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NÍVEL DOUTORADO

CAMILA QUEVEDO OPPELT

LIVING AND LEARNING:

A Sociocultural Perspective and Identity Approach to Foreign Graduate Students Learning Portuguese in Brazil

São Leopoldo

2021

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Tese apresentada como requisito parcial para obtenção do título de Doutor em Linguística Aplicada, pelo Programa de Pós-Graduação em Linguística Aplicada da Universidade do Vale do Rio dos Sinos - UNISINOS

Orientadora: Profa. Dra. Marília dos Santos Lima

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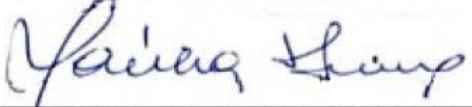

PROFA. DRA. MARÍLIA DOS SANTOS LIMA - UNISINOS

Dedico esta tese àqueles que fortalecem o sentido da palavra
família em meu coração. Vocês sabem quem são.

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Agradeço àqueles que me apoiaram nesta trajetória, aos meus amigos, meus colegas, meus professores.

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Ao meu pai pelo apoio.

Vocês são meu porto, minha base, meu mundo, meu tudo.

RESUMO

Seguindo a recente atenção dada às línguas menos ensinadas, o interesse pela aprendizagem do português como língua adicional aumentou nas últimas décadas (ABELEDO et al, 2014; AGUIAR, et al, 2013; BIZARRO, 2018; CARVALHO; SCHLATTER, 2011; FURTOSO; RIVERA, 2013; JÚDICE; ALMEIDA, 2013; OLIVEIRA, 2013; SHIBAYAMA, 2017; SILVA, 2010; SILVA; TOMÉ; TASSO, 2017). Nos últimos anos, o número de pesquisas aumentou em abundância, sobretudo no nível acadêmico. No entanto, há relatos muito limitados de pesquisas sobre a aprendizagem do português como língua adicional por estudantes estrangeiros que frequentam programas de pós-graduação no Brasil. Desde o aumento do interesse pela língua portuguesa e pelo número de alunos estrangeiros nas instituições de ensino brasileiras, esses dois desenvolvimentos não têm gerado muita atenção. Constituindo uma lacuna, acreditamos que o assunto em questão seja de relevância acadêmica. Com base em nosso objetivo principal, investigar o processo de (re) construção cultural e de identidade de estudantes estrangeiros na aprendizagem do português brasileiro como uma língua adicional, estamos especificamente preocupados em: (i) explorar em que grau as experiências de aprendizagem de línguas dos participantes alteram; (ii) explorar as expectativas dos alunos estrangeiros - incluindo sua (s) comunidade (s) imaginada (s), identidade (s) imaginada (s), memórias históricas e identidade cultural - e a extensão de sua influência no investimento do aprendiz; e (iii) determinar as relações (de poder) estabelecidas entre estudantes estrangeiros e brasileiros em diferentes interações em português brasileiro (comunicações em ambiente de aprendizagem, interações em encontros de prestação de serviço, etc.). Como referencial teórico, assumimos a perspectiva de Vygotsky (1978) por reconhecer o desenvolvimento das funções cognitivas como diretamente relacionado à influência social no processo de aprendizagem/aquisição da linguagem. Relevantes para este estudo, destacamos os estudos de James Lantolf (2013) e Bonny Norton (1995, 1997, 2000, 2001, 2010, 2013a, 2013b, 2016) que formularam uma Teoria Sociocultural de Desenvolvimento de Linguagem Adicional e contemplaram o papel da identidade e de investimento no processo de aquisição de uma língua adicional, respectivamente. Participaram deste estudo quatro alunos estrangeiros de pós-graduação de uma universidade pública do Sul do Brasil. Os quatro participantes observados neste estudo estavam formalmente matriculados no Programa de Pós-Graduação em Agronomia em nível de Mestrado ou Doutorado. Abdul, Jeremias, Pierre e Ramon receberam uma bolsa integral que lhes permitiu morar fora do campus. Os participantes viviam em casas compartilhadas; todos, exceto Jeremias e Pierre, moravam com outros estudantes universitários. Jeremias e Pierre moravam na mesma casa compartilhada, com outro estudante universitário. Por fim, procuramos desenvolver uma compreensão aprimorada da relação entre identidade e aprendizagem de línguas. Nossa análise indica uma relação profundamente intrincada entre eles, lançando luz sobre a proeminência do desenvolvimento da linguagem. Enfim, os nossos participantes pareciam ter atingido os seus objetivos principais: todos prosperaram nas suas comunidades acadêmica e profissional – quer seja através da obtenção do grau pretendido (Pierre e Ramon), pela conclusão dos cursos ministrados em português (Abdul), pela atender aos requisitos do exame de proficiência, ou mesmo ser promovido profissionalmente (Jeremias).

Palavras-chave: Português como língua adicional. Teoria da Identidade. Teoria Sociocultural. Estudantes de pós-graduação em intercâmbio.

