you?", "What's up"? Amaranta: How do you say "gata"? Remedios: Cat. Amaranta: No, I mean, in German. Remedios: How they say in German? Zelig: Katze. Amaranta: So, back to Portuguese, "Hi, *gata"* [In Portuguese, "gata" can be either the animal "cat" or an informal and somewhat rude way to say that a woman is beautiful]. Zelig: No, no, no, it is crazy Remedios: No is crazy, is cute! Zelig: Only here in Brazil you can do it. "Hi, gatinha". You can't do it. Remedios: Can be like this: Hi, Silvia. You are "gatinha" today. It is different. Silvia: Yes, but when a guy says "hi, gatinha" to me, I don't like it. I like when people say my name. Zelig: To say "gatinha" is not cool.

as Canagarajah (2013) acknowledges, the influences of one language on the other can be creative, enabling, and offer possibilities for voice. Regarding possibilities for voice, it is interesting to notice that, putting into practice their agency while speakers, Remedios and Zelig used to use Portuguese when they wanted to make their voices very clear, as, for instance, when Remedios claims "the problem is people **querem** que **você** speak perfect", "é poison, mas é **bom**, "oi, gatinha". **Não pode não**" and "**falar gatinha não é legal**", when Zelig disagrees of Remedios' point of view.

When using English to conduct their linguistic practices, Remedios and Zelig adopted some strategies in order to negotiate meaning. In fact, the two friends corroborate Canagarajah's ideas (2013) that meaning just not arise from a common grammatical system or norm, but through negotiation practices in local situations. One of these strategies they used was to mesh Portuguese and English, mainly when they wanted to express their opinions more clearly. Remedios and Zelig's attitudes echoes, once again, Canagarajah' s ideas (2013) in his call for users treat all available codes as a repertoire in their everyday communication, and not separated according to their labels.

In recent years, studies that focused on English in contact situations, as ELF contexts for instance, have begun to expand and to give more emphasis to the exploration of pragmatic negotiations in contact situations and to acknowledge that "the practices of interpersonal negotiation that enable people to achieve intelligibility and communicative success are as important as the shared grammatical norms", as Canagarajah (2013, p. 64) asserts.

In fact, still according to Canagarajah (2013), ELF scholars have gradually moved closer to the practice-based perspective, as, for instance, Seidlhofer (2009, p. 242), who states that "in many speech events, boundaries between languages seems to be perceived fluid or irrelevant", and Jenkins et al (2011, p. 9), to whom "it becomes clear that ELF cannot be considered a "variety" in any traditional sense of the term. Even the early language- focused ELF research had observed how ELF varied according to both speaker's other languages/cultures and the effect of contextual factors on accommodative behaviour". Still according to this author, the contextual element has taken centre stage in ELF research and its role found to be rather more important than originally anticipated (Jenkins, et al., 2011).

These revisions in the understanding of ELF are moving it

closer to a consideration of English as a translingual practice[104] (Canagarajah, 2013). The term translingual, used in this study, is an attempt to cope with the forms English takes in situations of contact, as it conceives the language relationships in more dynamic   terms (Canagarajah,2013). Still according to Canagarajah (2013), the term translingual understands that "the semiotic resources in one's repertoire or in society interact more closely, become part of an integrated resource, and enhance each other.

The languages mesh in transformative ways, generating new meanings and grammars" (Canagarajah, 2013, p.8). This being so, the interactions in this section will be analysed in light of the translingual approach because it helps to understand how English in a contact zone, such as the context of investigation, works and what sort of strategies the participants adopted in order to negotiate their differences.

As stated in the theoretical debates, Rocha and Maciel (2015) understand translingual practices as a "strategy of resistance", that occurs through practice, bringing to light performances of agency and locality (2015, p. 432). Such performances, according to these authors, are dynamic and changing, and through them, the participants can put into practice their voices, subjectivities and identities. I argue that Remedios and Zelig's interaction is an instance of agency and locality performances since, without looking for a single uniform code, as they used to mix English and Portuguese in their performances, they were able to negotiate their different Englishes for intelligibility and effective communication (Canagarajah, 2013).

English as a contact language works through the strategies people adopt to negotiate their differences (Canagarajah, 2013, p. 76), and, in my way of understanding, the similarities they identify with their interlocutors. Remedios and Zelig made use of such strategies, what is going to become clear as I proceed. To Canagarajah (2013, p. 79), these negotiation strategies are divided into four components: envoicing, recontextualization, interactional, and entextualization.

I believe that Remedios and Zelig meaning negotiation

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[104] It has to be made very clear that English is mostly used in the village as a língua Franca, although negotiation strategies that translanguaging encompass are present in participant's social practices.

described above is an instance of envoicing strategy in the sense that this strategy provided each of them an identity and voice in performing English. According to Canagarajah (2013), this shows that "achieving intelligibility and success in communication does not involve a sacrifice of people's peculiarities" (2013, p. 89). I argue that mainly because they use to   negotiate difference in every opportunity they had, despite the fact that they always pointed out in their own words, "because you are German and I am Brazilian"[105] or vice versa.

We can see that they start to negotiate meaning without leaving aside the sense of themselves. Zelig affirms that, although Remedios can speak English, she does not do that because she is shy. Remedios does not see herself as a shy person, what she immediately questions, by saying: "I understand [she refers here to the English language, as she used to point out that she could understand the language, not talk], I am not shy". Her assertiveness was an instance of how speakers can negotiate their individual interests (in this case, to convey the message that the fact she did not want to talk in English had nothing to do with her presumed shyness, but with her own abilities with this language) without affecting the conversation.

They go on the conversation and they adopt interactional strategy, which Canagarajah (2013, p. 82) pointed out as a social activity of co-constructing meaning by adopting reciprocal and collaborative strategies. Remedios asks "how they say [the word cat] in German?", and Zelig replies "Katze", showing that he did not have any problem in intelligibility despite Remedios' own style of collocating words. My transcription shows that, similar to Canagarajah's analysis of a group of students using ELF in meaning negotiation (2013), "features of what we might consider deviations from native English speaker's grammatical norms do not cause misunderstandings or non- intelligibility" (2013, p. 95).

In fact, collaborative attitudes were adopted in more parts of the conversation and I believe it is important to bring Cardoso's ideas (2015), here because she states that translanguaging opens up spaces of tolerance and respect. When Zelig claims that calling a woman

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[105] When the two friends disagreed in any subject that could resemble cultural issues, both of them used to address it as being a matter of nationality.

"gatinha" is not a good thing to say in Portuguese ("no, no, no, it is crazy"), Remedios answers, "no is crazy, is cute". It was a very common practice for her not to use the verb to be or personal pronouns in some sentences, however, despite her idiosyncratic grammatical uses, Zelig did not misunderstand her utterances, replying, now in a mix of codes "only here in Brazil you can do it. Oi, gatinha. Não pode não". With this attitude, Zelig corroborates Canagarajah (2013, p. 84) ideas that "it is possible to be supportive in conversational procedures and resistant in the message".

In the conversation above, Remedios and her friend Zelig, using some negotiation strategies such as envoicing and interactional, and through a collaborative attitude, achieved mutual intelligibility, through a high degree of cooperation in order to achieve the aim of successful communication and shared understanding. In the next interaction, Remedios negotiates meaning with Zoran, a young man from Norway, who was engaged to her friend Fernanda, and who does not speak Portuguese. Zoran used to speak English the whole time at the village, being an instance of an ELF speaker in a contact zone:

Fernanda del Carpio[106], Zoran[107] and I were together at the place we use to meet in order to eat sandwiches[108] and talk, and Amaranta, another friend of them, was with us, too. Remedios noticed that Zoran was not wearing a golden ring on his right hand, as do all fiancés in Brazil. She, then, engaged herself in a conversation with him, using Portuguese and English, in order to convince him to wear one. I found very interesting the way Remedios started the conversation, by using English and Portuguese: "Tu like Fernanda del Carpio?". Fernanda replied: "Yes!" Remedios went on

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[106] She is one of Remedios' closest friends in Alter do Chão.

[107] As he does not speak Portuguese, the couple used to talk in English.

[108] The place is located at the central street of the village and it is always busy, mainly in the dry season.

by saying: "Ele I love, né [@@@]. Cadê teu ring?" [She asked Zoran, making gestures]. Zoran answered: "In Norway, we don´t need to wear it". Remedios understood the sentence and replied in Portuguese: "Mas aqui é Brasil e aqui tu tem que usar" (Taken from my field diary, June, 2014).

Adopting some translingual strategies, Remedios and Zoran engaged in a negotiation of a cultural practice that they were used to regarding engagement rings. At first, all the negotiation can be deemed as a cultural difference that can lead to a problem to be solved. However, flexibility, adaptation and negotiation were present in this interaction, leading to mutual understanding.

Because I agree with Blommaert (2010, p. 1), in his call for the understanding that "the world has not become a village, but rather a tremendously complex web of villages, towns, neighbourhoods, settlements connected by material and symbolic ties in often unpredictable ways", I emphasize that the constructs culture, communication and language in the ELF contact zone I investigated will be understood under theories that highlight the complexity of them.

The term culture has been reconceptualised as "a complex social system, as opposed to natural system, that emerges through individual's joint participation in the world giving rise to sets of shared knowledge, beliefs, values, attitudes and practices" (Baker, 2015, p. 71). This sharedness, according to Baker (2015), "comes about through the social sedimentation of particular sets or systems of knowledge, beliefs, values, attitudes and practices in which repeated usage gives rise to the emergence of norms and patterns" (Baker, 2015, p. 71).

In fact, in this study, and following the idea of culture as movement and change (Baker, 2015, p. 67), culture is not treated as a definite concept. In addition, borrowing Baker's ideas (2015), I do not expect to find a singular definition of intercultural communication applicable in all contexts and for all purposes. I acknowledge that culture intertwines to every social practice[109]

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[109] My translation. In original: "a cultura se entrelaça em toda prática social".

(Hall, 2003, p. 141). Yet, my characterization of culture is that its complexity does not allow simplistic definitions such as thing individuals or nations hold. In my investigation, I prefer characterize culture as something we *do* instead of something we *have*. As Holliday (2011, 2013) proposes, culture is here understood as a constructed social practice, a "negotiated process" (2011, p. 58).

In the interaction above, Remedios and Zoran performed recurrent cultural practices that are "lived and experienced" (Hall, 2003, p. 142) by them as individuals who belong to certain groups. Although I do mention here the nation aspect (the Norwegian man who does not wear a golden ring because, as he states "In Norway we don't need to wear it", on line 4), it would be worthwhile to consider that I do not mean to generalize that every individual of a certain group will perform the same cultural practice. In fact, to be with the other, negotiating meaning, is, in my understanding, an intercultural experience.

A closer observation of the interaction above shows that Remedios makes use of a significant amount of code mixing, in talking to Zoran. I noticed that she used to talk more in English with Zelig, her German friend, as they had more intimacy than she had with Zoran. However, it is interesting to notice that even when she meshed Portuguese and English in the same sentence, Zoran, showing flexibility and adaptation to Remedios' own style of collocating words, acted as if he had understood the utterances, as in the excerpts below:

> Remedios: Ele I love, né @@@. Cadê teu ring? Zoran: In Norway, we don´t need to wear it
> Remedios: Mas aqui é Brasil e aqui tu tem que usar. Tu precisa. You have to buy!
>
> Zoran: Yes...I can buy one here
>
> Remedios: Yes! You need! Que é isso? Tu é single? Zoran: No, I am not single[110]

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[110] Remedios: He loves you, right? [She laughs]. Where is your ring? Zoran: In Norway, we don´t need to wear it. Remedios: But you are in Brazil, and here you have to wear it. So you need it. You have to

The use of code mixing in negotiating meaning as showed above echoes some ideas of scholars such as Firth (1996), Firth and Wagner (1997), and Seidlhofer (2004), who argue that ELF speakers collaboratively communicate with each other, conduct the interaction toward mutual understanding. In similar vein, Canagarajah (2007) points out that ELF speakers often try to align with each other in their interaction rather than produce any misalignment or disjuncture because they wish to communicate intelligibly and comfortably, what can be seen in the interaction above.

In the excerpt below, Remedios and Zoran provide a construction of solidarity and mutual understanding in their interaction through techniques as smiling, laughing and nodding:

> Remedios: Vai lá e fala assim: eu quero um anel de coquinho
> Zoran: Eu quero um anel de coquinho
> Remedios: Isso, eu quero um anel de coquinho Zoran: /kəʊˈkeɪn/
> Remedios: Coquinho, não cocaína @@@ Zoran: No cocaína? @@@
> Remedios: Não é cocaína não! Coquinho é seed. Não. Coquinho is like coconut. Coconut tree[111]

Since the beginning of this interaction, Remedios wanted to display the message that Zoran needed an engagement ring. She

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buy! Zoran: Yes...I can buy one here. Remedios: What is that about? Are you single? Zoran: No, I am not single.

[111] Remedios: Go to the store and say: I want a little coconut ring. [she shows a store that sells handicrafted rings made by coconut to Zoran. These rings, in a literal translation, are called in Alter do Chão "little coconut rings"] Zoran: I want a little coconut ring [he speaks in Portuguese with a very strong accent] Remedios: That is right! I want a little coconut ring. Zoran: /kəʊˈkeɪn/ Remedios: Little coconut, not cocaine [everybody laughs, because the way he spoke "little coconut", in Portuguese, sounded like cocaine, the drug] Zoran: No cocaine? [Zoran seems to understand the pun and laughs, too] Remedios: It is not cocaine! Little coconut is a seed. No. Little coconut is like coconut. Coconut tree.

started the conversation by asking him about his feelings for Fernanda, his fiancée ("Tu like Fernanda del Carpio?" "Ele I love, né [@@@]. Cadê teu ring?"). Despite the words she used in Portuguese, Remedios used English to show Zoran her opinion that it was very important that he, as a fiancé in Brazil, wore a golden ring, as she was born and raised in one of the cultural group of people that performs the ritual of engagement with golden rings for both fiancés[112]

When using English in the conversation, Remedios made use of envoicing strategy, as such strategy also has a persuasive dimension (Canagarajah, 2013, p. 90). In many instances above, she tried to win over her interlocutor to her way of looking at things ("Can't. I give one to you", "Que é isso? Tu é single? ", "You have to buy", "Yes! You need"). In English at the contact zone, speakers desire to be understood with all their social and cultural particularity (Canagarajah, 2013, p. 80), and that was Remedios tried to do with Zoran.

She also made use of interaction strategy as such strategy do not only encompasses meaning negotiation, but also rhetorical and social considerations (Canagarajah, 2013). Canagarajah argues (2013, p. 83) that these strategies "help to negotiate identity and power. They help to convey performative meanings, negotiate disagreements, or influence people's opinions". I believe negotiations of identity and power have happened in the interaction between Remedios and Zoran.

Remedios was very comfortable in a position of power, as she was in her local context, with her close friends, explaining a cultural practice she was used to and that was meaningful for her. She influenced Zoran, who was the foreigner, the visitor, and who, despite explaining the cultural practice regarding engagement rings he was familiar with, was open to (re) negotiate this difference or at least temporarily modify to suit Remedios's interest.

Remedios and Zoran, in the interaction above, corroborated the idea that culture deemed as practice, that is something we do,

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[112] It is interesting to notice that when Remedios got engaged to her boyfriend from Finland, he did not wear an engagement ring, and she did not ask him to do it. An instance of culture as movement and change can be seen in her attitude one year later that this interaction happened.

instead of something we have, and these practices can be deemed as multiple, fluid, complex and always in process. As Baker (2015, p. 107) points out, "our descriptions and interpretations of culture emerge from the aggregated behaviour of individuals but are not reducible to any one individual. To assume that an individual is synonymous with particular cultural systems to which they may identify, or be identified with, is to essentialise the relationship between culture and identity" Rather, "individuals can identify with, or be identified with particular cultural systems to a greater of lesser extent, but individuals are members of a great many social groups, including, potentially, multiple cultural systems" (Baker, 2015, p. 107).

The interaction I presented here is an instance that echoes Holliday's ideas (2011, p. 66) that "individuals construct different cultural identities based on the diverge range of cultural experiences, resources and groupings they have access to and experienced of". When Zoran gets up, at the end of the conversation, in order to buy a symbolic ring, we can see the link between language and culture "emerging in situ as a result of adaptation and negotiation on the part of the participants" (Baker, 2015, p. 99). As Canagarajah (2013) asserts, interlocutors have the agency to move beyond their "native" cultures to reconstruct third cultures or new spaces for the negotiation of meaning.

4.1.2 "Eu sei que eu falei errado, mas eu queria comunicar primeiro, entendeu?[113]" – English beyond the code.

At the very beginning of my observations, I asked Ursula to come to her tour agency that is also her house, in order to understand her English practices with possible guests. She was very honest and warned me that, at that time, the rainy season, it could be very difficult to have visitors at the village[114]. As soon as the rains

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[113] "I know I made some mistakes, but I wanted to communicate first", says Úrsula.

[114] As explained before, Alter do Chão has two seasons, the dry and the rainy. During the rainy season, the beaches are flooded, and the village does not receive guests.

stopped, at the end of July, I started to go to her place.

Ursula was very confident in using English with her clients, and with me as well. Many guests arrived at her tour agency speaking in Spanish, and Ursula told me that it was "because is the language that many tourists consider very close to Portuguese but, this is not true" (Ursula, informal talk, 2014). Putting into practice her agency as an English speaker, Ursula used to say "we can talk English, I don't speak Spanish". In fact, English was not only her tool to gain financial improvement, she really had an emotional attachment with this language, although she believed that "there is nothing wrong in using English only to gain money in here" (Ursula, interview, September 2014).

My warmest CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR BIRTHDDAY
Today I will go to ⬛ ⬛ and their beatiful little ⬛ He is a really fun little child.
Please say hello to your sister.

Ver tradução

👍 Curtir   💬 Comentar

⬛Thanks ⬛ We never forget yuor family. I MISS ALL, and say hello to all. I LOOKING FOR TO KNOW THIS BABY!
Ver tradução
25 de setembro de 2014 às 22:24 · Curtir

Screenshot, 2014: *Ursula answering a birthday wish on her Facebook profile.*

Ursula also argued that her main interest in a conversation is "to understand and to be understood", as in the excerpt below:

Silvia: Porque tu achou melhor falar em inglês com eles, Úrsula?
Úrsula: Porque espanhol eu entendo, mas eu não sei responder em espanhol. Em inglês é mais fácil pra mim, de entender, de comunicar.
Silvia: Certo, aí ela falou que talvez...
Úrsula: Talvez tivesse deixado no ônibus. Aí eu falei **the bus returned already to Santarém.** Eu sei que eu falei errado, mas eu queria comunicar primeiro, entendeu?
Sivia: Mas por que tu falou errado? O que quer dizer falar errado?
Úrsula: Falar errado gramaticalmente o inglês, porque eu percebi...sempre eu percebo [o "erro"], mas eu não volto. Porque na verdade eu queria primeiro me
comunicar. Entendeu? E ela entendeu, né?
(Taken from my field diary, 2014)[115]

In the situation above, a couple from France had just lost their camera inside the bus. The woman arrived at the tour agency speaking to Ursula in Spanish, "Mi camera". Ursula then, started a meaning negotiation in English that can be seen in the vignette below:

The French woman was nervous and said: "I went to the bus stop, we only saw one bus and I checked, it was not the bus we took, so we took the telephone number of the company, we were thinking about maybe calling" = Ursula interrupted her, by saying: = "Yeah, but you have called already?" The French

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[115] Silvia: Why did you choose to speak in English with them, Ursula? Ursula: Because I understand Spanish, but I don't know how to answer in this language. It is easier for me to understand, to communicate in English. Silvia: Right. So, she told you that maybe…Ursula: maybe have left in the bus (the camera). Then I said **the bus returned already to Santarém.** I know it is wrong, but I wanted to communicate first**,** do you understand? Silvia: But why do you think it is wrong? What does "wrong" means to you? Ursula: To speak wrong...grammatically speaking, because I noticed, I Always notice (the mistake), but I do not correct. I wanted to communicate first. And she understood, right?

woman answered: "No, no, we don't have a phone, my phone is not working" Ursula started to look for something in her table and said to the girl: "You should have *ask* somebody in the office". The French woman replied: "Ok, do you know if sometimes the driver goes in the bus and check if there are things?" Ursula answered [she had a piece of paper in her hands] "No, I don't know, maybe...there is somebody that gets money that we call "cobradora" and maybe she checks if you ask...if is somebody from the company, maybe they keep it". Ursula then said in both languages: "Eu acho que eu tenho esse número aqui [from the bus company] I go to see if I have the number of the company here and I can call". The French woman seemed more relieved and said: "Ok, thank you very much" While dialling the numbers, Ursula asked: "You just arrive here in Alter do Chão?" The French woman did not understand at first: "Sorry?" Ursula repeated using the same structure: You just arrive here in Alter do Chão? The French woman seemed to understand and said: "No, we arrived yesterday, but we went to Santarém first". Ursula finished the conversation by saying "Ah, ok", before switching to Portuguese, as she was talking to the bus company. (Taken from my field diary, September, 2014).

This interaction is an instance that goes against any linguistic assumption that it is homogeneity that facilitates communication. Ursula had her own style of collocating words, that somehow deviated from established grammatical rules, as in the instances "but you have called already?" (instead of "have you already called, following standard norms), "you should have ask somebody in the office" (instead of "you should have asked"), "I go to see if I have the number of the company here and I can call" (instead of "I am going to see") and "you just arrive here in Alter do Chão?" (instead of "have you just arrived here in Alter do Chão?), and this behaviour was not a problem to her interlocutors, who have their own style of communication as well.

Throughout the transcription, I did not notice any problems in intelligibility due to this grammatical difference, although they had to accommodate their own style to Ursula's idiosyncratic grammatical uses, as when Camille, in order to gain uptake, says "sorry?" (on line 18). This echoes Matsumoto's ideas (2011) who points out that when using ELF in order to negotiate meaning, speakers make their interlocutors' "deviant" usage appear normal through repetition, repair, and confirmation checks; that is, they attend less to linguistically "anomalous" forms and instead try to make sense of what is being said in their situated interaction. In the same line, Seidlhofer (2004) argues that misunderstandings are not frequent in ELF interactions; when they do occur, they tend to be resolved either by topic change, or, less often, by overt negotiation using communication strategies such as rephrasing and repetition.

Khubchandani (1997) claims that multilinguals bring with them intuitive strategies that facilitate healthy negotiation, which can also explain the French couple's attitudes towards Ursula's interpersonal norms, as for instance, each time the French women replies Ursula's questions or corroborates her utterances without focusing on linguistic matters.

Close connected to the use of English as a common resource is how Ursula and the French couple display equality and legitimacy as English language speakers. It is undeniable that the interaction is successfully managed by them. As Canagarajah (2013) points out, "the space constructed for talk is not one with shared norms, it is paradoxically, a space where differences can be displayed freely and negotiated actively" (2013, p. 82). In the space constructed for talk in the example above, personal, contextual and social dimensions, the central constructs of any act of communication (Canagarajah, 2013) are presented.

Moreover, as Canagarajah (2013) points out, the differences in form that we can observe in Ursula's talk can be part of envoicing strategy when using ELF. The differences, according to this author, serve to individuate the speakers. Still, according to this author, "speakers may accentuate their differences from others by moving away from uniform uses and shared norms. Such strategies provide each of them an identity and voice, and this shows that achieving intelligibility and success in communication does not involve a sacrifice of people's peculiarities" (Canagarajah, 2013, p. 89). Ursula's style of asking questions (you just arrive here in Alter do Chão?) is one of her grammatical peculiarities and they serve a

significant role in expressing her voice. I believe this is, as Canagarajah (2006) points out, a localization of English— an establishment of interpersonal norms suitable for each context of interaction, as she follows the structure of asking questions in her mother tongue, Portuguese.

Ursula's utterance "there is somebody that gets money that we call "cobradora" and maybe she checks if you ask...if is somebody from the company, maybe they keep it" shows how she evokes her local context, bringing to the interaction elements of her reality and, although talking to her interlocutors using their shared code, Ursula does not sacrifice her situated social voice and identity.

The interaction above is an instance of group solidarity in terms of accommodation themselves towards their interlocutor's idiosyncratic grammatical uses. This "display of solidarity" (House, 2003), leads to an open negotiation of meaning without sacrificing their own ELF speakers' identity. This instance of sensitivity to language diversity echoes the ideas of De Bartolo (2014), already stated in this work that, when following ELF school of thought, we recognize the linguistic diversity which emerges from the contribution of speakers and listeners engaged in interaction (2014, p. 454).

4.2 "EU ESTOU EXPLICANDO, NA SUA LÍNGUA, O QUE ACONTECE AQUI"[116]- LOCAL POSITIONS TOWARDS GLOBAL MOVEMENTS THROUGH ENGLISH PRACTICES

In this section, I will specifically address how the participants posit themselves towards global movements, and how English language can be a means to this end. As Pennycook (2010) states, studies of globalization always need to take into account local processes, mainly because the local can become the site of resistance, of tradition, of authenticity, of all that needs to be preserved. Still according to Pennycook (2010), "in order to understand the effects of globalization- whether we deal with this in terms of economics, the environment, political organization or media influence- we need to

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[116] "I am explaining in your language what is happening here", says Melquíades regarding his work as a tour guide and his feelings of accomplishment in speking in English what happens in his local context.

look locally at what happens" (p.4).

This being so, globalization needs to be understood also "in terms of local movements being global" (Pennycook, 2010, p. 4). As a matter of fact, in this section, the ways in which local values, identities, and interests are negotiated in the new role of English as a global contact language (Canagarajah, 2006) are going to be explored altogether with an attempt to interpret the "interpenetration of the global in the local and vice versa" (Canagarajah, 2006, p. 199).

Nevertheless, some caveats are in order, and the backdrops of this discussion need to be highlighted once again. In our current context of complexity and movement, where nothing is stable, and constructs such as language, identity and culture have become to be conceptualized as multiple, fluid, complex and always in process, preventing us from thinking of identities in essentialist terms (as belonging exclusively to one language or culture), languages and cultures as pure (separated from everything foreign), and communities as homogeneous (closed for contact with others) (Canagarajah, 2006) is of paramount importance. Still according to Canagarajah (2006), as these constructs are losing their status as bounded and objective entities, and we recognize their constructed, fluid, and hybrid nature, some scholars have beginning to doubt that local languages, identities, or communities have to be protected against the English language.

When describing how the participants display the representations they hold regarding their Amazonian identities, I have no intention to be essentialist. Rather, I intend to discuss how the participants' linguistic identity whilst speaking English can be seen as a way of reinforcing the set of beliefs they hold regarding what an "Amazonian identity" would be. The great majority of them were keen to emphasize that, in their English language practices in Alter do Chão village, they wanted to show people from every part of the world how local life happens through the eyes of the inhabitants. Ursula and Melquíades even pointed out their satisfaction in taking part of my research, affirming that it was a way of more people know that English was spoken and understood at the village.

At first, the beliefs the participants hold regarding their Amazonian identity may echo the essentialism perspective, which, according to Holliday (2011), "is commonly felt to be a bad thing, and, yet, continues to sit at the centre of common perceptions of culture both in the academy and in everyday life" (p.9). As a definition for the term, Holliday (2011) states that "essentialism

presents people's individual behaviour as entirely defined and constrained by the cultures in which they live so that the stereotype becomes the essence of who they are" (p. 9).

According to the essentialist perspective, "the world is divided into mutually exclusive national cultures" where "people in one culture are essentially different from people in another" (Holliday et al., 2004, p. 4). This being so, '"a culture" behaves like a single minded person with a specific, exclusive personality" and that "people's behaviour is defined or constrained by the culture in which they live" (2004, p. 5)

It is undeniable that the participants, at the time this research was being carried out, held a somewhat essentialist and strong perspective of what they believed an Amazonian identity would be. This could be easily perceived in their lexical choices, as going to be clear throughout this section. However, at the same time, by paying attention to what they actually did or said, I am keen to advocate that, in this regards, their English practices could be a site of "constructing a dialogue with local life" (Moita Lopes, 2003).

In fact, I do believe the participants did not mean to be essentialists. As Holliday pointed out, "if we think of a people's behaviour as defined and constrained by the culture in which they live, agency is transferred away from the individual to the culture itself" (Holliday, 2005, p. 18), and this definitively did not happen in Alter do Chão. Quite the opposite, the participants were able to exercise their agency as English speakers in their social practices, besides any positivist view of their culture that may have arisen. They were very proud of being from the Amazon, they enjoyed talking about the typical dishes, dances, music and everything that echoed their local life, and, I consider that, through English language, they tried to posit themselves locally towards global movements. Also, they were very open to people who do not share the same lingua and cultural backgrounds.

Moreover, in this section it is important to highlight the concept "linguistic identity" that in this study is understood in line with Anchimbe (2007), to whom, "linguistic identity deals with speaker's favourable attitudes towards, acceptance of, and defence of languages that they believe help them express a specificity that is theirs" (Anchimbe, 2007, p. 12). As a complement to this definition, in this study, linguistic identity is also understood as a constantly evolving and changing view of oneself during the course of using languages (Lewko, 2012).

With all these caveats made, I start the discussion of how the participants posit themselves locally regarding an Amazonian identity they claim to hold and how English played an important role in fostering it. In so doing, I have as a starting point Norton's words (2010) that every time we speak, we are negotiating and renegotiating our sense of self in relation to the larger social world, and reorganizing that relationship across time and space. This being so, a closer observation of the data gathered allows the interpretation that, through English, the participants negotiate their representations of their Amazonian identities, as can be seen in the excerpt below:

> Pra mim essa questão do inglês é importante porque você acaba comunicando como você vive. (...) . Entender a tua história. A forma como você vive. Não é tão diferente da forma como eles vivem lá**.** A diferença é talvez a falta de tecnologia[117] (Melquíades, interview, September, 2014).

Through English, Melquíades negotiates his sense of himself, an Amazonian man, and engages in conversations that highlights his local identity. Moreover, when using English in his social practices, Melquíades seems to corroborate Norton's ideas that, through language, a person gains access to- or is denied access to- powerful social networks that give users the opportunity to speak (2000). In the excerpt below, Melquíades is commenting about a book that focuses on the way of living in Santarém, written by a North American tour guide who lives in the city. It can be identified that, in Melquíades way of seeing things, his voice, as a local, is not heard in this book. Conveying his local knowledge through English, Melquíades gains access to the interactions he desires, thus, the opportunity to speak:

> (...) que é um livro que tem algumas coisas assim, mas muito de estrangeiro vendo a questão amazônica e não o brasileiro vendo realmente como é que a coisa acontece, como

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[117] To me this is the reason why English is important, because we can communicate how we live here (…) to understand your history. The way you live. It is not that different from the way they live there (in other countries). The difference may be the lack of technology

> é que é as coisas né, o modo de vida. Você expressar que é uma vida dura viver numa palafita, é diferente de um brasileiro, da Amazônia, que tá vivendo aquilo ali, mas pra ele não é uma vida dura, porque ele nunca teve luxo. É por isso que eu acho importante a gente falar inglês aqui[118].(Melquíades,interview, 2014).

Being able to speak English brings to Melquíades feelings of accomplishment. However, even this feeling encompasses his Amazonian identity, as can be seen in the excerpt below:

> Eu, na verdade eu sou um pouco orgulhoso com isso (de poder falar Inglês), eu acho isso o máximo. Quando você tem essa capacidade de se expressar em outra língua e você olha pra um turista e pensa, olha eu tô te explicando na tua língua, o que acontece aqui. Nesse ponto eu fico orgulhoso. É assim que eu me vejo mesmo. Legal você ter a capacidade, o poder...o cara tá visitando meu país e de repente ele encontra alguém aqui na Amazônia, que fala inglês e que, além disso, a pessoa vive essa realidade. Eu tenho orgulho de falar inglês por causa disso, porque eu quero contar a minha realidade aqui e é essa língua que o mundo ouve. De certa forma, é minha língua também, né?[119]

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[118] (…) that is a book that has some information from here (the Amazon), but this information is written by a foreigner. The way he sees the Amazon region, not how a local see it. When a foreigner writes that is hard to live in a stilt house is a different opinion from the ones who are living it, as they have never experienced another way of living. That is why I think it is important to us to speak English in here.

[119] I am proud of myself (because I can speak English). I think it is wonderful. When you have the ability
to express yourself in another language, and then, you look at a tourist and think: I am telling you, in your language, what happens in here. I am proud. That is how I see myself. The person is travelling in the Amazon, he finds someone who speaks English, and, besides, the person lives this

In this talk, Melquíades portrayed some beliefs he held regarding the English language. English was, to him, at the same time, the linguistic capital to tell others about his experiences as an Amazonian man (as when he states: "when you have the ability to express yourself in another language, and then, you look at a tourist and think: I am telling you, in your language, what happens in here. I am proud. That is how I see myself. The person is travelling in the Amazon, he finds someone who speaks English, and, besides, the person lives this reality") and an additional language he added in his linguistic repertoire (as he states: I am proud of speaking English because of this. Because English is the language the world listens to. In a way, it is my language too, right?).

In acknowledging that he owned the English language in a way ("in a way, it is my language too, right?"). Melquíades brought the discourse of appropriation into the picture. In this present study, the discourse of appropriation of the English language is understood as "a way of claiming possession of the language, but also, and possibly even more importantly, a way of redefining the concept of "standard" more dynamically and locally situated" (Saraceni, 2015, p. 162). As far as the affective belonging dimension of appropriation of a language is concerned, Melquíades really felt an emotional attachment to English. However, he always tried to relate his abilities in speaking English with his local identity, bringing to the conversation, aspects of his reality:

> E pra mim essa questão do inglês é importante porque você acaba comunicando como você vive. As coisas mais simples da vida. Outro dia eu tava explicando sobre manga para uns indianos. Eles conhecem três, quatro tipos de manga. Eles não conhecem os 25   tipos
> de manga que existem no Brasil[120]

reality. I am proud of speaking English because of this. Because English is the language the world listen to. In a way, it is my language too, right?

[120] In addition, in my opinion, English is important because you can tell others the way you live. The simplest things in life. One day I was explaining about mango for some tourists from India. They know three, four types of mangoes. They do not know the 25 types of mango we have in Brazil.

Individuals find ways of accommodating their interests into English in interpersonal relationships and everyday performance, states Canagarajah (2006). Others, still according to Canagarajah (2006), "accommodate the English language to adopt orality based, narratively structured, person-centred discourses that are more resembling of local traditions. This strategy can be labelled *appropriation* as the authors are making English adopt local values" (2006, p. 209). It can be clearly seen in Melquíades words above how he used his authority as an English speaker to convey his local knowledge. Global and local interests are simultaneously emphasized in his talk.

Fernanda is another participant who seemed to make a strong relation between Amazonian identity and the English language. She pointed out that, as she was going to get married with someone who did not speak her mother language, to learn English would be very useful for her, as she believed English is spoken and understood everywhere in the world. However, at the same time, Fernanda conveyed her representations regarding herself speaking another language, claiming that:

> Assim, eu quero falar inglês. Acho que vai ser bom pra minha vida com o meu marido. Mas eu não quero deixar de ser brasileira, paraense, da Amazônia. Nunca que vou me acostumar a só comer aquelas comidas, não dá pra não sentir saudade das nossas...o que eu quero dizer é que eu quero usar o inglês, mas não quero deixar a minha vida pra trás. Quem eu sou realmente[121]

In her talk aforementioned, Fernanda conveyed the idea that the construction of her identity as an English speaker is a site of struggle (Norton and Toohey, 2011). It is possible to affirm that the use of English plays an important role in both Fernanda's desire to

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[121] I really want to speak English. I think it is going to be a good life choice for my husband and me. However, I am a Brazilian, from Para, in the Amazon. Although I have had a desire to speak fluent English, I do not want to leave my life in Brazil behind me and forget where I have come from.

communicate with her husband and the world, as she holds the representation that English will help her in Norway, and her will to preserve her Amazonian identity. The construction of Fernanda's identity as an English speaker/learner, besides being a site of struggle, also echoed some considerations regarding appropriation of this language:

> (...) mas ao mesmo tempo eu não sei se quero aprender muito...tipo assim, minha língua é o português, eu sou daqui. Não quero ser uma deles, sabe?[122]

Fernanda, in the excerpt above, seemed to echoes a belief in the self and other dichotomy ("I don't want to be one of them, you know?"). This dichotomy has been widely challenged by postcolonial theories, and bringing it to the scope of applied linguistics, postcolonial scholars put this dichotomy at stake mainly because some connections between language practices and unequal relations of power. When it comes to the English language, currently, different views have been expressed regarding the self and other dichotomy.