ABSTRACT

Following the recent attention to less commonly taught languages, the interest in Portuguese as an additional language learning experienced an increase over the last decades (ABELEDO et al, 2014; AGUIAR, et al, 2013; BIZARRO, 2018; CARVALHO; SCHLATTER, 2011; FURTOSO; RIVERA, 2013; JÚDICE; ALMEIDA, 2013; OLIVEIRA, 2013; SHIBAYAMA, 2017; SILVA, 2010; SILVA; TOMÉ; TASSO, 2017). In recent years, the number of research studies greatly increased, particularly at academic level. However, there has been very limited reporting of research on the learning of Portuguese as additional language by foreign students attending graduate programs in Brazil. Since the increased interest in Portuguese language and in numbers of foreign students in Brazilian educational institutions, these two developments have not resulted in much attention. Constituting a gap, we believe the issue in question to be an appropriate subject to examine. Based on our main objective, to investigate the process of foreign students' cultural and identity (re)constructions in learning Brazilian Portuguese as an additional language, we are specifically concerned with: (i) exploring to what degree participants' language learning experiences change over time; (ii) exploring the expectations of foreign learners—including their imagined community(ies), imagined identity, historical memories, and cultural identity—and the extension of their influence on learner investment; and (iii) determining (power) relations established between foreign students and Brazilians in different interactions in Brazilian Portuguese (communications in a learning environment, exchanges in service encounters, etc.). as a theoretical reference, we assume Vygotsky's (1978) perspective since it acknowledges the development of cognitive functions as directly related to social influence in the language learning/acquisition process. Relevant to this study, we highlight the studies of James Lantolf (2013) and Bonny Norton (1995, 1997, 2000, 2001, 2010, 2013a, 2013b, 2016) who formulated a Sociocultural Theory of Additional Language Development and contemplated the role of identity and of investment in the acquisition process, respectively. Participating in this study were four foreign graduate students at a public university in Southern Brazil. The four participants observed in this study were formally enrolled in the Agronomy Graduate Program at a Master's or Doctoral level. Abdul, Jeremias, Pierre e Ramon were awarded a full scholarship which enabled them to live off-campus. The participants lived in shared houses; all but Jeremias and Pierre lived with other college students. Jeremias and Pierre lived in the same shared house, with another university student. Ultimately, we have sought to develop an enhanced understanding of the relationship between identity and language learning. Our analysis indicates a deeply intricate relationship amongst them, shedding light into the prominence of language development. Fortuitously, our participants seemed to have reached their ultimate purposes: they have all prospered in their academic and professional communities—may that by means of being awarded their sought degree (Pierre and Ramon), by concluding courses ministered in Portuguese (Abdul), by meeting the proficiency exam requirements, or even by being professionally promoted (Jeremias).

Key-words: Portuguese as an additional language. Identity Theory. Sociocultural Theory. Exchange graduate students.

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LISTA DE SIGLAS

AIESEC	Originally an Acronym for Association Internationale des Étudiants en Sciences Économiques et Commerciales
ALL	Additional Language Learning
AOTP	American Organization of Teachers of Portuguese
APP	Association of Teachers of the Portuguese Language
AULP	Association of Portuguese Language Universities
CAPES	Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel
CLC	Center for Languages and Communication Department
COPLE2	Corpus de Português Língua Estrangeira/Língua Segunda
MARCA	Programa De Movilidad Académica Regional Para Carreras de Grado Acreditadas
MEC	Department of Education
MERCOSUR	Spanish Acronym for the Southern Common Market
MKO	More Knowledgeable Other
PAL	Portuguese as an Additional Language
PPPLE	Portal do Professor de Português Língua Estrangeira/Língua Não Materna
SCT	Sociocultural Theory of Development
SwB	Science Without Borders
ZPD	Zone of Proximal Development

CONVENÇÕES DE TRANSCRIÇÃO

Símbolo	Significado
…	pausa breve
[…]	omitido
[inaudible]	Partes inaudíveis, seja por fala cruzada e/ou sons de fundo
[[word]]	Palavra(s) faltantes no original, entretanto necessárias para a compreensão do excerto
[word]	Palavra(s) trocadas ou com desvios da norma (e que prejudiquem a compreensão do excerto)

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1. INTRODUCTION

It was in the mid-1940s, in World War II Era, that early studies focused more specifically on additional languages[1]—chiefly their teaching (RICHARDS; RODGERS, 1986). Although the major objective of these studies was to prioritize teaching methodologies that accompanied the existent strategic urgency—for the British and, perhaps more impetuously, the US government—of expediting learning language(s), the period was fundamental in encouraging new studies focusing on applying linguistic theories to language classrooms. In that context, Applied Linguistics is born (CAVALCANTI, 1986; RODRIGUES, CERUTTI-RIZZATTI, 2011).

Works in Applied Linguistics include an increasing spectrum of subfields. Linguists and Applied Linguists were essential to the diffusion of research focused on the teaching of additional languages, as agents and catalysts of change in language research. In the following decade, in the aftermath of World War II, Applied Linguistics crossed oceans and spread westward, influencing European language researchers. In such a blooming period, the works of Lev Vygotsky became known beyond Russia.

Most studies in Applied Linguistics initially concentrated on English as an additional language teaching, later becoming involved in respect to language policies, language assessment, and perhaps most importantly, in language learning. More recently, the field expanded to the most diverse languages and contexts, such as heritage languages (ALTENHOFEN; SCHLATTER, 2007; CARVALHO, 2010; DOI, 2006; FLORES; PFEIFER, 2014; FRITZEN; EWALD, 2011; SILVA, 2015; STANKE; BOLACIO, 2015), contact languages (BRAGA et al, 2011; GARRETT, 2006; HORST; KRUG, 2012; LASAGABASTER, 1998; TRIA et al, 2015; ALMEIDA FILHO, 1995), and endangered languages (HALE et al., 1992; HILL, 2002; LADEFOGED, 1992).

Following the recent attention to less commonly taught languages, the interest in Portuguese as an additional language learning experienced an increase over the last decades (ABELEDO et al, 2014; AGUIAR, et al, 2013; BIZARRO, 2018; CARVALHO;

[1] However relatively recent, the term additional language has been used since the 1970s (see FISHMAN, 1977 and BUZAN, 1972). We agree with Schlatter and Garcez (2009) in that the term additional language gives "emphasis on the aggregating factor that the discipline brings to those who engage in learning it, in addition to other languages that the learner already has in their repertoire" (p. 127). Originally "ênfase no acréscimo que a disciplina traz a quem se ocupa dela, em adição a outras línguas que o educando já tenha em seu repertório".

SCHLATTER, 2011; FURTOSO; RIVERA, 2013; JÚDICE; ALMEIDA, 2013; OLIVEIRA, 2013; SHIBAYAMA, 2017; SILVA, 2010; SILVA; TOMÉ; TASSO, 2017). From the umbrella term of Portuguese as an Additional Language—and the also comprehensive term Portuguese as a Second or Foreign Language—, there have been investigations interested in: Contact Portuguese (ALTENHOFEN; MARGOTTI, 2011), also called Ethnic Portuguese (AMADO, 2012); Portuguese as a Host Language (PEREIRA, 2017; AMADO, 2013); Portuguese as an Additional Language for the Deaf (PEREIRA, 2014; LODI, 2011); Portuguese for Indigenous Peoples (SANTOS, 2018a, 2018b); Portuguese for Immigrant Worker Communities (BAGANHA et al, 1999); and Portuguese as a Heritage Language[2] (SANTOS; FLORES, 2013; BARBOSA; FLORES, 2011), to name only a few.

In recent years, the number of research studies greatly increased, particularly at academic level. However, there has been very limited reporting of research on the learning of Portuguese as additional language by foreign students attending graduate programs in Brazil. Furthermore, the most recent studies examining learning in Portuguese as additional language classrooms have used proficiency test results as a measure of teaching and learning effectiveness (see further discussions in chapter 4).

Since the increased interest in Portuguese language and in numbers of foreign students in Brazilian educational institutions, these two developments have not resulted in much attention. Constituting a gap, we believe the issue in question to be an appropriate subject to examine. In the remainder of this chapter, we situate the present study detailing our motivations and objectives.

1.1 CONTEXT OF INVESTIGATION

With more than 220 million native speakers (EBERHARD; GARY; CHARLES, 2019) on four continents—with Brazil comprising 85% of those speakers—, Portuguese is one of the most spoken languages in the world and it has one of the highest growth rates in the Internet[3]. It is the official language of seven countries and one of the official languages in other three.

[2] On Portuguese as a heritage language, an emerging context especially in the US (FURTOSO; RIVERA, 2013), the non-profit cultural organization *Brasil em Mente* founded in 2009 with the sole purpose of promoting the Portuguese language, created the Day of Portuguese as a Heritage Language, celebrated around the world on May 16th.

[3] According to research published by the Internet World Stats, a Miniwatts Marketing Group. Available at <https://www.internetworldstats.com/stats7.htm>. Accessed: March 11 2019.

Portuguese as an additional language has gained momentum in Brazil for ample reasons, including the recent migration movement (including those of refugees), the new wave of internationalization efforts, and the economic development observed in the last decade (SCARAMUCCI, 2012a). The upsurge of Portuguese language learners is also evidenced in the increase of undergraduate and graduate programs both in Portuguese-speaking countries and in foreign countries (a discussion well expanded in Chapter 4).