According to Ha (2005), on the one hand, some scholars as Lin et al (2001) show that, no matter how people appropriate the English language, the Other is still seen as second-class users of English. In this regards, Ha (2005) claims that there is a quite fixed story about the Self and Other, in which the Other is always inferior, just because they are the Other speakers of English. On the other hand, still according to Ha (2005), the views expressed by Canagarajah (1999), Pennycook (2001) and Kramsch (2001) actually challenge and disrupt linguistic imperialism and the postcolonial dichotomy of Self and Other. However, they do not reject English. Instead, Ha (2005) emphasizes, they support the use of English for one's own benefit and equality, but at the same time urge English users to work together to eliminate the discourses of colonialism active in current imperial forms. These views suggest a new and more sophisticated notion of "appropriation", which consists of resistance and reconstitution.

Fernanda, at the same time, wanted to speak the language, but she seemed to hold the concern of not becoming someone else,

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[122] (…) but, at the same time, I don't know if I want to learn (English)…my language is Portuguese, I am
from here, I don't want to be one of them, you know?

due to the English language. Interestingly, Fernanda and her fiancée used only English as a means of communication, although she always pointed out that, in her own words, she spoke "very bad English". This resembles the ideas of Walker (2010), to whom, on a daily basis millions of people from the Expanding Circle successfully communicate with each other through English (Walker 2010), although "appropriation" is not a relevant issue to these people.

Pilar is another participant in this study who hold strong beliefs of her Amazonian identity and this trait of her personality is also conveyed in her English language practices. Even her most memorable experiences using the English language that she shared with me echoed her strong local identity. As stated before, as a political actor, Pilar is totally involved in indigenous' rights movements, and she saw the English language as an additional means of spreading her political views and the social movements she takes part in.

Pilar was very interested in the possibilities of social action within her local context. Working as a tour guide has given Pilar some opportunities to use her local knowledge of English and to convey her Amazonian identity with her interlocutors. As an illustration, she cited her experience as a rescue guide in a very famous race in the Amazon, called Jungle Marathon[123]. This experience was remarkable to her, and occurred exactly when she was worried regarding using the language in her local context, as she

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[123] Jungle Marathon is a 42km, 120km or 242km self-sufficient stage race held in primary Amazon Jungle in the state of Para, Brazil. For the longer distance, the race is divided into four or six daily stages of different lengths, linking camps on a course that penetrates the deep jungle on logging trails and hunters paths in the forest. As the race is self-sufficient, competitors must carry all their own food and equipment for the week. The organisers provide shelter, medical and safety cover and water. Runners entering the marathon or the 120km race will then continue to live the jungle experience before celebrating with the 242km runners at our finishing party. The stages range from 16km to 108km. It is extremely hot and humid and competitors will be faced with difficult ground, in places clambering over roots and crossing streams. The jungle is a hard environment in which to race, and the humidity can be very debilitating. The race will be a taxing and exhilarating challenge- whatever distance you choose. Taken from: https://runsignup.com/Race/BR/Santarem/JungleMarathon

explained in her interview:

> Quando eu comecei a trabalhar com turistas numa competição chamada maratona da selva, logo me botaram numa equipe de resgate, então era responsável de estar traduzindo tudo para a equipe brasileira. E eu gostei bastante. (...) e eles [os turistas] sempre explicam, "nós não somos americanos, somos da Noruega, da Coréia, nosso inglês também é errado, é normal" Só que eu tenho um problema assim que quando é pra falar de aspecto atual, dessa relação dos ribeirinhos com o rio e mais os problemas que tem aqui, tipo hidrelétrica[124] essas coisas, que em português eu saberia contar, mas em inglês não. Isso me dói muito, porque eu quero contar as coisas e não sei como chegar nesses assuntos. A minha sorte é que a maioria que vem já conhece um pouco da realidade aqui e quer ver como é... [Me sinto] insegura assim, mas quando tem algum assunto específico, de hidrelétrica por exemplo. Aí eu fico um pouco... eu quero falar, não é que eu vá deixar de falar, eu começo a falar, depois eles vão me ajudando assim. Eu nunca deixei de contar um fato por ter medo de qual palavra usar, sempre dou

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[124] More than 250 dams are planned in the Amazon – the world's most important centre for biodiversity – according to the WWF. This is one of the most concern of people involved in indigenous rights as they say the work at the main area of concern – the São Manoel dam – threatens water quality and fish stocks. Four Amazonian tribes have joined forces to oppose the construction of hydroelectric dams in their territory: The Munduruku (Pilar's heritage), Apiaká, Kayabi and Rikbaktsa. In a joint statement released by these four tribes, they claim, "The government builds dams without completing environmental studies, without seeking to understand the consequences of the destruction of nature in our lives. It authorizes the operation of dams without giving a response to indigenous people and leaving their lives without fish, without water, without hunting as they try to hide their negative impacts on our lives, our rivers and our territories" (Adapted from: http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/apr/30/amazonian-tribes-demand- brazil-stop-hydroelectric-dams).

um jeito e sai[125] (Pilar, interview, August, 2014).

In this excerpt, Pilar started to tell the tale of herself as a local who wants to have her reality known, and, as an English speaker, she conveys her message through this language as well. Even her anxiety in conveying her message in English and the fear of not being understood, did not stop her of negotiating meanings ("but I never left anything that I wanted to say aside, I never left things that I wanted to say aside because I did not know a word, I always figured out a way of saying what I want. And I always say").

Another aspect that can be highlighted in Pilar's talk is regarding her safe house. Safe houses in this study are deemed as "social and intellectual spaces where groups can constitute themselves as horizontal, homogeneous, sovereign communities with high degrees of trust, shared understandings, temporary protection from legacies of oppression" (Pratt 1992, p. 40). Although Pilar was an assertive young woman who is not hesitant to express her views, when it comes to English, she did not see herself as a legitimate speaker. In her talk, she compared her English language knowledge with other speakers, mainly from the expanding circle, who did not see themselves as legitimate speakers, as well ("they [the tourists] always explain to me: "we are not Americans, we are from Norway, Korea, our English is wrong too, it is ok").

This being so, it is possible to affirm that tourists from

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[125] I started to work with tourists in a race called Jungle Marathon (…) so they put me in charge of the rescue team, and it was a huge responsibility, as I had to translate to the Brazilian team. also (…) they [the tourists] always explain to me: "we are not Americans, we are from Norway, Korea, our English is wrong too, it is ok. There is only one problem, when I want to tell them about the relation between the "ribeirinhos" and the river, the hydroelectric dams, that in Portuguese I would know how to talk (in a better way), but not in English and that hurts me. Fortunately, the majority of the visitors already know a little bit about the reality in here. I felt a bit insecure…but I never left anything that I wanted to say aside, I never left things that I wanted to say aside because I did not know a word, I always figured out a way of saying what I want. And I always say.

outside Inner circle of English speakers "Norway, Korea, our English is wrong, too", as she stated in the excerpt above, contributed to create a safe house space giving her a sense of belonging. Amidst those people, who she assumed are going to be more open to "mistakes" that she may make, Pilar felt comfortable and willing to negotiate her identity of a Brazilian from the Amazon speaker of English.

However, her possible "mistakes" in using the English language have not stopped Pilar from expressed her political views and beliefs in this language in other situations. In the end of the excerpt aforementioned, she claimed "when I want to tell them about the relation between the "ribeirinhos" and the river, the hydroelectric dams that in Portuguese I would know how to talk (in a better way), but not in English and that hurts me…" With this talk in mind, it can be easily argued that, through English, Pilar intended to spread her political hopes and the English language becomes a means to this end.

Screenshot, 2014: *On her Facebook profile, Pilar used to share posts in English.*

Screenshot, 2014: *Pilar guiding a group of Norwegians in Alter do Chão. Picture.*

In a written narrative she sent me through email, Pilar described how her interest in social movements had arisen, as well as her concerns regarding the rivers in the Amazon. In the same narrative, she recognised the functional benefits of English as a means of empowering her political hopes, and reinforcing the set of beliefs she used to hold of her Amazonian identity:

> Comecei a prestar atenção na luta indígena desde a primeira vez que vi uma cena na tv mostrando uma indígena Kayapo colocando um facao na cara do então engenheiro da Eletronorte[126]. Eu era criança e sinceramente

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[126] Eletronorte (Centrais Elétricas do Norte do Brasil S.A.) is a subsidiary of the Brazilian power utility Eletrobras. It is responsible for the power generation, transmission and distribution in the states of Amazonas, Pará, Acre, Rondônia, Roraima, Amapá, Tocantins and Mato

não lembro o ano. Sei que essa cena foi em 1987 ou 89. E depois em 2007 a mesma mulher (Tuíra Kayapo) fez a mesma coisa no mesmo cara que nesse ano era presidente da Eletronorte. Isso me deixou intrigada: como é que pode isso ter se estendido por tanto tempo?? Então comecei a conhecer melhor a história de Belo Monte e os mega projetos que são pensados pra Amazônia. De todos os horrores que li e vi o que me deixou mais triste foi perceber que meu povo (maioria) não ser interessavam e não se interessa com isso. Não sabem nada sobre Belo Monte. E em 2009 fiquei sabendo através de minhas idas ao Movimento Tapajos Vivo em Santarém, que existia um projeto que previa construção de usinas na bacia do Tapajos[127] daí tu imagina se belo monte lá no rio Xingú[128] me deixava

sem dormir então não faz ideia de como fiquei quando senti nosso rio ameaçado não por 1 mais por 7[129] (Pilar, written narrative, 2014).

Grosso (Source: Wikipedia).

[127] Seven dam in the Tapajós and one hundred in the Amazon, in general.

[128] The Xingu River flows from the tropical savanna of central Mato Grosso, Brazil northward to the Amazon for 1,979 km (1,230 miles). Some 25,000 indigenous people from 18 distinct ethnic groups live along the Xingu. In 1989, an international mobilization led by the Kayapó Indians stopped state-owned electric company Eletronorte's plans to construct a six-dam complex on the Xingu and its tributary, the Iriri. Now, Brazil is planning the construction of a huge dam on the Xingu River, called Belo Monte. Belo Monte would be the third-largest hydroelectric project in the world and would require diverting nearly the entire flow of the Xingu through two artificial canals to the dam's powerhouse, leaving indigenous communities along a 100 km stretch of the Xingu´s Big Bend without water, fish, or a means of river transport (Source: www.internationalrivers.org).

[129] I started to pay attention in the indigenous struggle since I saw a scene in the television. There was a woman from the indigenous tribe called

Also significant to note is that Pilar wanted to use English not as an identity location that can make her better than the other inhabitants of the village, but rather as a tool towards a struggle for the betterment of her people as can be seen in the excerpt below:

> E também as empresas que estão acabando com a Amazônia são patrocinadas por dinheiro vindo da Alemanha, China, Inglaterra, França, Estados Unidos, etc. Então "sim" eu procuro usar o idioma pra militar pois as ameaças começam fora do Brasil quando eles se reúnem em cúpulas. E nesses encontros eles decidem nossa vidas. Ninguém veio até os Munduruku fazer consulta sobre as hidrelétricas, ninguém foi até os Kayapo fazer consulta prévia que é prevista por lei. Mais uma vez interagir com o estrangeiro se faz necessário, pois eles entram como apoiadores dos povos nessas ações! Mas nossa mídia não dá voz aos povos indígenas, e também nesse momento a mídia estrangeira tem ajudado e divulgado a luta. No Brasil as mídias livres e independentes têm feito esse trabalho de falar sobre isso abertamente. E eu não admito isso, quero ir até o fim para mostrar que os povos estão se unindo agora para lutar junto. Pois

Kayapó putting a knife on the face of a man, who was an engineer from Eletronorte. I was a child and I honestly do not remember the year, but it was between 1987 and 1989. Thus, in 2007 the same woman (Tuira Kayapo) did the same thing with the president of the company. This intrigued me: how could this struggle last so long? Therefore, I started to know better the history of Belo Monte dam and all the huge projects that are planned to be held in the Amazon. From all the horrible things I read and see, what makes me sad is that the majority of the people are not interested in it. They do not know anything about Belo Monte. In 2009, through my travels to Movimento Tapajos Vivo (Tapajós River Alive movement) in Santarém, I was told about a project that plans to build these huge dams in the Tapajós River. If Belo Monte, in Xingu River, made me lose my sleep, you can imagine how I felt when I knew that our river was been threatened not for one dam, but seven".

juntos somos mais fortes[130] (Pilar, written narrative, 2014).

It is undeniable that one of the meanings Pilar gave to English was that this language has a political function, as she held the belief that through English, she would be able to connect with various social and political movements throughout the world. When highlighting that she used the language to fight for the indigenous' rights, as she stated, ("yes, I try to use the language (English) to fight for the rights of the Indians, because the threats start outside Brazil, when they (the countries) gather in these encounters of great powers"), Pilar projected herself as a legitimate speaker of this language.

When choosing to use this language in ways that are meaningful for her, Pilar exercised her agency as an English speaker, as well as her linguistic appropriation, having "carte blanche to manipulate the language in whatever way she sees fit to suit her own whims and purposes" (Seilhamer, 2015). She perceived English as a political and intellectual weapon since she intended to use it in the fight for the rights of people that she feels a sense of belonging. In this regards, Pilar reinforced her Amazonian identity using English as a means to reach more people, thus her message can be widely spread.

Remedios is another participant who also used to display her representations regarding her Amazonian/ Brazilian identity in her interactions using Englis. She used to reinforce her Amazonian identity by bringing elements of her reality to the conversation. She

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[130] (...) also, the companies that are destroying the Amazon are sponsored by money from GermanChina, England, France, United States, etc. Thus, yes, I try to use the language (English) to fight for the rights of the Indians, because the threats start outside Brazil, when they (the countries) gather in these encounters of great powers. In these encounters, they decide our lives. Nobody went talking to the Mundurukus tribe about the dams, nobody went talking to the Kayapos, and it is written in the law. Once again, the interaction with the foreigner is necessary, because they can support us in the actions. Moreover, our media does not care about indigenous' rights, and in this moment, the foreigner media has helped us a lot, spreading our fight. I cannot accept this; I want to go until the end to show that indigenous people are together in this fight. Together we are stronger.

liked to teach people who do not speak Portuguese the word "piriquitambóia"[131], as, in her opinion, was the most difficult word in Portuguese she could teach. In the vignette below, Remedios, deliberately used the two languages of her linguistic repertoire, exercising her agency to make sense of her experiences, in an instance of how language can be the location of the expressive, creative aspects of culture (Holliday, 2011):

> Remedios, Fernanda del Carpio, Zoran and I were at a bar in the main square. Remedios and Zoran were looking at the beer menu. She tried to choose one beer for them, and she was saying the name of the brands: "Tijuca, Brahma, Skol, não, Skol não. I don't like". Zoran asked: "Why you don't like?" "Ai, caramba" she replied, "[@@] because is bad" Zoran then repeated the word Remedios has taught him: "Piriquitambóia" Remedios laughed and then said: "Zoran, you are drunk!" "I am not drunk. You haven't seen me drunk. In Norway we drink a little more" Remedios asked: "In Norway, you drink beer?" "Oh, yeah. A lot. In Norway a beer in the store is R$ 13, 00 [he says the price in real, the Brazilian currency, which is an expensive price for a beer]. Remedios got really surprised with the answer, and said: "Mas cruzes! Eu nunca ia ficar bêbada na Noruega. Mas tem caipirinha lá? Eu acho que eu vou vender 51 [Brazilian cachaça] lá [@@@@]. Although she answered in Portuguese, Zoran understood what Remedios meant and could not stop laughing "[@@@] You want to go to Norway to sell 51?". "Yes! And havaianas [Brazilian brand of sandals]. And dance carimbó [regional dance of state of Pará, where Alter do Chão is located]". He replied : "Ok [@@@]"[132] (Taken from my

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[131] Piriquitambóia is a snake from the Amazon.

[132] Remedios: Tijuca, Brahma, Skol, no, Skol no. I do not like [She is talking about beer brands] Zoran: Why you don't like? Remedios: Oh,

field diary, October 2014).

Bringing elements of her reality to her interactions in English such as to teach the name of the snake that is found in her region and the idea of selling her favourite drink and dance carimbó, was a tone that suggests that speaking English do not indicate a loss or denial (Clemente and Higgins, 2008) of Remedios' set of belief of a Brazilian/ Amazonian identity would be. In fact, Remedios tended to see English as a language that "could add to or enrich" (Clemente and Higgins, 2008, p. 41) her already existing young Brazilian/Amazonian identity, and maybe for this reason, she used to be very open to other cultures without denying her own.

At the end of my sojourn in Alter do Chão village, Remedios was more confident to share with me her reflections and beliefs regarding the English language. Most of these reflections were regarding herself as an English speaker. In the conversation below, Remedios displayed that the representations she held regarding herself as an English speaker have gone to a change and she relocated herself in terms of being a speaker:

> Remedios: Olha, é que ...eu tava lembrando que antes eu não falava, tipo assim, eu não sabia que podia falar inglês. Eu achava que falava bem ruim mesmo.
> Silvia: Isso mudou?
> Remedios: Acho que sim, sabe? Por que agora eu nem lembro mais se tô falando inglês ou não, eu vou falando e parece que a pessoa tá entendendo, tu tá entendendo? Silvia: Acho que sim. Mas o que te levou a pensar isso?
> Remedios: Então, olha o Zelig[133]. Ele fala errado. Português. Fala errado. Mas todo mundo entende. O jeito que ele fala é ele, né?

gee! [She laughs]. Because is bad […] Remedios got really surprised with the answer, and said: Oh my God! I would never get drunk in Norway! Do you have caipirinha there? I think I am going to sell cachaça there. Zoran: [laughs]You want to go to Norway to sell cachaça? Remedios: Yes! And havaianas (Brazilian brand of sandals). And dance carimbó (regional dance of state of Pará, where Alter do Chão is located). Zoran: Ok ([laughs].

[133] Zelig is her German friend

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Se não, não seria ele. Tu entendeu? Eu tô achando que eu, do jeito que eu falo inglês, posso comparar que nem o Zelig. Sou eu. É meu jeito, né? Eu falando inglês. Até meus errinhos. Como é nome daquilo... [pensa um pouco] sotaque! Meu sotaque. Mas sou eu, entende? Nossa, será que eu viajei? @@@

Silvia: Não! Adorei! É isso mesmo. É identidade que a gente chama, sabe? Sua identidade como falante da língua.

Remedios: Ah, então é isso. É isso que tu estuda?

Silvia: É sim. Isso e mais outras coisas. Não tá errado não como tu fala. É como a gente diz em inglês: it's a matter of identity!

Remedios: Pode até falar assim: eu falo inglês, mas continuo sendo eu.

Silvia: Isso! Exato![134] (Taken from my field diary, October, 2014).

When she claimed, "I speak English, but I am still me", Remedios reinforced her representations of her identity as a young Brazilian/Amazonian woman, indicating, once again, that adding English in her linguistic repertoire, did not cause any loss or denial in

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[134] Remedios: Look...I remembered that before I didn't speak...like, I didn't know I was able to speak English. I thought I spoke it in a very bad way. Silvia: Have this changed? Remedios: I think so...you know? Because now I don't even notice that I am speaking English. I speak and it seems that the person understands. Do you understand me? Silvia: I think so. But why are you thinking about this? Remedios: So, look at Zelig. He speaks wrong. Portuguese. He speaks wrong. But everybody understands. The way he speaks is him, right? If he spoke in a different way, it would not be him. Do you understand me? I am thinking about me, the way I speak English. I can compare to Zelig. It is me. It is my way. Me speaking in English. Even my mistakes. What is the name of that thing? (she thinks for a while)...accent! My accent. But it is me, do you understand? Oh, gee, I am talking a load of rubbish, ain't I? Silvia: No! I loved it! That is right! We call it identity, you know? Your identity as a speaker of the language. Remedios: Ah, so is that how it is called. Is that what you study? Silvia: Yes, among other things. It is not wrong the way you speak. As we say in English: it is a matter of identity! Remedios: We can say like this: I speak English, but I am still me. Silvia: Yes. Exactly!

her already existed identity as a Portuguese speaker. Even when she mentioned her accent ("Me speaking in English (…) My accent"), she did in a way that may be a claiming of the ownership of English, which, in this study, is also deemed as the belief one has to be able to control and have authority over a language that he or she uses (Higgins, 2003)

In light of the participant's data aforementioned, it is possible to affirm that, through English, they reinforced the idea of who they were in terms of their local context. Through English, they expressed their local culture, they told their local stories, and they found possibilities of more people to know about their political intentions. Having a strong Amazonian identity, they also put at stake the idea that whilst speakers of English, they were "embracing the culture that supposedly comes with it" (Saraceni, 2015, p. 161). English, to them, was a locally constructed linguistic practice and it was seen "as a means of identity formation and representation, where local appropriations of global forms by speakers to construct and represent their thought, practices and   culture are realized as fluid variations in multidimensional discursive spaces" (Alsagoff, 2010, p. 126).

4.3 "O INGLÊS NÃO ACABOU COM A MINHA LÍNGUA NATIVA"[135]- IDEOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCES GIVEN TO THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

Woolard and Schieffelin (1994) have stated that linguistic/language ideologies can be defined as "sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use" (p. 58). Still according to these authors, "ideologies of language are significant for social as well as linguistic analysis because they are not only about language, rather, such ideologies envision and enact links of language to group and personal identity, to aesthetics, to morality, and to epistemology" (1994, p. 55). In the following subsections, I present some ideological significances regarding the English language as well as linguistic ideologies that emerged from the data gathered.

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[135] "English did not kill my mother tongue" answers Jose Arcadio Buendia, when I asked him why he used English in his daily life and in his social network instead of Portuguese.

4.3.1 "Eu nunca gostava tanto do Português pelo fato de ser uma língua imperialista que acabou com a minha, tá ligado? (...) o Inglês não acabou com a minha língua nativa"[136]- English and the discourses of linguistic imperialism

Jose Arcadio Buendia was a very assertive and confident English speaker. As he was keen to emphasize, English language has always been a significant part of his life. Since the first time I went to his house, I noticed that English was not only his source of income, as he was a very prestigious tour guide in the region, but it was the language he used in his daily life, with his clients, his co-worker and with his 3-year-old daughter. When I asked him about Portuguese, he told me that, "it is not that I avoid using this, but I prefer English. Portuguese is just for chats" (informal talk, 2014).

In fact, in the interview I conducted with him, Jose Arcadio highlighted the main reason why he preferred expressing himself in English rather than in Portuguese, stating that "I didn't like Portuguese that much because it is an imperialist language that killed my mother tongue". When I asked him whether he believed English could be an imperialist language as well, he replied "yeah, but English did not kill my mother tongue" (Jose Arcadio Buendia, interview, 2014). Born and raised in the Amazon region, Jose Arcadio considered that, due to the Portuguese colonization, he did not speak any indigenous language. Speaking English in his daily life was an attempt he found to posit himself against what is called linguistic imperialism. Closely connected to colonialism, linguistic imperialism has sparked considerable debate.

In fact, as already stated, Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, (2002) point out that, "language becomes the medium through which a hierarchical structure of power is perpetuated, and the medium through which conceptions of 'truth', 'order', and 'reality' becomes established. Such power is rejected in the emergence of an effective postcolonial voice" (2002, p. 7). José Arcadio seemed to align himself with such ideas, as he said with his own words, "I have always been like this, I have never enjoyed the things that came from

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[136] "I didn't like Portuguese that much because it is an imperialist language that killed my mother tongue (...) English did not kill my mother tongue" answers Jose Arcadio Buendia, when I asked him why he used English in his daily life and in his social networks instead of Portuguese.

the colonizers" (José Arcadio Buendia, interview, 2014).

José Arcadio expressed his set of beliefs and how he felt regarding Portuguese performing in English. He presented himself as a man who denied the official tongue of his country and chose another available code to express himself. And he did not keep his set of beliefs to himself, ("everything here is in English. I write my posts in English on Facebook", as he states in the interview). In the excerpt below, Jose Arcadio gave an instance of how the projection of his beliefs affected others:

> Dois amigos reclamavam [no Facebook, sobre ele postar legendas em fotos em inglês], o ultimo que reclamou foi ontem "pô, a nossa língua, tão bonita, porque você não escreve e tal", aí eu falei: "nossa língua o que, cara pálida, essa língua não é minha não, nem tua, leso". E o outro amigo falou "que idiotice, todo mundo sabe que você fala inglês", como se eu postasse as coisas pra se exibir, "essas paisagens são tão nossas, você coloca em inglês", eu "ah, vá"...respondi a mesma coisa, "essa língua não é nossa, essa língua não é tua, entendeu? E já que você me deu uma sugestão, eu gostaria de sugerir, aprende inglês também"[137] (José Arcadio Buendia, interview, 2014).

As stated before, Blommaert (2010) claims that languages are "mobile resources" (p. 49) that are appropriated by people for their purposes and these resources index meaning and gain form in situated contexts for specific interlocutors in their social practices. When appropriating himself of the English language to spread his

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[137] Two friends of mine used to complain [about the pictures with English captions he used to upload on his Facebook]. They said: our language is so beautiful; why don't you write in it?". And I answered, "this is not OUR language. Not mine, not yours, silly". The other friend told me: this is silly, everybody knows you can speak English", as if I were doing this to show off. "These landscapes are ours, why do you put English captions?". I answered the same thing: "this language is not ours, it is not yours, do you understand? And as you have given me a suggestion, I will give one to you too: learn English, too".

ideas in his social networks, José Arcadio exercised his agency as a speaker of the "mobile resources" that are at his disposal. It is his response to the linguistic imperialism that he believed Portuguese language imposed.

The notion of agency that is followed in this study encompasses "attitude, thoughts, subjectivity, and perspective" (Jordão, 2011, p. 241). I believe that Jose Arcadio's resistance towards Portuguese was also an expression of his agency. Living in Brazil, it was not possible that he never used the official language of the country; however it was clear that he used English as much as he could. His preference for this language reflected in his writing, in the songs he listened to, in the books he liked to read and in the dialogues he conducted with his little daughter.

Raby (2005) argues that "resistance is oppositional, aiming to disrupt, or gain the upper hand in, what actors perceive to be dominant power relations" (p. 153). In addition, she has coined the term "heroic" resistance, which means active, localized, individual, articulated or semi-articulated action against dominant group, seeking to disrupt, challenge or change what actor perceives to be dominant power relations (Raby, 2005, p. 153). In light of Jose Arcadio' s talks, it seems reasonable to affirm that, performing in English in his daily life as a Brazilian citizen, is how he exercised his agency as well as reaffirmed his ideologies regarding Portuguese language.

It is interesting to note that Jose Arcadio's attitudes towards Portuguese language echoed the Kenyan writer Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o's attitudes towards English. In his book, written in English, Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature (1986), he advocated for linguistic decolonization, putting at stake the notion that English can be "owned" by Africans. Decolonising the Mind is an attempt to free the natives' minds from the coloniser's control by rejecting his language and adopting one's native language. I understand that José Arcadio's posited himself in the same way towards the colonizer language, in his case, the Portuguese ("this is not OUR language. Not mine, not yours, silly").

His attitude of rebelling against the colonizer's language reflected also in his English practices in electronic media. He used to use different expressions such as "mababe" (my baby), "good day 4 sailing" (good day for sailing), helpy (helper), "dacouple" (the couple), "little fun ahead", being all of them very informal expressions and maybe deemed as standard norm deviants.

All the word plays, fluid language compositions and media

appropriations used by him were instances of a transidiomatic practice he engaged to, which, according to Clemente and Higgins (2008), "are various ways of communication that language users draw upon within the current overall social and cultural contexts of globalization" (p. 125). Figures 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 shows instance of Jose Arcadio' s transidiomatic practices in electronic media:

Screenshot, 2014: *Word play: "Nice day 4 sailing"*

Screenshot, 2014: *"Haaamazing day" (word play with a scream and the word "amazing").*

Screenshot, 2014: *"Have a nice day gente (people)"*

Screenshot, 2014: *A note for his daughter using code mixing: "…and swing super-forte (strongly)"*

Screenshot, 2014: *A dialogue performed in English by José Arcadio and some friends. José Arcadio had uploaded a picture of his cousin, which had led to some comments about him (the cousin). Using humour and a fluid language composition (as when he uses "lol", an English acronym for laugh(ing) out loud used on the internet), José Arcadio pretends he is jealous, saying that he is going to delete the picture and advises us to try to see other pictures of his cousin in his own Facebook profile.*

Making a parallel with Pilar's transidiomatic practice that illustrated the beginning of this chapter, I agree with Jacquemet (2016) in his call for the understanding that the "social world is increasingly composed of settings where speakers use a mixture of languages in interacting face-to-face with known and unknown people" (p. 342) which was definitely José Arcadio' s case. Although this author asserts that not all multilingual settings are now transidiomatic, some settings become "transidiomatic" when the participants "habitually read English and/or other global languages on their computer screens, watch local, regional, or global broadcasts, listen to pop music in various languages, and interact via cellular phones with non- present contacts" (p. 342).

In the vignette below, José Arcadio conducted small dialogues in English with his only daughter, a 3-year-old girl, who was born in Alter do Chão and who is been raised bilingual for him. He tried to talk to her in English as much as he could, and she was in contact with the English language almost twenty-four hours a day:

> Rebeca[138] was drawing on the floor while we were talking. She approached us when she finished eating a fruit. She said in Portuguese: "Papai, quero mais". José Arcadio then replied, now in English: "Do you want more guava? You want more guava?" Rebeca shifted to English: "More guava!". We went on talking and Rebeca talked in Portuguese once again: "Vamos fazer castelo na areia, vamos?" José Arcadio answered: "You wanna make castles with daddy?" She said: "Yeah". José Arcadio kept eating and talking to me for some time until Rebeca asked one more time: "Vamos à praia, vamos?". He said to her, offering some food: We can go in five minutes. Do you wanna eat some? [José Arcadio offers her a portion of fish and eggs] Rebeca looked interested and said: "want a little bit". She tasted, making some funny faces, and José Arcadio said: "It is not chicken, it's fish". Rebeca then said, in

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[138] I use a pseudonym for his daughter as well.

English: "No good. I don't want" (Taken from my field diary, August, 2014).

Being a tour guide for some years, Jose Arcadio was highly connected to many social groups around the world through electronic media. Performing in English and through all the transidiomatic practices he negotiated meaning with his interlocutors,   but also expressed his ideologies and fought a battle to what he considered a linguistic imperialism of the Portuguese language over indigenous languages that once were spoken in the Amazon.

4.3.2   "Eu falo inglês, mas sempre me questiono sobre as ideias que as pessoas tem dessa língua...é pra pensar, né?"[139] English and counter discourses.

I begin this subsection with Pilar's words, when I carried out an interview with her. She was sharing with me her concerns regarding English language power and her struggles in dealing with ideological issues, such as power relations. Power relations had always sparked considerable debate in contemporary society and Pilar had always been very interested in these topics. Her relation with the English language, as she stated in the sentence above ("I speak English but I always question the ideas people hold regarding this language...it is food for though, isn't it?") is an instance that through English she could also expressed her questioning personality, putting at stake some deep-rooted beliefs.

Pilar seemed to be aware that languages are intimately linked to socioeconomic powers (Cox and Assis Peterson, 1999). This could be seen in her written narrative, when she states that, "in these encounters (of great powers), they decide our lives (…) The Ong's (all of them) receive money from foreign countries and once again, the interaction with the foreigner is necessary, because they can support us in the actions." Moreover, aligned herself with some social scientists who have advocated that "no language, no knowledge and no pedagogy is neutral or apolitical" (Pennycook, 1994), Pilar put at stake the belief that English language expansion is natural, neutral

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[139] I speak English but I always question the ideas people hold regarding this language...it is food for though, isn't it?

and beneficial, as can be seen in the excerpt below:

> Eu sempre gostei da língua. Sempre. Mas teve um tempo que eu andei lendo bastante sobre a história né e o idioma né, como ele foi cruel assim, em algumas nações, tipo na África do Sul, como foi... Isso foi em uma aula de história que surgiu. Como que umas nações foram tendo que substituir suas línguas pra falar inglês e como isso foi matando as pessoas por dentro. Até na tradução da bíblia também... foi bem forte. Eu penso que com a língua foi desse jeito. Os ingleses vieram, dominaram a nação, não sabiam se a população queria falar inglês ou não e até hoje é assim, a língua que predomina, né? Mas como foi pra essa língua chegar a ser dominante no mundo? Quando eu comecei a falar todo mundo ficava dizendo, "inglês vai abrir portas".... qual essa força que o inglês tem? Por que outras línguas, como a nossa por exemplo, não tem?[140] (Pilar, interview, August, 2014).

Pilar tried to see the complex events that surround this hegemony of the English language more critically. In the last lines of her interview, "English will open doors ...what is this power that English holds? Why other languages, like our, for example, do not

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[140] Pilar: I have always liked the language (English). Always. But there was a time that I read a lot of History, and how this language was, like, how it was cruel in some nations, for example, South Africa… It started at a History class. The way some nations had to replace their language to English and how this fact killed people inside. Even the Bible translation...so strong. I think that with the language was this process. The British came, controlled the nation, they did not know whether the population wanted to speak English or not, and until nowadays is like this, the language that prevails. However, how this language became the dominant language in the world? When I started to talk (in English), everybody kept telling me, "English will open doors...what this power that English holds? Why other languages, like our, for example, do not hold? (Pilar, interview, August 2014).

hold?", Pilar critically put at the stake the oft-voiced belief that English could "open doors to technology, research findings, and educational and job opportunities" (Belcher, 2006, p. 143).

A similar view is echoed by Belcher (2006) that "the critically aware practitioner neither simply abandons language teaching nor continues trusting that English language teaching will open doors without closing any" Instead, Belcher complements, "he/she gives priority to helping learners appropriate English for their own purposes—to accept, resist, and even push back, to glocalize the global, asserting ownership of English in forms useful in users' own communities" (Belcher, 2006, p. 143).

If we consider that *all* knowledge-producing activities are context-bound (Canagarajah, 2004), it is not difficult to interpret Pilar's concerns and doubts. In 2015, Pará, the state where she was born and raised and where Alter do Chão is located, together with Amapá and Amazonas, was the leader of unemployment rates in the Amazon region[141]. Considering that she could speak English, but, by the time the data gathering was conducted she did not have a formal job, Pilar's questionings made perfect sense.

In fact, as Saraceni (2015, p. 157) points out, "in many parts of the world, English- or the images that are constructed of it- is a core component of this knowledge- as-commodity, as it is packaged and sold to young people aspiring to benefit from all the advantages advertised on the box". In the same vein, P. K.W. Tan and Rubdy (2008) state that "the global spread of English and its increasing socioeconomic importance in the world have made it a precious commodity hugely in demand globally" (p. 5).

Undoubtedly, to treat languages as commodities is a way to perpetuate the ideologies of neoliberalism. Holborow (2007, p. 51) points out that "the global market and its dominant neoliberal ideology, increasingly expressed in English, have led some to hold that the language itself constructs the hegemonic order of global capitalism". Neoliberalism, this author goes on to argue, is "a term only relatively recently used in Anglophone circles, is also described as the 'Washington consensus' which shows the weight of the US in its making" (Holborow, 2007, p. 51).

Some scholars have discussed the direct effects of

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[141] Taken from http://portalamazonia.com/noticias-detalhe/economia/amapa-amazonas-e-para-lideram-desemprego-na
amazonia/?cHash=019d2d075c25c01a39137f26788ed75e

neoliberalism on languagepolicy, for instance in the way English becomes a language that accommodate ideologies of competition and individualism in educational institutions (Lee and Lee 2013; Piller and Cho 2013; Price 2014) and in the workplace (Park 2011, 2013), or the way in which language is progressively treated as a product that can be exchanged for economic profit (Heller, 2010).

Moreover, Shin and Park (2016) state that neoliberalism is not just an economic policy but has become a form of governmentality (Foucault 1991) that produces new subjectivities, new notions of citizenship, and new ideologies of language and education. When Pilar questioned what doors are going to be opened for her, she is, unconsciously evoking the debate of languages increasingly become a product, one of the outcomes of ideologies of neoliberalism.

Pilar acknowledged that she could speak the English language, but at the same time, she questioned some discourses and ideologies this language can mediate. This counterdiscourse would be a way to struggle against what Moita Lopes (2003) denominates "the single discourse", a global discourse that cross the world, enabling the manipulation of people, imposing ways of living, ideologies and identities. Moita Lopes (2003) argues that prevailing discourses that surround the world, due to the supremacy of the North-American capital in every field of social life nowadays, from commerce to university research, are primarily in English (p. 33). Thus, the importance of the counterdiscourses cited before, is to avoid the exclusions that this single discourse may cause, as we can only change what we are aware of.