The growth of student mobility factors as another motivating component in the interest in learning Brazilian Portuguese. According to a recent research carried out by the International Institute of Education (ROBLES; BHANDARI, 2017), with the support of the Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel (CAPES), advances in programs and international partnerships targeting internationalization in the tertiary education sector are encouraging Brazilian students to seek studying abroad. The data shows, however, a greater number of inbound international students (in Brazil) than outbound domestic students. A cohort of over 20,000 inbound international students in 2017 also indicates for a greater pursuit for learning Brazilian Portuguese as additional language.

One of such government programs is Science Without Borders (SwB)–*Ciência sem Fronteiras*--which was primarily, but not exclusively, interested in providing opportunities for Brazilians to study abroad. Launched in 2011, the program was also intended to "attracting young talents and foreign researchers to Brazil"[4], according to the program's official decree[5]. SwB was notably the largest endeavor proposed by the Brazilian government, but it was not the first. MARCA[6], a transnational program aimed at encouraging student mobility across MERCOSUR[7]-member countries (namely Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay) and two associate countries (Bolivia and Chile), was launched in 2006 following PEC-G—the Exchange Program for Undergraduate Students[8] officially created in 1965—and PEC-PG—the Exchange Program for Graduate Students active since 1981. Another initiative toward internationalization was the ambitious project named "Educational Goals for 2021: The Education we want for the Bicentennial generation" (OEI, 2012) setting goals for providing quality education in meet of social demands in countries comprising Latin America and the Caribbean.

[4] Originally: "atrair para o Brasil jovens talentos e pesquisadores estrangeiros".
[5] Reachable at <http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/_ato2011-2014/2011/decreto/d7642.htm>.
[6] MARCA is the Programa de Movilidad Académica Regional para Carreras de grado Acreditadas. Accessible at <http://programamarca.siu.edu.ar/programa_marca/estructura_programa_marca.html>.
[7] MERCOSUR is the Spanish acronym for The Southern Common Market.
[8] Since 2000, 9,000 students have been awarded a full scholarship to attend a collage program in Brazil. For more statistical data, access <http://www.dce.mre.gov.br/PEC/G/historico/introducao.php>.

Science Without Borders has also been fruitful in leading to the creation of the Languages Without Borders (firstly English Without Borders)[9] Program. Created in 2012 and implemented in 2013, I was part of the first group of English course planning (and the development of the course materials) at Universidade Federal de Pelotas. Initially, the Program offered English courses to those students applying for a SwB scholarship. Spanish, French, German, Italian and Japanese were gradually incorporated into the Program through binational agreements with interested foreign nations. Portuguese as an additional language was eventually added to the Program in 2017. Over three hundred and sixty thousand students benefited from the Program and almost half a million TOEFL tests were applied from 2013 to 2019—year in which the Department of Education (MEC) informed its discontinuation.

The Brazilian Cultural Network (*Rede Brasil Cultural*), launched by the nation's Ministry of External Relations is the most overarching enterprise promoting the national language. Argentina, where the first Brazilian Cultural Center was inaugurated in 1954, is one of the current forty-four countries home to Cultural Centers, Lectureships, and/or Brazilian Studies Groups. Extensions of the embassies, the Brazilian Cultural Centers (*Centros Culturais Brasileiros*) offer language courses, host events (concerts, exhibitions, seminars) and other cultural activities to promote the Brazilian culture and language in twenty-four countries.

The Lectureship Program (*Leitorado*) awards distinguished professors teaching Portuguese in renowned foreign institutions designed with the same purpose. Supported by CAPES, the program also has 40 lectureships in activity. The Brazilian Studies Groups (*Núcleos de Estudos Brasileiros*), in turn, aim at promoting Brazilian Portuguese as a heritage language oriented toward the Brazilian community abroad. To understand the magnitude of the Network, the map below (Figure 1) displays the different activities offered in different foreign countries.

[9] Originally, in Portuguese, Inglês sem Fronteiras and then Idiomas sem Fronteiras. See more information on their website <http://isf.mec.gov.br/>.

Figure 1: Brazilian Cultural Centers around the world

Source: Google Maps, available at http://tiny.cc/squ25y[10]

These programs and projects agree with the increasingly mobile and digitally connected world we currently live in. The macro opportunities of mobile (and affordable) communication, easy travel, and online connectivity have emerged new patterns of social activities and forms of social engagement. Brazil is not immune to this global shift, but rather invested in them—evidenced by international agreements with foreign countries and collaborations with partner institutions—which, in turn, provoke academic investigations in (Brazilian) Portuguese as additional language teaching and learning.

Investigating the Portuguese language comes with a caveat that pertains to the question of which Portuguese we are addressing here. Unlike Bagno and Carvalho (2015), we do not consider Brazilian Portuguese and European Portuguese as two distinct languages. We, however, discriminate them in regards to their sociocultural context. Thus, our bibliographical account of articles, books, conferences, and organizations include both Brazilian Portuguese and European Portuguese; while issues of identity and cultural integration, for instance, are only interested in the Brazilian context and, therefore, excluding that of European Portuguese. To prevent possible confusion, we henceforth use the term *Brazilian Portuguese* to address the

[10] The green locations indicate Brazilian Cultural Centers, the blue ones mark current Lectureships, and the yellow ones signal Brazilian Studies Groups.

specific Brazilian context and the term *Portuguese* to address the language as one unity—regardless of its Brazilian, European, African or Asian variations as well as dialects.