Ursula also highlighted a deep-rooted belief about English language and do not seem to agree with that, as can be seen in the excerpt below:

> Ursula: Quando eu tô falando com britânicos, por exemplo, aí eles puxam pro lado deles, "ah, então você fala bem porque morou na Inglaterra", é engraçado que até hoje eles acham que o inglês deles é o melhor, né? Silvia: É, mas muita gente não pensa mais assim...
> Ursula: eu não penso, tanta variação, como que uma pode se considerar melhor, só se for por causa de poder econômico, porque eu

realmente não vejo   outra razão[142] (Ursula, interview, 2014).

Bokhorst-Heng et al (2008) state that "English has been ideologically constructed as a purely instrumental and functional language within the context of nation building and the global economy. In this context, the officially preferred model is British RP, and the Inner Circle speakers of English continue to be regarded as the true owners of English" (p. 2). In regards to Inner circle speakers of English, José Arcadio shared with me his set of beliefs:

> A Inglaterra é exemplo de colônia. Você imagina os ingleses…eles se apropriaram tão bem...um exemplo de imperialismo. A China, um trilhão de vezes mais forte que eles, mas até todo mundo aprender a falar mandarim...nunca vão usar, entendeu?[143] (José Arcadio, interview, 2014).

As stated before, some scholars, such as Saraceni (2009), have challenged purist positions regarding the English language. According to him, the assumption that British English is the only valid standard of English and the notion that the 'native speaker' is the only model that all users should aspire to (2009) is one of the most questionable. However, despite his positions towards Portuguese colonialism, José Arcadio seems to aligned himself with the deep-rooted belief that English native speakers should be the role models for anyone who wants to speak this language.

On the other hand, Ursula questioned this belief in purist forms of English, when she states "I don't think so [that British

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[142] Ursula: When I am talking to British people, they say "you speak English well because you have lived in England". It is funny that until nowadays they think their English is the best. Silvia: Yes, but there are many people who do not think that anymore. Ursula: I don't think so [that British variation is the best], there are so many variations, how can one be considered the best? Only if it is because of economic power, I don't see another reason.

[143] England is an example of colonialism. You see, British people...they appropriate themselves so well. An example of imperialism. China is a million times stronger, but until people start to speak mandarin...it will never happen.

variation is the best], there are so many variations, how can one be considered the best? Only if it is because of economic power, because I don't see another reason". She highlighted the unprecedented spread of English, where, according to Saraceni (2015, p. 45), "estimates about the numbers of speakers of English are expressed comfortably in billions, whilst lists of countries where English is a (co) - official language occupy entire pages".

In this chapter I discussed the data gathered taking into consideration the theoretical framework I presented in Chapter 3. As Blommaert points out, the "fundamental image of language now shifts from a static, totalized and immobile one to a dynamic, fragmented and mobile one, and it is from this fundamental image that we now have to start working" (Blommaert, 2010, p. 204), and this point of view was one of the main backdrops for this analysis. The agency of the participants in choosing their linguistic resources in order to reach their communicative goals, as, for example, when they used English and Portuguese in the same linguistic performance, were instances of creativity and agency, apart from being a reflexion that the two languages were not in conflict, but complemented each other. Once again the data gathered make a parallel with Blommaert's ideas (2010) that we need to understand language as something intrinsically and perpetually mobile, through space as well as time, and made for mobility Thus, the finality of language is mobility, not immobility (Blommaert 2010).

Since it is "in the performance that the identity is created", (Pennycook, 2007, p. 35), when performing in English, the participants posited themselves as individuals that, through English practices in their local context, negotiated meaning and dialogued with global movements. In this regards, I borrow Moita Lopes' words (2008) that:

> To be in the social world is to handle with language, discourses and cultures available here and now in order to build it not only based in meanings already given, but also based in those we can generate, in light of who we are or who we can be in our local histories, therefore, in our performances [144]
> (Moita Lopes, 2008, p. 326).

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[144] In original: Estar no mundo social é um ato de operar com as línguas,

Exercising, in their English practices, their own set of beliefs, perceptions, experiences, desires and all features that encompass their subjectivities, the participants corroborate, once again, Pennycook's ideas (2010) that "what we do with language in a particular place is a result of our interpretation of that place and that the language practices we engage in reinforce that reading of the place" (p. 2). This being so, in Alter do Chão, English was a social practice that has different meanings such as, a desired linguistic capital, a political weapon, a means of questioning ideologies of power, a source of income as well as the language chosen to express linguistic ideologies, a means of reinforcing representations of Amazonian identities and a manner to have local voices heard. Indeed, because the participants are themselves, speaking their own minds, they can contribute more to world understanding than by suffocating their own identity (Leffa, 2002).

Moreover, I also discussed in this chapter theoretical frameworks and issues that emerged from the data gathering and that could be considered in further studies. In the next chapter, I present my final remarks, which includes a summary of the dissertation, pedagogical implications, limitations of my study and suggestions for further research.

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discursos e culturas disponíveis no aqui e no agora para construí-lo, não somente com base em significados já dados, mas também com base naqueles que nós mesmos podemos gerar, à luz de quem somos ou podemos ser em nossas histórias locais, portanto, em nossas performances [My translation].

5 "A TRAIN TO MACONDO"- FINAL REMARKS

In this concluding chapter I present the final remarks of this dissertation. In doing so, I will start with a summary of the dissertation and of the findings, subsequently, I will attempt to address some limitations and offer some suggestions for further research. Finally, at the end of this dissertation, I explain the title of this chapter as well as I present my final words.

5.1 "I SPEAK ENGLISH BUT I AM STILL ME"- SUMMARY OF THE DISSERTATION

I chose to name this subsection with Remedios' words as in Chapter 4 because I believe that they truly represent the findings that arose from the data gathering, as the participants appropriate themselves of the English language, without denying their already existing linguistic identity.

As already stated, I entered the field seeking to answer the question: "what roles does English play in the Alter do Chão village, taking into consideration social practices the participants engaged, when using this language?". Moreover, I have stated throughout this dissertation the backdrop of this ethnographic perspective study: the postcolonial scenario, the forces of globalization, the spread of the English language, the increasing mobility of people and discourses and the complexity that encompasses social practices among individuals. All of these issues are well-rehearsed points; however, this dissertation is an attempt to help fill the gap of a few of the studies that focus on the forms that English language takes in situation of contacts. Mainly when they occur outside the classroom environment.

During the fieldwork, I noticed that the participant's families, mainly brothers and sisters, massively influenced their learning of English. Also, informal experiences that they had with the English language, which happened outside the school environment, were highly significant to them. For instance, meeting people from other countries, who spoke English as their first or additional language; reading books; listening to songs in English; and even living in countries where English is the mother tongue.

When living in the field, I also intended to contemplate three objectives, which were:

1. To unveil what sort of strategies the participants adopt in order to negotiate meaning in English.
2. To reflect upon to what extent (if any) the participants posit themselves locally towards global movements in their English language practices
3. To identify ideological significances (if any) the participants give to English language.

While focusing on the strategies the participants adopted in order to negotiate meaning in English, acknowledging the meaning that has not just arised from a common grammatical system or norm, but through negotiation practices in local situations, they used to mix English and Portuguese in their linguistic encounters, mainly when they wanted to express their opinions more clearly. Specifically, when the participants were making use of translingual practices, where the performances are dynamic and changing, and through them, the participants can put into practice their voices, subjectivities and identities, they adopted envoicing strategies since this strategy provided each of them an identity and voice in performing English. The participants used to negotiate meaning without leaving aside the sense of themselves.

In their English practices, the participants also adopted interactional strategies, which means they co-constructed meaning by adopting reciprocal and collaborative strategies, corroborating the theory that translanguaging opens up spaces for empathy and respect, as well as collaboratively communicate with each other, conducting the interaction toward mutual understanding. Participants' English practices were mainly a construction of solidarity and mutual understanding and, sometimes, through techniques as smiling, laughing and nodding. They also adopted interaction strategies, that helps to negotiate identity and power, and the participants were, most of the times, very comfortable in a position of power, as they were in their local context, with their close friends, sometimes explaining a cultural practice they were used to and that was meaningful for them.

In their meaning negotiation in English, the participants put at stake the assumption that homogeneity facilitates communication. They had their own style of collocating words, that somehow deviated

from established grammatical rules, and I believe that this could be deemed as a strategy as they serve to individuate the speakers as Canagarajah (2013) states. In fact, in situations of contact, speakers attend less to linguistically "anomalous" forms and instead try to make sense of what is being said in their situated interaction, as Matsumoto (2011) points out. Strategies such as rephrasing and repetition, were, in fact, highly common in the participants English practices. Equality and legitimacy as English language speakers were also present in the participants' English practices. In my opinion, this led to group solidarity in terms of accommodation themselves towards their interlocutor's idiosyncratic grammatical uses.

It was also addressed to what extent (if any) the participants posited themselves locally towards global movements in their English language practices. Global movements and changes needs to be understood also "in terms of local movements being global", as Pennycook (2010) argues. What emerged from the data gathered is that, in their discourses and practices, the participants doubt that local languages, identities, or communities have to be protected against the English language.

Quite the opposite, English can be seen as a way of reinforcing the set of beliefs they hold regarding what an "Amazonian identity" would be. The participants wanted to show people from every part of the world how local life happens through the eyes of the inhabitants, and, according to them, the English language would be a means to this end. In fact, the participants held a strong perspective of what they believed an Amazonian identity would be. However, the participants were able to exercise their agency as English speakers in their social practices, besides any positivist view of their culture that may have arisen. Moreover, they were very open to people who do not share the same linguistic and cultural backgrounds.

In fact, global and local interests were simultaneously emphasized in their talk. The participants also put at stake the idea that whilst speakers of English, they were "embracing the culture that supposedly comes with it" (Saraceni, 2015, p. 161). They were not only receptors of the English language, they were not "passive victims who have English pushed down their throats" (Saraceni, 2015, p. 155). What can be concluded is that the participants used their authority as English speakers to convey their local knowledge.

In regards to ideological significances (if any) the participants gave to the English language, discourses of linguistic imperialism had arisen, but interestingly, not regards to English

language itself. One of the participants claimed that, due to the Portuguese colonization, he did not speak any indigenous language. This being so, this participant used to express his set of beliefs and how he felt regarding Portuguese language performing in English. As performing in English, I have stated, means in this study constructing new, even imagined identities for oneself (Canagarajah, 2008), the participant posited himself as a man who denied the official tongue of his country and chose another available code to express himself. English, in this specific case, would be a means of resisting linguistic imperialism discourses.

Another ideological significance to English that arose in the data is that, through this language, the participants reinforced the idea that languages are intimately linked to socioeconomic powers (Cox and Assis Peterson, 1999), as for instance, when one of the participants stated that "I don't think so [that British variation is the best], there are so many variations, how can one be considered the best? Only if it is because of economic power, because I don't see another reason".

By questioning the belief that English language expansion is natural, neutral and beneficial, another participant seems to be aware that "no language, no knowledge and no pedagogy is neutral or apolitical" (Pennycook, 1994). When asking "English will open doors...what this power that English holds? Why other languages, like our, for example, do not hold?" the participant encouraged the debate of languages increasingly become a product, one of the outcomes of ideologies of neoliberalism, where English becomes a language that accommodate ideologies of competition and individualism.

In this concluding chapter, I recap my research question "what roles does English play in Alter do Chão village, taking into consideration social practices the participants engaged to when using this language?". English do have roles in Alter do Chão village that go beyond a desired linguistic capital or a source of income. I bring once again Pennycook's ideas (2010) that "what we do with language in a particular place is a result of our interpretation of that place and that the language practices we engage in reinforce that reading of the place" (p. 2) in order to finally affirm that, according to the data gathered, the roles of English in Alter do Chão were to question ideologies of power, as well as to express linguistic ideologies, a means of spreading political views, a means of reinforcing a set of beliefs regarding "Amazonian identities" and a tool to have local voices heard.

5.2 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

As Baker (2015) suggests, as researches we need to abstract, delineate, categorise and set boundaries to be able to effectively engage in analysis but this has to be undertaken with an awareness of the limitations of such practices. This being so, we have to recognise the limitations that result from attempts to produce coherent accounts of complex phenomena (Baker, 2015), such as language practices. Some limitations surfaced whilst this study was being carried out and they are going to be now properly acknowledged.

I believe that ten months definitely cannot suggest final answers as well as the small number of participants I focused on, thus, the findings cannot be generalized to other inhabitants of the village. As a matter of fact, the findings cannot be considered as true for these participants for the rest of their lives, for example.

During my stay in the United Kingdom in 2015, one year after the data gathering, I met Remedios and Fernanda in Norway. At that time, Remedios was engaged and she was living in Finland with her fiancé, and Fernanda was living in Norway with her husband. It was interestingly to see how their beliefs regarding the English language as well as their conceptualizations of culture have changed.

If during the data gathering, Fernanda held the strong belief that English was a language spoken worldwide, thus, she had to learn it in order to negotiate meaning in Norway, by the time she hosted me in her house, she was an excited and proud learner of Norwegian. Remedios, on the other hand, did not mind, in 2015, that her Finish fiancé was not wearing a golden ring in his right hand as Zoran was not, back in Alter do Chão in 2014. This encounter with these two participants outside the context we met in order to gather data was, without a doubt, highly significant to me, as it was an instance of how identities, cultures and all features that social practices encompass change constantly and dynamically.

Although I believe that I was able to contemplate some dimensions that may arise from an ethnographic fieldwork, such as social actions, behaviour, interactions, relationships, events, as well as spatial, locational and temporal dimensions (Mason, 2002), due to time constraints, it is possible to affirm that this analysis dealt with micro aspects of the participants' English practices. For instance, the findings have demonstrated that families, specially brothers and sisters and close friends were very influential in the participants'

language learning process, and I could not investigate this aspect thoroughly. Nevertheless, I consider that the methodological approach I followed was highly significant, mainly because there are few studies that focus on English practices that occur outside the academic environment.

Kramsch and Uryu (2012) write that, as researches, we have no other recourse than to try again and again. Further investigation has yet to be undertaken in order to discuss aspects that so far have been left undiscussed here, considering the aforementioned limitations. Firstly, I agree with Jacquemet (2016) when this author claims that contemporary studies of language and communication must address the progressive globalization of communicative practices and social formations that result from the increasing mobility of people, languages, and texts. Still according to this author (2005) we should rethink the concept of communication itself, no longer embedded in national languages and international codes, but in the multiple transidiomatic practices of global cultural flows. Future directions in this sense would be very desirable to the field of applied Linguistics.

I also would suggest that future studies that focus on English practices in situated contexts could follow the same methodological approach in order to raise awareness of the diversity and complexity that surround our postcolonial world. Moreover, when dealing with such a living entity such as language, which develops, expands, shrinks, borrows and mixes as part of the dynamic process of human interaction as Shohamy (2006) lucidly points out, I understand that it is necessary further investigation on translanguaging, because I believe that this perspective can cope with the complex interactions of the 21st century.

5.3 FINAL WORDS

> (…) the innocent yellow train that was to bring so many ambiguities and certainties, so many pleasant and unpleasant moments, so many changes, calamities, and feelings of nostalgia to Macondo (One Hundred Years of Solitude).

When the train arrived in Macondo, the fictional town whose inhabitants were the inspiration for the participants' names of this study, ambiguities, certainties, pleasant and unpleasant moments, changes and feelings of nostalgia also arrived in this once idyllic, magical, and sheltered place. I compare this long process of conducting this ethnographic perspective study, since the very beginning up to now, writing the final remarks, to the train that once arrived in Macondo. As Macondo, I have faced the same feelings with this dissertation and, mostly important, just like the town, I have changed.

Inevitably, during my stay in Alter do Chão I thought of my own story as a learner and user of English. I found similarities in the participants' stories, as for instance, when they stated that music was what sparked their interest in learning the English language. I often saw my story in their narratives, even when these stories resembled inferiority complex when speaking English as I also used, at a certain point of my journey as a learner, to think that my knowledge was limited. It took me a while to realize that I was a legitimate speaker of English, and when the participants reflected and realized they also were, I felt empowered again. Undoubtedly, as my final words in this dissertation, I state that all the uncertainties and unpleased moments I have faced throughout these long years of doctoral studies gone when I realized that Alter do Chão was also a site of creativity and empowerment.

NOTES

1 The following transcription conventions (based on Canagarajah, 2013) are used in the data cited in this chapter:

[] explanations by the transcriber

= latched utterances

@@ laughter

Bold: items meshed into another linguistic code

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APPENDIX
A

Interviews

Úrsula Iguarán

Silvia: Ursula, vou começar, tá? Vou começar te pergunatndo sobre tua pós-graduação que tu falaste, então tu tá fazendo essa pós porque tu quer trabalhar com Inglês?

Ursula: Isso.

S: Que legal. Então tu és formada em letras também? U: Isso. Letras.

Lá pela UFPA?

U: Lá pela UFPA

S: Mas é português?

U: É português. Eu tô fazendo essa pós pro ensino do português e do inglês. E quero fazer final do ano, se não for pela UFOPA por alguma faculdade particular a graduação em inglês.

S: Certo. Então, Ursula, eu queria que tu me contasses a tua história com o Inglês, da onde surgiu, como foi...

U: É uma história mesmo (risos)

S: Pois é, eu tô aqui pra ouvir

U: Bem, eu nasci e me criei aqui né, em Alter do Chão. Quando eu era criança, ainda adolescente, já era bastante visitada por turistas americanos, e a gente tinha essa cultura de ir pra praça, vender artesanato, a mamãe era uma artesã também, e como culturalmente as mães trabalham e levam toda a cambadinha (risos)

S: E vocês são quantos irmãos? U: Agora nós somos onze

S: Onze irmãos? U: Onze.

S: Todos moram aqui em Alter do Chão?

U: Só uma que mora na Austrália, a Nelma. O resto tá tudo aqui

S: Em alter?

U: É. Aí, né, ela fazia artesanato e a gente ia, acompanhava, já fomos crescendo nessa atividade turística naturalmente. E aí, o contato pra nós era uma coisa do outro mundo pra gente, o inglês, a gente não entendia nada, a nossa comunicação era só, como que

se diz?

S: Gestual?

U: Gestual, né. Eu sei que "one dólar" a gente entendia muito bem (risos). E tinha uns artesanatos que eram um dólar né, que a gente vendia

S: Era uns colares, né?

U: Era, uns colares. A mamãe tinha a banca dela, todo mundo ajudava. Então foi assim, aí eu acho que aqui na região, era só aqui em Alter do chão que eles paravam. Então tinham muitos transatlânticos, eram vários durante o ano, né? Aí eu estudei, fiz uns cursos na cultura inglesa, já ajudava muito a gente pra vender, né? Aí eu gostava de aprender, era uma coisa nova.

S: Tu gostavas da língua então?

U: Já gostava. Eu estudava e parava porque era particular e pra nós era caríssimo, mas como a gente necessitava mesmo da tradução, que era uma questão de sobrevivência na época, aí a minha mãe pagava, quando ficava pouco o dinheiro eu parava. Retornava quando sobrava. Aí eu fiquei uns três anos, mas eu estudava muito em casa, e todo mundo se admirava que eu pegava rápido. Mas não era, era um esforço, né? Aí depois eu fui pra Inglaterra, a minha irmã já morava lá. Eu fui pra praticar mesmo, e foi quando eu aprendi de fato.

S: Quanto tempo tu passou lá?

U: Passei um ano direto, depois voltei fiquei mais um ano. Então lá que foi minha prova.

S: A prova dos nove, né?

U: A prova dos nove. Dos três anos que eu estudei aqui. Tirei a prova dos nove lá. Quando eu voltei pra cá, já falava fluentemente. Aí montei a agencia, e só continuo no ramo porque tenho o idioma. Diferentes dos meus concorrentes. Eu tenho essa vantagem, eu vendo meus pacotes, né.

S: E como é que foi esse teu ano lá na Inglaterra, o que que tu achou? U: Com relação à língua?

S: É, com tudo, tudo é diferente?

U: Ah, é um choque. Impacto... "PUM" você fica ali no começo, só assimilando. Por exemplo, com relação à língua, aqui eu achava que eu falava, que eu sabia.

S: Sei como é que é isso...

U: Aí eu cheguei lá, pô não sei nada e agora? A falar mesmo, naturalmente, comunicar foi lá. Aqui eu tentava, fazia esforço,

mas lá tinha que se virar.

S: E tu saia muito lá?

U: Sim. Mas a gente fica inibida nos primeiros contatos. "E agora?" Parece que tava tudo aqui (aponta pra cabeça), mas a língua não saía (risos). Por isso eu digo que a parte da língua mesmo, do inglês, eu fui aprender lá... Aí eu começava a sair, a minha irmã dizia, "não, vai sozinha, vai comprar alguma coisa", e eu ia. Eu pegava o nome do que eu queria, troco era fácil, numero é fácil da gente aprender. Aí eu me virava. Ia e voltava, cada dia eu aprendia mais. E o vocabulário, que cresceu muito. Então essa é uma coisa chave, né? Que a gente morando fora pega muito vocabulário, cresce rapidamente, desenvolve muito rápido.

S: Mas e tu acha que tu continua com esse vocabulário até hoje ou algumas coisas tu já esqueceu?

U: Já esqueci algumas coisas. O que eu preciso, o que eu uso, eu não esqueci. Continua S: Tá, então a tua prática local aqui em alter do chão, com relação ao inglês, é a tua agência né?

U: É.

S: E se tu vir alguém que fala inglês aqui e tá precisando de ajuda, tu chega na pessoa? U: Eu chego, eu tento ajudar. Eu me meto, né?. Eu ajudo ..tu sabe, né? Conhecimento é compartilhar...a gente se sente útil. O meu inglês é bom aqui porque o nível aqui é muito básico, então ajuda.

S: Eu acho legal que tu fala "meu inglês", então tu te apodera dessa língua...

U: (risos) é mesmo, eu falo. Nem percebi, falo no sentindo que é meu que já me serviu tanto! E ainda me serve até hoje! Realmente, né, eu falo, eu nem tinha percebido

S: Ah, eu acho excelente isso, porque tu mostra que tu te vê como falante da língua.

U: É verdade, eu não tinha percebido. Aqui chega muito americano e inglês, né. Então quando chega um alemão, um suíço, um holandês, eles dizem que meu inglês é muito bom, mas porque o inglês mais requisitado é o britânico, né?

S: É, tem gente que acha mesmo

U: Pra mim é o mais fácil de entender, mais claro. Mas acho que eu entendo assim porque eu morei lá. Olha, eu adoro essa língua. Me identifico. Se tiver uma oportunidade, como eu te falei, eu volto pra passear. Eu adoro as músicas, eu aprendi

muito com as músicas. "we are the world, we are the children" (canta). Essa música foi um marco no meu aprendizado no Inglês.

S: E se eu te perguntasse assim, o que o inglês representa pra ti?

U: Deixa eu ver...profissionalmente representa muito, né? Esse marco mesmo, é no lado profissional. Aprendi desde criança né, pra trabalhar, mas eu também já viajei, consegui muito conhecimento de mundo através desse idioma. Conhecimento cultural...já me abriu muitas portas...Eu acho que representa mais no lado profissional hoje, mas também tem esse peso pessoal, de eu saber me comportar nas situações. Eu lembro que teve um tempo lá na Inglaterra que eu fiquei tipo deprimida, meio triste. Mas aí eu pensava, "poxa, mas eu vou levar daqui o inglês" e isso me animava. E também com o dinheiro que eu consegui lá, trabalhando em um restaurante, eu montei a agência, comprei um barco à vista. Foi a língua que me ajudou com tudo isso. Primeiro a ficar lá, depois voltar e ter o que fazer aqui. Como te falei, culturalmente é muito crescimento. Conhecer outra cultura de perto. Outra coisa também que o inglês trouxe pra mim pessoalmente é a satisfação de falar. Olha, por exemplo, quando os turistas entram lá na agência e eu começo a falar, falo de alter do chão, das praias, da cultura, do clima, das pessoas, e eles se surpreendem, "onde você aprendeu inglês" e aí eu acho graça, acho tão legal. Quando eu tô falando com britânicos, por exemplo, aí eles puxam pro lado deles, "ah, então você fala bem porque morou na Inglaterra", é engraçado que até hoje eles acham que o inglês deles é o melhor, né?

S: É, mas muita gente não pensa mais assim

U: eu não penso, tanta variação, como que uma pode se considerar melhor, só se for por causa de poder econômico, porque eu realmente não vejo outra razão.

S: Boa observação!

U: Aqui em Alter do Chão precisa de mais gente falando...pra gente mesmo, sabe? Pra nossa economia, pra gente que mora aqui ganhar dinheiro. Pra mim junta os dois, eu tenho uma satisfação pessoal em falar, mas também gosto do aspecto financeiro. Mas por exemplo, se a pessoa que mora aqui não tem nenhuma afeição pela língua, mas trabalha com ela, tu acha que tá errado? Eu não acho. E eu sei que tem gente aqui que só trabalha com o inglês, é um instrumento de trabalho.

S: É...acho que é uma forma de apropriação. U: Isso aí.

S: Então tá Ursula, acho que por hoje é isso. Semana que vem eu dou uma passada lá na agência contigo, quem sabe não consigo acompanhar uma interação tua em inglês com algum turista?

U: Pode ir, vamos torcer!

Pilar Ternera

Silvia: Tá gravando então. Tu me falou que tu trabalhava com os guias, né? Pilar: Sim

S: Mas como foi pra tu entrar, como foi pra tu começar a gostar?

P: Então, desde criança, muito, muito nova eu já me interessava na língua inglesa, era especial na língua inglesa, parecia que não tinha outra que eu tinha que aprender. E pra eu aprender eu via que eu gostava muito, minha irmã mais velha falava, então eu ficava com aquela inveja branca, sabe? De querer estar falando, entender, então eu começava a falar enrolado assim, achando que eu tava falando

S: Sim

P: E eu me interessei muito por música estrangeira na minha infância e alguns filmes também me chamavam muita atenção e alguns atores que na minha mente, eram bons pra eu estar ouvindo e tentar imitá-los. Então o inglês na parte fonética, foi o que me ajudou bastante a desenvolver uma afinidade com o idioma. Não que eu tivesse falando exatamente as palavras, mas a fonética me levava a cantar as músicas que eu não entendia o que era, mas sabia cantar. E como eu gostava muito eu ficava cantarolando sempre as músicas em inglês por aí. E uma vez eu tava ajudando um artista de Santarém que tava fazendo um trabalho aqui em Alter do Chão, na igreja e eu me voluntariei pra trabalhar com ele. E quando eu ficava cantarolando, ele ficava prestando atenção, porque ele falava inglês. Então ele falou assim, que ele tinha uns parentes que tinham uma escola, a cultura inglesa, não sei se pode fazer merchan, tinham uma escola de inglês em Santarém e que ele ficaria muito feliz de conseguir uma bolsa pra mim na época e eu fiquei bem interessada né, porque na época a minha irmã já tinha feito inglês e a gente sabia que era uma dificuldade conseguir pagar todo mês a escola, né? E ele conseguiu a bolsa, foi muito rápido assim, ele conseguiu e eu comecei a fazer as aulas todos os dias, ia de manhã cedo pra Santarém, fazia a semana toda, ficava só final de semana sem fazer e me ajudou bastante, mas eu via que o meu interesse tinha que ser redobrado, porque lá as crianças já sabiam falar, desde pequenas já estavam na aula de inglês e eu tava começando já muito atrasada no

meu ver. E eu corri meio contra o tempo pra pegar o nível da turma. Mas foi bem legal, eu passei três anos lá estudando e aqui eu percebi que as pessoas quando começavam os cursos eu me interessava de fazer, mas tinha a noção de que nunca ia pra frente porque as pessoas tem a impressão que inglês se aprende num módulo só e não é assim. O inglês a gente aprende todos os dias um pouco, não tem essa de pagar pra aprender rápido, um mês assim. Por isso que muitas pessoas não aprenderam aqui em alter, pela falta de interesse também e por achar que é uma coisa que acontece muito rápido, não é.

S: Mas tu é daqui de Alter do Chão?

P: Eu sou, me esqueci de me apresentar, desculpa. Eu sou Pilar, eu sou moradora de Alter, minha família é toda daqui e eu tenho 27 anos. Eu sou formada em gestão ambiental, no momento eu tô usando a língua inglesa pra executar a minha função de guia e interprete né? Eu trabalho como guia a pouco tempo, mais profissional faz pouco tempo, mas amadora há muitos anos já. Eu gosto muito de andar na mata e como tem poucas pessoas que se dispõe a passar tantos dias na mata com turistas, tem época que eu faço trabalho bastante corrido assim, eu chego dum passeio e já tem outro e é uma coisa que eu gosto bastante!

S: E nesses dias tu fala só inglês? P: Só inglês

S: Ah, então tu te vira bem!

P: Sim, mas é como eu te falei, eu parei o curso em 2007, daí eu entrei na faculdade e não tive como fazer inglês junto com a faculdade e eu pensei, poxa todo mundo me falou a mesma coisa, "tu tem que ficar treinando, senão tu vai esquecer", e realmente começa a esquecer. Eu tenho uns livros aí, só que não é a mesma coisa. Então quando eu comecei a perceber que tava perdendo o contato com o idioma eu comecei a ficar preocupada, foi um esforço né, que eu fiz, que poderia ser em vão depois que eu ia perder tudo. E essa oportunidade que surgiu de trabalhar como interprete nas trilhas me trouxe de volta uma chance de estar em contato com idioma, então quando eu comecei a trabalhar com turistas numa competição chamada maratona da selva logo me botaram numa equipe de resgate, então era responsável de estar traduzindo tudo para a equipe brasileira, então era uma responsabilidade muito grande, eu sabia onde tava me metendo, sabia a dificuldade que eu ia enfrentar, mas eu queria muito. E quando a maioria dos estrangeiros vê que a gente tá interessado em aprender eles te abrem as portas assim. Então eu me senti bem a vontade de encarar essa. Eu participei mais dois anos, total de três anos de participação, de lá eu já conhecia bastante a

Floresta Nacional e pensei, vou continuar fazendo. E eu gostei bastante. Mas é claro que entrou uma questão de que eu indo pra FLONA, eu precisei não só conhecer inglês, mas geografia, história.

S: Sim, toda uma interdisciplinaridade.

P: Sim! Os primeiros guias que foram pra lá eu acompanhei de voluntária, pra ver como eles desenrolavam e comecei a escutar os ribeirinhos contando as histórias, né e ver como eu podia jogar isso pro inglês. E da outra vez quando eu comecei, quando eu tinha mais dificuldade eu ficava prestando atenção nos turistas, nas pessoas que eu levava. Eu sempre ando com meu caderninho e vou anotando.

S: E como é que tu te sente falando inglês?

P: Quando eu sinto que o grupo é legal, assim, dão abertura, te deixam a vontade pra falar , eu me sinto muito bem, eu até gosto. Só que eu tenho um problema assim que quando é pra de aspecto atual, dessa relação dos ribeirinhos com o rio e mais os problemas que tem aqui, tipo hidrelétrica, essas coisas, são coisas que envolvem uma linguagem mais ...muito técnica e muito diferente, que em português eu saberia de contar, mas em inglês não. Isso me dói muito, porque eu quero contar as coisas e não sei como chegar nesses assuntos. A minha sorte é que a maioria que vem já conhece um pouco da realidade aqui e quer ver como é e eu já levo algum material pronto pra mostrar, eu tenho uns slides, algumas fotos e através das fotos eu vou falando alguma coisa, assim que eu faço

S: Mas então tu não fica mais...tu não tem mais aquela insegurança né?

P: Não não, eu encaro. Insegura assim, mas quando tem algum assunto específico, de hidrelétrica por exemplo. Aí eu fico um pouco... eu quero falar, não é que eu vá deixar de falar, eu começo a falar, depois eles vão me ajudando assim. Eu sempre carrego dicionário, caderno, meus slides assim. Eu nunca deixei de contar um fato por ter medo de qual palavra usar, sempre dou um jeito e sai.

S: E sai, né? Mas me conta qual jeito que tu dá pra comunicar uma coisa que tu não sabe, os termos técnicos por exemplo?

P: É, e eles sempre explicam," nós não somos americanos, somos da Noruega, da Coréia, nosso inglês também é errado, é normal. Se você não souber falar a palavra, fala em português ou fala espanhol", eles vão entender. É assim que eles falam, por exemplo, se tem uma frase inteira, mas se tem uma palavra que tu não sabe, tu pode trocar pela palavra em português mesmo, que dá pra entender. Quanto a falar o que eu não lembro ou não sei na hora, eu sempre ando com

links da internet, com algumas palavras chaves, sempre ando com meu computador que tem uns vídeos, isso ajuda bastante.

S: Então tu não te prende só na língua, né? Usa outros meios

P: Sim, quando o assunto é sério e precisa de uma linguagem mais técnica...quando eu sei que vai vir muita pergunta que talvez eu não saiba responder. Então eu faço esse panorama, uso palavras chave. Eu sempre tento falar...Eu sempre gostei da língua, sabe? Sempre. Mas teve um tempo que eu andei lendo bastante sobre a história né e o idioma né, como ele foi cruel assim, em algumas nações, tipo na África do Sul, como foi...aí cria...

S: Tipo uma crise? Me conta um pouco sobre isso, essas tuas agonias?

P: Isso foi em uma aula de história que surgiu. Como que umas nações foram tendo que substituir suas línguas pra falar inglês e como isso foi matando as pessoas por dentro. Até na tradução da bíblia também... foi bem forte. E uma vez me perguntaram aqui na aula de história também, se, na minha opinião, o processo de formação do Brasil foi muito ok, todo mundo aceitou, ou teve muitas revoltas...ninguém para pra pensar muito nisso, como foi esse processo? Eu penso que com a língua também foi desse jeito. Os ingleses vieram, dominaram a nação, não sabiam se a população queria falar inglês ou não e até hoje é assim, a língua que predomina, né? Mas como foi pra essa língua chegar a ser dominante no mundo?

S: Certo. Mas tu achas que essas reflexões que tu fazes as vezes foram tipo um empecilho pra tu aprender a língua ou não?

P: Não foi um problema. Na verdade, quando eu comecei a querer aprender e a entender as palavras eu era muito nova, não tinha parado pra pensar nisso. Depois, nas aulas, que eu fui percebendo como era importante esse tipo de questão. Quando eu comecei a falar todo mundo ficava dizendo, "inglês vai abrir portas"....qual essa força que o inglês tem? Por que outras línguas, como a nossa por exemplo, não tem? Eu falo inglês, mas sempre me questiono as ideias que as pessoas tem dessa língua.. é pra pensar, né?

S: É uma boa reflexão, né? P: É mais uma agonia (risos)

S: Puxa, obrigada Pilar. Adorei falar contigo. P: De nada. Precisando, estamos aqui.

José Arcadio Buendía

Silvia: Vou ligar o gravador aqui, tá? Pra eu não perder nada do que tu disser, José Arcadio. Tá, então tu começou tua relação com o inglês no colégio?

J: Na verdade era antes, porque o Flávio, meu irmão, que ele sempre era

muito "anglofile", ele gostava muito da cultura inglesa e tal, especialmente da música, depois da poesia, e da literatura em geral. E quando ele se formou no colégio ele já falava Inglês quase que impecável, ele sempre foi muito mais didático que eu. Quando ele se tornou guia, como era o irmão mais jovem dele, ele me levava pra Manaus pra ver a atmosfera de guias e tal, e os guias ficavam brincando de dicionário, vocabulário, você dizia uma palavra e tinha que dizer o sinônimo e tal, e ele foi me encorajando dessa forma. Depois quando eu estudava no colégio e eu já falava um pouco, os irmãos (o colégio que ele se refere é dirigido pela Congregação dos Irmãos de santa Cruz) foram percebendo e viam a minha vontade de falar melhor me deram força, me separavam do resto da turma e tal. E a biblioteca desse colégio era a melhor biblioteca que tinha, ainda deve ser uma das melhores hoje, mas naquela época tinha muito mais livros em Inglês e com esses livros, porque o meu irmão Eduardo era bem inteligente, sabia muito de Literatura e ele pegava e...

(Rebeca, filha de José Arcadio, que está sendo criada bilíngue por ele se aproxima) R: Papai, quero mais

J: Do you want more guava? You want more guava? Celso, Flora wants more guava (Celso é primo do Jose Arcadio)

R: More guava!

J: Aí o Eduardo me recomendava livro e eu pegava em Inglês e lia esses livros todos, entendeu? Chamado "Selvagem" (risos)

S: E hoje a tua vida gira em torno do Inglês né, porque uma vez tu me disse que português era só pra gente trocar uma ideia...

J: Mas também eu nunca gostava tanto do português pelo fato de ser uma língua imperialista que acabou com a minha, tá ligado?

S: Mas o Inglês, tu não acha que é também?