The emergence of a growing interest in Portuguese as additional language is evidenced in the growing number of theses and dissertations and of published articles and books, as well as the establishment of journals across the globe and novel fields of study. As we discuss further in the chapter dedicated to (Brazilian) Portuguese as additional language (Chapter 4 below), national and transnational efforts to increase student mobility have been a major responsible for the upsurge of academic interest in Portuguese as an additional language—but not without its problems, evidenced by the deficiency of available textbooks.

With a more defined understanding of where our investigative interests originated, we proceed to situate our research in the field of language research and to specify our guiding objectives and research questions.

1.2 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESEARCH STUDY

The Portuguese language has been taught as an additional language in Brazil since the first Portuguese arrived in our land. First being taught to indigenous peoples by the (foreign) Jesuits, Portuguese language has become an additional language to the first waves of European settlers, to the African slave laborers, and today[11] to modern immigrants and refugees—accompanying the several immigration waves.

Moreover, today's competitive environment is experiencing significant and rapid changes in technology, worldwide expansion, consumer expectations, and population shifts—all influencing the domain of additional languages. Brazil has followed the world movement and now faces a foreign population with specific interests and demands for which we do not seem fully prepared. Therefore, the rationale for this investigation rests on addressing this gap in the literature while understanding that the identity underpinnings of Brazilian Portuguese as an additional language require further examination.

Theoretically informed by the work of Soviet psychologist, philosopher, art critic, and historian, Lev Vygotsky, we have conducted a microgenetic analysis of four exchange students,

[11] According to recent research (EBERHARD; GARY; CHARLES, 2019), there are over 13 million Portuguese as additional language speakers around the globe.

learners of Brazilian Portuguese during their sojourn in a public university in the South Region of Brazil.

The findings of this study will contribute to the benefit of society considering that cultural exchange and multilingualism[12] play an important role in the modern globalized world. The greater number of foreign graduate students to Brazil justifies the need for a better understanding of what underlies their academic development. Therefore, language policies, teaching material design, and course curriculum informed by the results of this study will be able to improve the teaching and learning of Brazilian Portuguese. Educators will be better informed on characteristics of prospect learners which should positively influence their classroom.

For the researcher, this investigation will help advance on future endeavors, especially from an enlightened perspective on learners' identity with regard to learning development. An interest that originated in a personal experience of teaching (Brazilian) Portuguese as an additional language in the United States, through the Foreign Language Teaching Assistant Program awarded by the Fulbright Commission, an experience that resulted in thirst for more.

1.3 OBJECTIVES

Based on our main objective, to investigate the process of foreign students' cultural and identity (re)constructions in learning Brazilian Portuguese as an additional language, we are specifically concerned with:

- exploring to what degree participants' language learning experiences change over time.
- exploring the expectations of foreign learners—including their imagined community(ies), imagined identity, historical memories, and cultural identity—and the extension of their influence on learner investment;

[12] See Piller and Pavlenko (2007) for a discussion on multilingualism and globalization.

- determining (power[13]) relations established between foreign students and Brazilians in different interactions in Brazilian Portuguese (communications in a learning environment, exchanges in service encounters, etc.).

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Drawing from our research objectives, we have elaborated four guiding questions. The present study is, consequently, designed to answer the following questions:

1. Do foreign learners express any resistance when they are exposed to the Brazilian cultural context? That is, do the cultural identity and historical memory[14] of foreigners acquiesce with the Brazilian cultural identity?
2. Do foreign students effectively invest[15] in their learning of Portuguese as an additional language? In other words, do they take advantage of the opportunities of using the target language inside and outside the classroom, testing hypotheses, seeking answers to their questions, and interacting in different situational contexts?
3. Have their imagined community and imagined identity[16] in the Brazilian context motivated their investment as foreign learners? That is, the actual interactions as well as the language use and learning context(s) (imagined interactions and contexts) correspond to their expectations, thus motivating them to invest in learning Portuguese?
4. Do learners, in the course of their studies, adopt identity positionings based on their imagined communities and imagined identity? In other words, have their identities, once imagined, become concrete identity positions (in real contexts of use)?

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[13] Norton accounts for the works on power relations since Bourdieu's studies (including Paulo Freire's efforts), but she agrees Weedon's (1987, APUD NORTON, 1997) feminist poststructuralist perspective to be better suited for "understanding language learners' multiple and changing identities" (1997, p. 412).
[14] In section 3.2.1 the understandings of such cultural identity and integration are found in detail.
[15] The concept of investment is further described in section 3.2.3.
[16] Imagined identity and imagined community as detailed in section 3.2.4.

1.5 ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

The present study is, in addition to this introductory chapter, constituted by seven chapters. The next three chapters establish the theoretical framework of this study. Chapter 2 addresses the sociocultural perspective of our research and its purpose is twofold: to review the Vygotskian theorizations and to pinpoint the sociocultural perspective to additional language learning.

In order to ensure that our analyses are cognizant of the rich layers that resonate on our participants' stories, we need to ground our analyses both in the contextual specificities that endow interactions with social meaning and in the identities—imagined or otherwise—of our participants. Hence, Chapter 3 approaches the Theory of Identity proposed by Bonny Norton.

Subsequently, Chapter 4 constitutes a sample survey of recent work on (Brazilian) Portuguese as an additional language, consisting of an overview of language policies and further efforts to promote the Portuguese language, followed by scientific research carried out by both establishing and established authors.

The designed methodological procedures are detailed in Chapter 5. Drawing on empirical research on the particulars of learning Portuguese as Additional Language (ALL) we systematically describe the contextual setting of the study, the participants—including their demographic information—, the data collection instruments, and data analysis procedures.

Data analyses are described in Chapter 6, which we subdivided in order to refer to each participant individually and concluded with a comparative compilation of our data. This chapter also includes our research findings and is followed, ultimately, by our final remarks (Chapter 7).

2 SOCIOCULTURAL THEORY – FROM INCEPTION TO CURRENT EXPLORATIONS

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Many are the scholars dedicated to advancing studies in language acquisition. Some of which focus primarily on first language acquisition—that can be grouped into four branch theories: behaviorism, cognitivism, interactionism, and nativism. Others, however, concentrate on additional language acquisition[17] (also called foreign or second language acquisition), which have influenced the language classroom with different methods and approaches ranging from the audiolingual method to the silent way, to the communicative approach. Even before the founding of Applied Linguistics[18], experts in different areas have skewed their interest in the study of language learning/acquisition in a variety of fields such as semiology and philology[19].

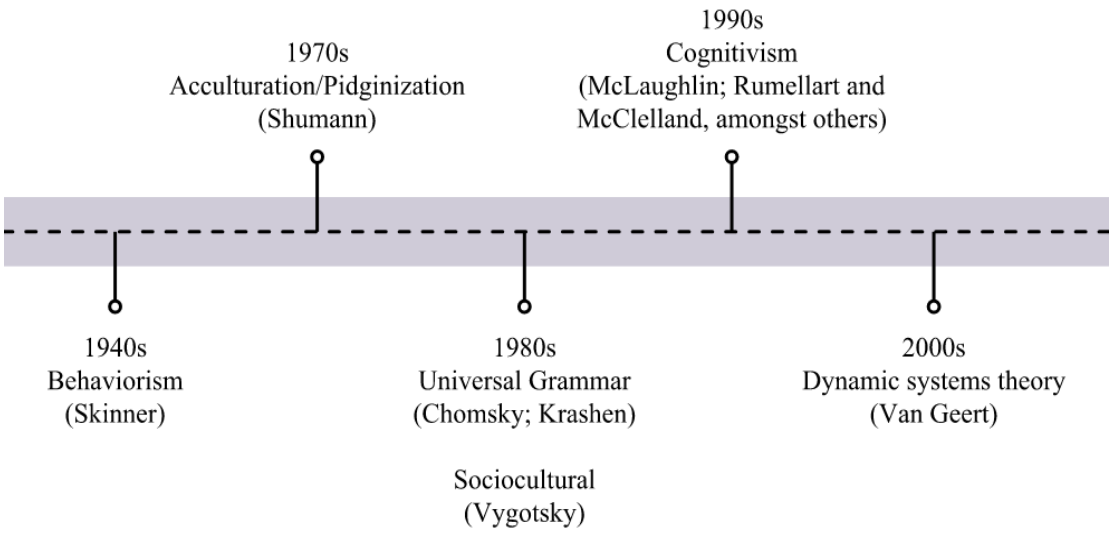
Thenceforth, different theories and models of learning/acquisition have been developed ranging from Chomsky's innatist theory of generative grammar to Skinner's behaviorist model to Vygotsky's sociocultural perspective. From the following timeline (Figure 2 below) we can have a glimpse of the development of theories on language learning/acquisition[20] (MARSDEN; MITCHELL; MYLES, 2013; LIGHTBOWN; SPADA, 2017). Thus, amongst such many scholars, we assume Vygotsky's perspective since it acknowledges the development of cognitive functions as directly related to social influence in the language learning/acquisition process.