J: É, mas o Inglês não acabou com a minha língua nativa. E aí, sempre fui assim de não gostar dessas coisas do colonizador e tal. E aí junto com a minha profissão teve um momento que eu falava várias línguas. Teve um momento que eu falava muito italiano, muito alemão, naquela época se você pensar, na verdade, trinta anos atrás, vinte cinco anos atrás, menos gente na Europa falava Inglês. Mas com o passar do tempo, todo mundo começou a falar inglês, hoje você tem grupos de jovens franceses que todo mundo fala inglês de alta qualidade e naquela época não rolava isso. Eram idosos franceses que só falavam francês. E depois também muito livro, né? Meus livros são todos em Inglês.

S: Quantos livros tu tem?

J: Eu não sei, eu tenho os melhores dentro da minha área de trabalho. E

dentro desses melhores, uma meia dúzia eu ajudei a fazer. Isso foi muito bom. Assim eu comecei a trabalhar e o fato de eu falar inglês me colocava melhor que meus colegas e depois a minha família tinha escola de inglês e também a gente tinha muitos amigos de outros lugares que ficavam na nossa casa e tal, né? É muito legal, eu lembro que o meu irmão quando via um estrangeiro na rua, ele ia pra trocar uma ideia com o cara, e depois chegava na minha casa, pedia pra minha mãe pros caras ficarem em casa, então a minha mãe, meus pais, tinham uma sacada muito boa, que isso não só ajudava a gente a aprender a falar inglês, mas ajudava a gente também a ter uma ideia melhor das coisas do mundo, e a gente exercitava a nossa hospitalidade. Que são três coisas muito massa.

S: Sei, quanto tempo tu mora aqui em Alter, José Arcadio?

J: A idade da Rebeca. Três anos. Mas eu frequento Alter do Chão desde trinta anos atrás.

S: Sim, e a Rebeca tá sendo educada...

J: A Rebeca é praticamente bilíngue, ela mistura os dois, ela tem só três anos. Aqui é tudo inglês, entendeu? Eu posto as coisas no facebook em inglês. Dois amigos reclamavam, o ultimo que reclamou foi ontem.

Rebeca: Vamos fazer castelo na areia, vamos? J: You wanna make castles with daddy?

Rebeca: Yeah

J: Então, qual que era?

S: Tu tava falando que dois amigos reclamavam...

J: Então, ele falou "pô, a nossa língua, tão bonita, porque você não escreve e tal", aí eu falei: "nossa língua o que, cara pálida, essa língua não é minha não, nem tua, leso". E o outro amigo falou "que idiotice, todo mundo sabe que você fala inglês", como se eu postasse as coisas...

S: Pra se exibir?

J: É, pra se exibir, "essas paisagens são tão nossas, você coloca em inglês", eu "ah, vá...respondi a mesma coisa, "essa língua não é nossa, essa língua não é tua, entendeu? E já que você me deu uma sugestão, eu gostaria de sugerir, aprende inglês também", mas só que depois ele queria continuar essa parada no facebook, que é cansativo, porque eu não tenho tempo de estar explicando nada pra ninguém.

S: Mas então tu te sente bem confortável com o Inglês, né?

J: Sim, claro. Já dei várias palestras nos Estados Unidos, e tal. Fui convidado. Se for o assunto que eu domino...sete palestras já.

S: Então aqui em Alter tu acha que o inglês é usado mais pra turismo mesmo? J: Sem dúvida.

S: Então as performances locais em Inglês aqui em alter do chão, elas

vão ser voltadas pro turismo?

J: Sem dúvida. E eu acho que as pessoas vão deixar de ganhar merreca quando elas falarem inglês, entendeu?

Rebeca: Vamos à praia, vamos?

J: We can go in five minutes. Do you wanna eat some? (Jose Arcadio oferece uma mistura de peixe com ovo)

R: want a little bit

J: It is not chicken, it's fish

R: No good. I don't want.

J: Você imagina os ingleses…eles se apropriaram tão bem...um exemplo de imperialismo. A china, um trilhão de vezes mais forte que eles, mas até todo mundo aprender a falar mandarim...nunca vão usar, entendeu? Tá todo mundo fazendo business em inglês, claro que deve ter lugar em que os caras falam, mas o inglês realmente...eu não sou a pessoa realmente certa pra saber, mas é o que eu imagino, entendeu? Eu tô falando isso porque um dia desses um amigo meu falou que a China é uma super potencia e tal, então seria bom aprender mandarim. Eu falei "deus me livre".

S: E o português? Tu usa pra que? J: Nem lembro. Inútil. Demorou!

 S: Sério, Jose Arcadio?

J: Realmente eu não tinha percebido, eu uso pouco o português.

S: Um dia tu falou pra mim, que português era pra gente tá aqui, trocando uma ideia. J: Pois é, eu uso com o Celso, com a mãe da Flora

S: Mas e o Celso não fala Inglês? Celso: Ainda não!

S: Mas você tá no caminho? J: Claro!

Celso: Sempre no caminho. Com certeza (risos)

Melquíades

Melquíades: Já tá gravando?

Silvia: Já, já tá gravando. Melquíades, eu quero saber da onde tu és, primeiro. M: Eu sou de Santarém. Tô as vésperas de fazer 45 anos.

S: Já? Nem parece! E me conta então tuas experiências com o inglês, fica livre pra contar o que tu quiseres.

M: Tá. Quando eu era criança, ali por volta de sete, oito anos, tinha um cunhado, já falecido, e ele era mecânico, ele foi fazer um curso no Canadá, de mecânica de carros. Quando ele veio do Canadá, ele me deu dois presentes. Um, foi uma vitrola, que você destacava a tampa dela e eram duas caixinhas de som, e a segunda coisa que aconteceu foi que ele me deu um disco do Pink Floyd e eu escutava muito esse disco, chamado "Wish you were here", e eu ouvia muito essa música. Duas

coisas aconteceram nessa época, que foi eu ter começado a tocar violão, e também aprender a falar inglês, porque eu queria entender o que eu ouvia ali naquele disco. E calhou que bem do lado da minha casa um pastor norte americano. Eles construíram uma casa bem no fundo do quintal, e na frente eles foram plantando árvores, fazendo um jardim. E eu fui crescendo ali naquele meio, eu ia pra casa deles, ficava ouvindo os filhos dele falando inglês, e aí eles passaram a me adotar, eu ia pra lá eu trocava comida com os filhos dele, porque eles gostavam da comida da minha mãe e eu gostava de comer doce, aquelas coisas que não tinham na minha casa. Então nessa brincadeira, eu comecei a aprender a falar inglês, né? Coisas...e depois eu passei a trabalhar pra eles como jardineiro, na casa deles. Com o tempo eles se mudaram, mas eu continuei trabalhando pra eles

S: Tu tinha quantos anos?

M: Eu tinha 12. Dos 12 ao 17 anos eu trabalhei pra eles, assim, fazendo tudo. Eu varria casa, varria quintal, cuidava de jardim, fazia todas essas coisas pra eles. E em troca disso eu fui praticamente adotado pela família, porque eu aprendi a falar inglês. Mas não era um conhecimento formal, não era nada formalizado. Aí um dia ele disse, olha a gente tá voltando pros Estados Unidos, mas eu vou continuar te pagando um salário pra você estudar inglês. E aí foi a época que eu fui estudar com o Flávio, que era a única escola de inglês que tinha em Santarém, mas não era também uma escola formal, ele ensinava inglês lá, mas não tinha nem certificado, então pra manter o inglês eu continuei estudando lá. E aí foi na época que veio, em 83, 84, a escola Fisk pra Santarém. Quando eu cheguei lá na Fisk, eu encontrei com o Steven Winn Alexander, e ele disse, mas esse rapaz já fala inglês, ele não precisa estudar. Aí eu descobri que eu realmente já sabia, já escrevia bem em inglês e tal. Mas eu não tinha um certificado, na época se chamava de diploma, eu não tinha o diploma

S: Não tinha o papel, né?

M: É, não tinha o papel. Então o Steven pegou e me colocou em um nível bem alto, no book 6, que era mais pra fazer conversação, que ele sabia que eu falava inglês. Depois ele falou, olha o Gilvan tá precisando de alguém que dê aula pro nível um e nível dois de inglês, então você podia fazer uma permuta, então eu comecei a trabalhar. Ele me levou também pra Fundação Esperança, pra trabalhar como tradutor, então as equipes médicas que vinham dos Estados Unidos eu já atendia. Então resumindo, isso aí foi como aconteceu. No final de 87 eu fui pros Estados Unidos, visitar o pastor Daniel, e aí eu fiquei três meses, voltei de novo pro Brasil. Aí quando foi em 91 eu voltei pra lá, mas tive que

voltar pro causa do exército, que eu não tinha servido, então era obrigatório aí eu acabei voltando pro Brasil. E aí sempre trabalhando como guia, nesse interim de 84, eu tinha 15, 16 anos, teve o advento dos primeiros navios em Santarém, aí a gente ia pra lá. Na época, o que a gente tinha era river tour, na época a gente conseguia ver muito bicho, até 1990, a gente conseguia ver muito bicho nesse passeio. Hoje a gente quase não vê. Nessa época o tour de Santarém... como a gente não conhecia muito bem a história de Santarém, da região, livros eram muito difíceis, a maioria tava em inglês muito avançado, a gente não conseguia...aí o Steven começou a passar pra gente o que ele já sabia, o que ele já conhecia, ele escreveu um livro uma época, acho que foi em 96, 97, sobre Santarém

S: Aquele overview, né? Riverboat?

M: Sim, que é um livro que tem algumas coisas assim, mas muito de estrangeiro vendo a questão brasileira e não o brasileiro vendo realmente como é que a coisa acontece, como é que é as coisas né, o modo de vida. Você expressar que é uma vida dura viver numa palafita, é diferente de um brasileiro que tá vivendo aquilo ali, mas pra ele não é uma vida dura, porque ele nunca teve luxo. É por isso que eu acho importante a gente falar inglês aqui. A pessoa chega nesse ponto, "como você aprendeu inglês? Olha, seu inglês é muito bom", quer dizer, você não espera uma pessoa no fim do mundo, porque tem gente que quando pensa no Brasil, ah, é país de terceiro mundo, quer dizer, com todas essas condições que a gente não tem no Brasil...escolas boas, como aprender o idioma num local onde não tem professor, como confiar e o inglês não é nem segunda língua na nossa escola, então, como se ensina a língua inglesa na nossa escola, como uma mãe me perguntou um dia: "professor, é possível aprender inglês na escola?". Eu disse: É. Porque tem pessoas que realmente sabem o idioma, realmente querem que o aluno aprenda e realmente gostam de ensinar. Não obstante todos os problemas, tu sabia que o porto de Santarém é sempre avaliado como um dos melhores do Brasil?

S: Sério? É o carisma (risos)

M: É o carisma, a forma como receber, o próprio encanto da Amazônia, a pessoa já vem pra cá e "olha, eu não espero que na Amazônia vou encontrar um guia de turismo que saiba explicar, por exemplo, como é que se tira a seiva e tal, com palavras bem apropriadas, pra que a gente possa entender e seja bem didático e tal". Muitos não esperam que na Amazônia tenha pessoas formadas pra isso. Ele não espera. Eles não esperam, por exemplo, que uma aldeia como Alter do Chão, seja um

lugar turístico, que tenha hotéis e pousadas e restaurantes chiques, com o mínimo de conforto. Como eu te disse, pra mim essa questão do inglês é importante porque você acaba comunicando como você vive. As coisas mais simples da vida. Outro dia eu tava explicando sobre manga para uns indianos. Eles conhecem três, quatro tipos de manga. Eles não conhecem os 25 tipos e manga que existem no brasil.

S: Nem eu sabia que tinha 25 (risos)

M: São 25. E pra eles o jambo, também, né. Que é o indian pear, por exemplo. Pra eles ela é laranja por dentro, pra nós é branca. Então eles acharam estranho também.

S: Então tu acha que uma das importâncias, digamos assim, do inglês é poder comunicar com gente de outra realidade pra entender o teu contexto?

M: Isso. Exatamente. Entender a tua história. A forma como você vive. Não é tão diferente da forma como eles vivem lá. A diferença é talvez a falta de tecnologia.

S: Quanto tempo tu mora aqui?

M: Eu moro aqui há quinze anos já. E sabe, Alter do Chão é só 34 km de Santarém. Mas se você for pelo rio de canoa, você vai levar três dias e meio. Eu te digo isso porque o pai da Geane fazia isso.

S: De canoa?

M: De canoa. Aí eles iam, faziam acampamento, paravam no meio do caminho, fazia fogueira, comia e de manhã cedo continuava a viagem. Mas pensa nisso, pensa tu fazer isso

S: Acho que eu faria, se fosse uma vez...

M: Eu gosto muito dessas coisas, essas informações são muito importantes. Você vai colocando esses contrastes até chegar no hoje, no ciclo do turismo, "como é que vocês chegaram aqui na Amazônia, por que vocês tão hoje aqui". Na sua cabeça você tá no fim do mundo (risos).

S: Sim, verdade. Tá, e como eu te falei antes, eu te vi contando a lenda do boto, eu achei muito legal. Como tu te sente contando uma história que é tão nossa, em outra língua, pra umas pessoas que muito provavelmente nunca ouviram falar disso?

M: É, eu gosto muito dessa questão. Quando eu faço um tour, em geral, eu gosto muito de brincar, de contar piada. Essa questão das lendas também. Porque é como eu vejo. Como eu vejo o europeu. Um homem loiro de olhos azuis. Os índios criaram essa lenda, que o boto se transforma num homem branco, bonito, que vem pra seduzir. Lembrei de uma coisa, o meu pai via com muita desconfiança eu estudar Inglês, "como é que você vai aprender Inglês se não sabe nem o português

direito?", "esse menino vai ficar doido de tanto estudar", mas não. Eu tô aqui hoje, falando, contando nossas histórias, fazendo piadinha nessa língua. Não é bacana?

S: Eu achei muito legal. E como tu te vê falando inglês? Assim, pra ti, como é que é? M: Eu, na verdade eu sou um pouco orgulhoso com isso, eu acho isso o máximo. Quando você tem essa capacidade de se expressar em outra língua e você olha pra um turista e pensa, olha eu tô te explicando na tua língua, o que acontece aqui. Nesse ponto eu fico orgulhoso. É assim que eu me vejo mesmo. Legal você ter a capacidade, o poder...o cara tá visitando meu país e de repente ele encontra alguém que fala inglês e que, além disso, a pessoa vive essa realidade. Eu tenho muito orgulho do que eu consigo fazer em seis horas de trabalho. E eu acho que é muito legal a recompensa disso no final. O elogio, "nossa, você fala inglês muito bem". Mas nem é só isso. É a satisfação que dá, que eu sinto no final. Uma vez um turista me perguntou, como você aprendeu a falar Inglês? Eu raramente conto essa história, mas eu disse, "ah, eu tive muita sorte, eu tive missionários americanos que moravam do lado da minha casa". Eu falo muito, né? S: (risos) Não tem problema, eu gosto de conversar (risos). Há quanto tempo tu é professor?

M: Olha, formalmente desde 1997.

S: Mas tu é formado em Letras?

M: Sim. Letras Inglês. Mas eu já trabalho como professor desde 1984.

S: Jesus, sempre de Inglês?

M: Sempre de Inglês. Eu trabalhei com português em cursinho.

S: Então acho que por hoje é só, volto outra hora e a gente conversa mais, pode ser? M: Pode, claro. Você já sabe o caminho! (risos).

APPENDIX B

Field Diary

Existe um grupo de meninas, todas na faixa dos 20 anos, nascidas e criadas em Alter do Chão, que estão sempre na praça. Elas são muito conhecidas na vila, são muito sociáveis e muitos as apelidaram de "caça gringos", pelo fato de sempre conhecerem as pessoas novas que chegam na vila. Foram muito receptivas a mim, fui me aproximando aos poucos, fazendo perguntas, conversando, até que no fim da minha estadia na vila eu já era reconhecida como "parte do bonde" e era convidada para festas, jantares, eventos familiares e até fui adicionada a um grupo de conversas formado por elas em um famoso aplicativo de celular. No começo, quando expliquei o que eu estava fazendo, a mais simples e sincera delas, achou que eu estudava pra ser médica. Quando finalmente me fiz entender, elas prometeram me ajudar e conversar com os falantes de língua inglesa quando tivessem oportunidade. A simplicidade, alegria e leveza dessas meninas me surpreendiam sempre.

Fernanda está noiva de um Norueguês que conheceu em Alter do Chão em 2012. Já foi a Noruega três vezes e me confidenciou ás vezes se sente triste naquele país, pois não fala a língua. Fala pouco inglês e Zoran, o noivo, não fala português. Perguntei como eles conversam e ela falou que por gestos, e com a ajuda do dicionário que tem no celular. Mas ela garantiu que em 2015, quando vai acontecer o casamento na Noruega, vai entrar em um cursinho de Inglês e de Norueguês.

As interações abaixo foram gravadas em mesas de bares da vila, em dias diferentes, sempre que havia uma oportunidade.

March, 12th, 2014- Informal chat with Remedios
Silvia: Quando foi que tu aprendeu a falar inglês? Remedios: Eu? Acho que eu tinha 15 eu acho.
Silvia: Onde? Na escola?
Remedios: Na verdade eu ganhei uma bolsa de um cursinho pra estudar lá no Iespes. Escolheram os melhores alunos da escola, aí eu fui. Era muito legal, ali eu percebi que podia falar inglês de verdade. Quando a professora falava e eu entendia era legal demais! Só que durou um ano e a professora foi embora. Era três vezes na semana. Aí que eu aprendi fui treinando sozinha. E também com os gringos, né? Assim como tu tá vendo, misturando tudo.
Silvia: E tu usa mais pra conversar?

Remedios: Pra conversar, fazer amizade como eu já te falei. Lá na barraca de doce também, as vezes aparece um ou outro. Mas eu não acho que eu falo, eu enrolo, né? Eu entendo mais do que eu falo. Ele tava falando em alemão e eu entendi algumas coisas. Mas...I don't speak English. I understand".

August 24th, 2014

Estamos em uma mesa na pizzaria. Zelig, um alemão que fala português e sempre visita a vila e um amigo dele (alemão que não fala português) estão conosco. Zelig me disse que gosta de falar em inglês com as meninas, pois acha importante que elas aprendam outras línguas. Ele ensinou algumas palavras em alemão para a Remedios, pois a considera "muito inteligente e esperta". Nessa noite ele estava falando inglês na mesa.

Remedios: Ah, fala vocês também

Amaranta: Eu não, não entendo nada que vocês falam

R: Tu entende sim. Entender é mais fácil, falar é difícil. Zelig: Everybody can speak English, but nobody is speaking Amaranta: How are you, baby (risos)

R: I can't. I can understand

Z: Everybody can. But you are very shy (para a Remedios) R: I understand. I am not shy

Z: Many people, I mean, when you are speaking...

R: The problem is people querem que você speak perfect! (chega uma coca cola)

R: É poison. Mas é bom

Amigo do Zelig: So, when I meet people who speak Portuguese, what can I say? Amaranta: o que ele falou?

R: O que ele pode falar em português? É isso? Foi o que eu entendi!

Silvia: Isso, quando conhece alguém

A: "Como você tá"?

Amigo do Zelig: Como você tá? A: "E aí, maluco"

R: "E aí, tudo bem?" whats up? Beleza? A: Como é que fala gato?

R: Cat

A: Não, em alemão

R: How they say in German?

Zelig: Katze

(passa um rapaz aleatório pela mesa e fala "hi, Hitler" para o Zelig)

R: Só que o Hitler não é alemão. Ele é austríaco. Ele foi criado na Alemanha só. E todo mundo acha que ele é alemão.

Zelig: Ela está certa. Ele era austríaco.
Amaranta: ah, eu faltei nessa aula (risos) Então, volta lá pro português,
"olá gatinha" Zelig: no, no, no, it is crazy
R: No is crazy, is cute
Zelig: only here in Brazil you can do it. "Oi, gatinha". Não pode não. R:
pode ser assim, "oi, Silvia, tá gatinha hoje". É diferente
Silvia: É, mas quando um cara fala "oi, gatinha", eu não curto. I like
when people say my name.
Zelig: falar gatinha não é legal
R: "oi, morena" que eu não acho legal Silvia: It is all depends on...
Amigo do Zelig: What should I say, just tell me (risos)
R: não, you can say, "oi, tudo bem?". Ele tá perguntando isso por causa
que a gente falou "oi, gatinha. Se a gente acha legal, eu acho, mas só
assim, tipo, quando tá entre amigos já. Coitado, a gente embaralhou a
cabeça dele!

September 8th, 2014
Hoje é 8 de setembro, eu estou aqui na Areia Branca ecoturismo com a
Ursula e apareceu um casal de franceses, eles vieram perguntar sobre
pacotes de passeios para a Flona (Floresta Nacional do Tapajós), só que
como o rapaz falava espanhol, a Ursula falou sobre o pacote em
português, e eles negociaram significados. Um tempo depois a moça
voltou e ela tinha perdido a câmera, chegou falando "mi câmera", e a
Ursula achou melhor falar em inglês com eles.
Turista francesa: I went to the bus stop, we only saw one bus and I
checked it was not the bus we took, so we take the telephone number of
the company, we were thinking about maybe calling
Ursula: yeah, but you have called already?
TF: No, no, we don't have a phone, my phone is not working Ursula:
Maybe if you go to the terminal they say something
TF: Not at the bar, at the terminal? (há uma parada de ônibus em frente
a um bar, onde a turista desceu e voltou ao perceber que estava sem a
câmera)
Ursula: yes, at the terminal there is a little office there.
TF: So, there is the bar, there is another street and then there is the
terminal, right? Ursula: Yes, straight
Turista francês : we went there, but there were no buses Ursula: you
should have ask somebody in the office
Moça francesa: ok, do you know if sometimes the driver goes in the bus
and check if there are things?

Ursula: No, I don't know, maybe...there is somebody that gets Money that we call "cobradora" and maybe she checks if you ask...if is somebody from the company, maybe they keep it.
Moça francesa: yeah, we know. Ok Ursula: but you can try again Casal: yeah, yeah
Ursula: I go to see if I have the number of the company here and I can call Moça francesa: ok, thank you very much
Ursula: Eu acho que eu tenho esse número aqui...you just arrive here in Alter do Chão? Moça francesa: Sorry?
Ursula: You just arrive here in Alter do Chão?
Moça: No, we arrived yesterday, but we went to Santarém first Ursula: Ah, ok. What is your name?
Rapaz francês: Thomaz (soletra as letras) and Camille (soletra também)

Silvia: Porque tu achou melhor falar em inglês com eles, Ursula?
Ursula: Porque espanhol eu entendo, mas eu não sei responder em espanhol. Em inglês é mais fácil pra mim, de entender, de comunicar.
Silvia: Certo, aí ela falou que talvez...
Ursula: Talvez tivesse deixado no ônibus. Aí eu falei *the bus returned already to Santarém.* Eu sei que eu falei errado, mas eu queria comunicar primeiro, entendeu?
Silvia: Mas por que tu falou errado? O que quer dizer falar errado?
Ursula: Falar errado gramaticalmente o inglês, porque eu percebi...sempre eu percebo (o "erro"), mas eu não volto. Porque na verdade eu queria primeiro me comunicar. Entendeu? E ela entendeu, né?
Silvia: Sim. Com certeza
Ursula: na hora eu tava mais preocupada em passar a informação. Mas era has already returned que eu devia falar. Mas no fim deu certo.

October, 18th, 2014
Remedios pergunta para o Zoran (o noivo norueguês) Remedios: Tu like Tatá (Thaís)?
Fernanda: Yes!
R: Ele I love, né (risos). Cadê teu ring? (pergunta pro Zoran, fazendo gestos, pois ele não usa anel de noivado)

Z: In Norway we don't need to wear it

R: Mas aqui é Brasil e aqui tu tem que usar. Tu precisa. You have to buy!

Fernanda: Ele não quer usar, a gente vai comprar as alianças semana que vem e ele não quer.

Remedios (vira pro Zoran): Ei, why?

F: Ele diz que anel de casamento, só no casamento R: Can't. I give one to you

Zoran: Yes...I can buy one here

Remedios: Yes! You need! Que é isso? Tu é single? Zoran: No, I am not single

Silvia: A Remedios tá botando moral

Fernanda: Ele disse que anel de casamento só no casamento. Aí eu falei "negativo, tu vai ter que usar quando a gente comprar".

R: Mas então tu precisa. You have to buy

 Z: Yes...I can buy one here

R: Vai lá (aponta a loja que vende anel de coquinho) e fala assim: eu quero um anel de coquinho

Z: Eu quero um anel de coquinho (com um sotaque bem forte) R: Isso, eu quero um anel de coquinho

Z: /kəʊ'keɪn/ (Zoran pronuncia coquinho igual "cocaína) R: Coquinho, não cocaína (risos)

Z: No cocaína? (risos)

Zoran se levanta e vai em direção a loja R: Taí ó, ele vai comprar o anel!

October 25th, 2014

(Remedios e Zoran estão olhando o cardápio de cervejas) Remedios: Tijuca, Brahma, Skol, não, skol não. I don't like Zoran: Why You don't like?

Remedios: Ai, caramba (risos) Because is bad (todo mundo começa a rir, pois Remedios falou de um jeito muito engraçado)

Silvia: I have to write all your names in my acknowledgments 'cause you are helping me a lot (risos)

Zoran: (rindo) I thank this guy from Norway Remedios: I thank Susu (risos) (Susu is her nickname)

(Eles olham para o meu ipad que está no programa que grava voz)

Zoran: "Speaking your voice mail" (lendo)

Remedios: "My recording" (lendo) (Eles riem)

Zoran: Speak something (para a Suelen) Remedios: Something.

Portuguese, just Portuguese Zoran: Obrigado
Remedios: De nada (risos) Zoran: Tijuca (cerveja)
Remedios: Não, não é tijuca. É brahma.
Zoran: Piriquitambóia (nome de uma cobra da Amazônia, as meninas julgaram essa a palavra em português mais difícil para ensinar pra ele. A risada é geral)
Remedios: Zoran, you are drunk
Zoran: I am not drunk. You haven't seen me drunk. In Norway we drink a little more Remedios: In Norway you drink beer?
Zoran: Oh, yeah. A lot. In Norway a beer in the store is R$ 13,00
Remedios: Mas cruzes! Eu nunca ia ficar bêbada na Noruega. Mas tem caipirinha lá? Fernanda: A gente leva a cachaça, amiga. Na minha mala sempre vai cachaça. Lá é 130 reais uma garrafa de 51 (cachaça)
Silvia: Mas tem 51 pra vender lá?
Fernanda: Tem, mas é caro. Bebida alcoólica lá é caro Remedios: Eu acho que eu vou vender 51 lá (risos).
Zoran: You want to go to Norway to sell 51?
Remedios: Yes! And havaianas (sandália brasileira). And dance carimbó (dança típica do Pará)
Zoran: Ok (risos)
Remedios: I go to Norway. And marry your friend Zoran: Yes! You can go in May
Remedios: Yes, I go. Very expensive. Fernanda: ok, mas lets eat, please
Remedios: Let's.
Zoran: Porra
Remedios: No, bad word (risos)
Zoran: piriquitambóia (risos). Piriquitambóia is not a bad word, it's a snake Remedios: Yes, I know. Do you have a picture of piriquitambóia?
Zoran: Yes. (Andreas mostra a foto) Remedios: É essa mesma
Fernanda: Ela fica pendurada. Por isso quando tu tiver andando na mata não fica só olhando pro chão
Remedios: É uma cobra que fica pendurada na árvore. Na tree, a snake. Don't just look on ground (Remedios faz gestos, Zoran entende e balança a cabeça afirmativamente). Por isso que tem aquele carimbó: "piriquitambóia, pendurada no caminho".

October, 29th, 2014- Informal chat with Fernanda Del Carpio
Eu e Fernnada hoje conversamos sobre seus dias na Noruega. Ela me conta que são difíceis, que fica muito tempo sozinha em casa, pois não

se sente segura para sair. Tem medo de não entender as pessoas. Fernanda acredita que se soubesse inglês, sua vida na Noruega seria mais fácil, pois para ela "Inglês é entendido em todo lugar"

Fernanda: O que eu sei de inglês são frases decoradas. Eu decorei o máximo que pude. As vezes dá certo. Mas eu queria mesmo falar sem preocupação, sem ficar pensando que tão rindo de mim pelas costas, porque tô falando errado ou engraçado, "que inglês zoado".

Silvia: Mas tu acha que isso acontece?

Fernanda: Claro! Posso tentar imitar eles pra disfarçar, mas uma hora todo mundo percebe.

Silvia: Tu acha então que a língua te limita de alguma forma?

Fernanda: De várias formas. Deixo de sair de casa, quase não faço amizade. Se eu soubesse falar inglês, eu tava feita, porque lá todo mundo entende. Não falar acho que é uma barreira. Eu fico bem triste as vezes, sozinha em casa. O Zoran faz o que pode pra me entreter, mas no fundo ele sabe que é difícil pra mim.

Silvia: Mas e o norueguês, não tem como aprender?

Fernanda: Nossa, acho que é bem mais difícil. Sei menos ainda. Mas ainda esse ano eu pretendo entrar em um cursinho lá na Noruega. Quando a gente se reencontrar tu vai ver que já vou estar falando.

Silvia: Eu acredito!

Fernanda: Mas ao mesmo tempo eu não sei se quero aprender muito...tipo assim, minha língua é o português, eu sou daqui. Não quero ser uma deles, sabe?

Silvia: Como assim, me explica melhor

Fernanda: Assim, eu quero falar inglês. Acho que vai ser bom pra minha vida com o meu marido. Mas eu não quero deixar de ser brasileira, paraense, da Amazônia. Nunca que vou me acostumar a só comer aquelas comidas, não dá pra não sentir saudade das nossas...o que eu quero dizer é que eu quero usar o Inglês, mas não quero deixar a minha vida pra trás. Quem eu sou realmente.

Durante os meses de setembro, outubro e novembro (os meses finais da minha geração de dados), eu convivi bem mais com os habitantes da vila. Nesse período eu já era reconhecida como membro da comunidade, já era cumprimentada na rua, convidada para eventos familiares, para passeios, jantares...durante esse tempo também, percebi mudança de perspectivas nas pessoas que eu acompanhava. Remedios era uma delas. Nas primeiras interações que eu testemunhava, ela fazia questão de me dizer que não falava inglês, apenas entendia. Com o passar do tempo, ela pareceu se apropriar da língua, como ilustro na conversa a seguir:

(Chego de bicicleta na praça. Havíamos marcado um luau com as meninas, Zelig, o alemão, e alguns amigos dele)

Remedios: Antes de todo mundo chegar queria falar uma coisa contigo que fiquei pensando

Eu: o que?

R: Não, é sobre o inglês, mas pode ser só uma besteira mesmo que eu pensei Eu: fala, pode falar

R: olha, é que...eu tava lembrando que antes eu não falava, tipo assim, eu não sabia que podia falar inglês. Eu achava que falava bem ruim mesmo

Eu: isso mudou?

R: acho que sim, sabe? Por que agora eu nem lembro mais se tô falando inglês ou não, eu vou falando e parece que a pessoa tá entendendo, tu tá entendendo?

Eu: acho que sim. Mas o que te levou a pensar isso?

R: então, olha o Zelig. Ele fala errado. Português. Fala errado. Mas todo mundo entende. O jeito que ele fala é ele, né? Se não, não seria ele. Tu entendeu? Eu tô achando que eu, do jeito que eu falo inglês, posso comparar que nem o Zelig. Sou eu. É meu jeito, né? Eu falando inglês. Até meus errinhos. Como é nome daquilo...(pensa um pouco) sotaque! Meu sotaque. Mas sou eu, entende? Nossa, será que eu viajei? (risos)

Eu: Não! Adorei! É isso mesmo. É identidade que a gente chama, sabe? Sua identidade como falante da língua.

R: ah, então é isso. É isso que tu estuda?

Eu: é sim. Isso e mais outras coisas. Não tá errado não como tu fala. É como a gente diz em inglês: it's a matter of identity!

R: Pode até falar assim: eu falo inglês, mas continuo sendo eu. Eu: Isso! Exato!

APPENDIX C

Pilar's written narrative "Nossa luta"

Comecei a prestar atenção na luta indígena desde a primeira vez que vi uma cena na tv mostrando uma indígena Kayapo colocando um facao na cara do então engenheiro da Eletronorte. Eu era criança e sinceramente não lembro o ano. Sei que essa cena foi em 1987 ou 89. E depois em 2007 a mesma mulher (Tuíra Kayapo) fez a mesma coisa no mesmo cara que nesse ano era presidente da Eletronorte. Isso me deixou intrigada: como eh que pode isso ter se estendido por tanto tempo ?? Então comecei a conhecer melhor a história de Belo Monte e os mega projetos que são pensados pra Amazônia. De todos os horrores que li e vi o que me deixou mais triste foi perceber que meu povo (maioria) não ser interessavam e não se interessa com isso. Não sabem nada sobre Belo Monte. E em 2009 fiquei sabendo através de minhas idas ao Movimento Tapajos Vivo em Santarém, que existia um projeto que previa construção de mega usinas na bacia do Tapajos (7 usinas no tapajos e total de 100 na Amazônia em geral) dai tu imagina se belo monte lá no rio Xingú me deixava sem dormir então não faz idéia de como fiquei quando senti nosso rio ameaçado não por 1 mais por 7. A corrida depois foi contra o tempo e eu precisava buscar uma lógica pra entender o por que disso e tentar alertar meu povo dos planos do governo. Ninguém aqui dava a mínima ms eu continuei tentando entender a lógica.

1 o dinheiro investido para a obra não era só do governo federal, tinha o IIRSA (iniciativa para integração da infra-estrutura regional sul-americana) que injetava dinheiro para que o PAC (programa de aceleração do crescimento) iria construir obras para nosso desenvolvimento e as hidrelétricas era uma delas: então não era Dilma que iria acabar com o projeto pois envolvia capital estrangeiro por detrás disso. E também as empresas que estão acabando com a Amazônia são patrocinadas por dinheiro vindo da Alemanha, China, Inglaterra, França , estados unidos , etc. Então "sim" eu procuro usar o idioma pra militar pois as ameaças começam fora do Brasil quando eles se reúnem em cúpulas (Encontros das maiores potências blá blá blá) e nesses encontros eles decidem nossa

Ninguém veio até os Munduruku fazer consulta sobre as hidrelétricas, ninguém foi até os Kayapo fazer consulta prévia que eh prevista por lei. Todo empreendimento deve ficar fora das terras indígenas e unidades de conservação, por isso a lei diz que os indígenas das proximidades das

obras devem ser consultados previamente. Isso não acontece em lugar nenhum aqui no Brasil a não ser que alguém (branco) morra nas manifestações para que assim chamemos atenção e alguma coisa aconteça. 2 as ongs (todas) recebem dinheiro estrangeiro que ajudam nas resistências aqui dos povos indígenas. Mais uma vez interagir com o estrangeiro se faz necessário pois eles entram como apoiadores dos povos nessas ações! Dai eu percebi que a mesma luta aqui eh a mesma de todos os povos no Brasil inteiro... Luta por demarcação. O governo parou de demarcar terra indígena e as unidades de conservação estão sendo reduzidas facilitando assim as mineradoras, madeireiros, grileiros entrem nas terras indígenas e quombolas e se apropriem. E quando os índios tentam retomar o que eh deles os que se dizem donos se acham no direito de matar como esta acontecendo agora mesmo com os Guarani kaiowá. Já aconteceu no nos Kaapor do maranhão, já aconteceu nos Munduruku etc. Centenas de lideranças morrendo pra dizer ao mundo que eles querem que o governo reconheça que as terra pertence aos índios. Ms nossa mídia não da voz aos povos indígenas, e tbm nesse momento a mídia estrangeira tem ajudado e divulgado a luta. No Brasil as mídias livres e independentes têm feito esse trabalho de falar sobre isso abertamente. Mas a política aqui no Brasil sempre foi de fazer dos índios pessoas imvisiveis. Por isso o povo não os vê como Indios, não os conhecem, não os entende Pq desde a escola não ensinam nada sobre a diversidade do Brasil. Então quando isso aparece na tv aqui as pessoas criminalizam os índios. E eu não admito isso, quero ir até o fim para mostrar que os povos estão se unindo agora para lutar junto. Pois juntos somos mais fortes. Já chega de lutar isolado e já está claro que essas alianças estão acontecendo e uma guerra pior estar por vim: to falando sério. O que ta acontecendo no Mato Grosso com os Guarany uma guerra civil e isso tem que ser divulgado. Eu me sinto melhor falando com estrangeiros pois com a maioria aqui do Brasil são racistas fascistas nazistas não respeitam e não conhecem.