Perhaps an important point to raise here is that more recent works, across many fields of study, have been established upon Vygotsky's prolific body of work as their main foundation (MORON, 2017; DANIELS, 2016; 2008; REGO, 2013; COLE, 2007; LUCCI, 2006; CAVALCANTI, 2005; MAHEIRIE, 2003; CARRERA; MAZZARELLA, 2001). Relevant to this study, we highlight the studies of James Lantolf (2013) and Bonny Norton (1995, 1997, 2000, 2001, 2010, 2013a, 2013b, 2016) who formulated a Sociocultural Theory of Additional

[17] As stated in the introductory chapter, we have chosen to adopt additional language because it can embrace the many contextual circumstances of language acquisition.
[18] Arguably of Anglo-Scandinavian roots, beautifully defended by Lynn (2008).
[19] In 1916 the Modern Language Journal published its very first issue, making grounds for future research.
[20] This timeline was created addressing the period in which the theories were most notably prominent (RIVERA, 2015; RICHARDS; RODGERS, 2014; MALONE, 2012; DE BOT; LOWIE; VERSPOOR, 2007; WALQUI, 2006; ELLIS, 2003; HARRIS, 2001-2; THORNE, 2000).

Language Development and contemplated the role of identity and of investment in the acquisition process, respectively.

Figure 2: Language learning/acquisition theories timeline



Source: Author

The overarching goal in this chapter is to define this research's main theoretical framework. The following sections of this chapter are, therefore, dedicated to an appreciation of Vygotsky's studies (2.2), and the investigations deployed by Lantolf and colleagues on additional language acquisition (2.3).

2.2 VYGOTSKY'S THEORY OF PSYCHOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT AND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

In the early 1900s, Russian Lev Semënovich Vygotsky (1896-1934), originally interested in studying the cognitive development of children and eventually in language acquisition, developed a theory often referred to as Sociocultural Theory of Development[21] (henceforth, SCT). In his studies, Vygotsky noted that, from the early stages of learning,

[21] Vygotsky himself did not use the term sociocultural, but it was rather coined by his followers, those who carried out his studies after him (see an appreciation on the subject in LANTOLF and THORNE (2015)).

humans frequently used different strategies to establish and maintain a relationship with the environment.

His work marked a novel accord between psychology and biology not seen before him and, because of the interconnectedness nature of the constructs involved in SCT, there is never an easy way to introduce them separately. However, for the purpose of this investigation, we attain to some of the theory's central tenets and we attempt to do so progressively interrelating these constructs in what follows.

In his seminal work, *Thought and Language*[22], widely recognized and spawning an influential and prolific body of research across different fields of study after being translated into English in the 1960s (SWAIN; KINNEAR; STEINMAN, 2015; VAN DER VEER; YASNITSKY, 2011; NEWMAN; HOLZMAN, 2005; MEACHAM, 2001), Vygotsky further developed various aspects related to the cognitive processes of conception/apprehension of language from its non-verbal phase. Among them are the development of the meaning of words; the genesis and purpose of inner/private speech; the nature of written interpretation and the role of school instruction in the development of higher mental operations; as well as the development of scientific and everyday concepts.

By novelly unifying biological and sociocultural factors and making a major contribution to the development of psychology, Vygotsky declared, in general terms, that speech (and learning overall) is social at its origin. It is grasped in interaction and, at first, used exclusively by its affective and social functions—i.e., communication. In other words, "human speech emerged historically with the need to interact socially in the labor process and has evolved into the prototypical systematic means of social interaction" (NEWMAN; HOLZMAN, 2005, p. 125).

As he situated the process of learning in sociocultural environments, Vygotsky focused on the role that social interaction plays in the development of human mental functions. Acknowledging that humans are born with elementary mental functions—namely attention, sensation, perception, and memory—he postulated that these are, through interactions with their sociocultural environment, developed into more sophisticated and effective mental processes (also called higher mental functions[23]). Social interactions are, as Vygotsky (1978, 1986) conceived them, mainly mediated which imply that, in order to learn, humans do not interact

[22] Some translations of the book, originally published in Russian in 1934, entitle it *Thinking and Speech*.
[23] Some authors translate this construct as "higher psychological functions" (FINO, 2001; KOZULIN et al., 2003; VYGOTSKY, 1978).

directly with the physical world. Instead, humans engage in socially mediated activities; more specifically, they engage in activities mediated by culturally constructed symbolic and/or material means.

2.2.1 Mediational means

To claim that mediational means are culturally constructed requires understanding that artifacts are collaboratively constructed by members of a given culture (both material and symbolic); that is, they are artifacts designed to assist and orient individuals in their socio-interactional practices in that culture (MONDADA; DOEHLER, 2005). A mediational mean may be another individual (described in more detail on page 15 below) or it may be an artifact. The latter can be, as aforementioned, material (a book, a computer, a hammer, a ladle, a ladder, a straw, or any number of available concrete objects that assist in the performance of an activity) or symbolic (especially symbolic sign systems such as language, numeracy, Morse code, emojis).

These developments stemmed from the works of Hegel and Marx (LANTOLF; THORNE; POEHNER, 2015; VYGOTSKY, 1986) who placed human activity at the center of social formations driven by their capacity to create tools. Vygotsky claimed that the use of such mediational artifacts would be sufficient to differentiate humans from all other species since these artifacts foster the individual's capacity to think before acting—a higher mental function. Thus, the power to plan and meditate on the task to be initiated involve numerous of these higher mental functions that (by selecting, for instance, an appropriate and available cultural artifact as means) would eventually point to a better result of this task, that is:

> Rather than reacting instinctively and non-thoughtfully to stimuli, we are able to consider possible actions (i.e., plan) on an ideal plane before realizing them on the objective plane. Planning itself entails memory of previous actions, attention to relevant (and overlooking of irrelevant) aspects of the situation, rational thinking, and projected outcomes. (LANTOLF; THORNE; POEHNER, 2015, p. 211).

Individuals, as they develop their higher mental functions (such as those mentioned above: intentional memory, voluntary attention, rational thinking), make use of different artifacts according and tailored to their needs; language being one of the more frequently accessed artifacts. Language is widely used as a mediational mean both intermentally and intramentally—through social practices and through private speech such as when the learner is speaking to himself in a low volume and not expecting a reply. Intermental use of language is, on the one hand, observable in interpersonal interactions and, therefore, more easily researched. Intramental use of language, on the other hand, requires a more observant eye to notice the details of its use in private speech[24].

By way of example, consider the moment an individual is introduced to someone new. In order to remember this person's name and/or to confirm they understood it correctly and/or perhaps to verify its proper pronunciation, the individual may repeat it *aloud* to his interlocutor. Likewise, in a classroom setting, an individual may repeat a new word *subvocally*, whether to "organize, rehearse, [or] gain control over [his] verbal behavior" (DONATO, 1994, p. 48). These examples also demonstrate Vygotsky's view of thought and language as interdependent processes—according to him, one cannot develop without the other, in which the word itself is "a microcosm of human consciousness" (1986, p 256).

Interestingly and therefore, language serves a twofold purpose:

> Language and speech occupy a special place in Vygotsky's psychological system because they play a double role. On the one hand, they are a psychological tool that helps to form other mental functions; on the other hand they are one of the functions, which means that they also undergo a cultural development. (KOZULIN, 1986, p. xxx).

Hence, language fulfills two of the learner's needs, as it is a means and an end (subject to constant transformations, nonetheless); individuals learn language as they, and in order to, develop other higher mental functions. Intramentally, as a sign, language is one of the higher mental functions (as it organizes our thinking) and intermentally, as a tool, language aids by articulating our thinking.

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[24] Ohta's (2001) investigations indicated the occurrence of three distinct types of private speech: namely vicarious response, repetition, and manipulation.

One must not mistaken material artifacts for tools, however. The same material artifact may mediate an activity as a tool and (at times) as a sign. While a tool is externally oriented—it is a concrete item that functions as the means for an individual to affect the object of activity—a sign is internally oriented—as it involves mediation through symbolic representations aiming at mastering the self (VYGOTSKY, 1978, p. 55). Representatively, a textbook may be used as a sign—from which one learns about, say, the use of prepositions of place in Portuguese—and it may be used as a tool—as it is used to smash a poisonous spider crawling across the table.

Individuals learn of and through artifacts, progressively transforming them to interact more suitably with their immediate environment and to engage in a broader spectrum of sociocultural interactions. In all of these possible scenarios, learning takes place first by observing other individuals and imitating[25] them. Thus, Vygotsky realized that humans developed in contact with a skillful tutor—may that be a parent, a teacher, a classmate, or simply a more experienced peer[26] whom Vygotsky (1986) called the 'more knowledgeable other'—who acts as a guide from whom we model our behavior. Therefore, "each human ability is born *not within an individual*, but in the interpsychological *space of human interaction*"[27] (ZUCKERMAN, 2003, p. 186), especially in observing child-adult cooperation. In other words, and in summary, the interaction with a more knowledgeable other (MKO) can bring about learning and the development of higher mental functions and, eventually, lead to independent reasoning. A MKO is, as the name suggests, someone with a better understanding and a higher level of ability with regards to the particular task, process, or concept at hand. The MKO may be a teacher, an adult and even a classmate who has more knowledge or experience concerning that task, process, rule or concept.

Underlying the construct of a MKO is the level of intersubjectivity and the interaction's subject matter. Vygotsky highlighted that, as the interlocutors need be on the same plane, the 'contents' of these social interactions cannot be of any kind, but rather they must be acquirable to the learner; that is, they must be in the learner's zone of proximal development. We look next at Vygotsky's understanding of the zone of proximal development in his conceptualization of human learning and development.

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[25] It is imperative one does not mistake imitating with miming, mimicking, and copying. Mimicking is characteristic to other species while imitating is characteristically human since it encompasses our capacity to innovate, to transform. It heavily relies on the principle of reciprocity: as we make use of an artifact, we change it as it, in turn, changes us. (SWAIN; KINNEAR; STEINMAN, 2015).

[26] The notion of specialist/novice has been used to identify the role played by peers in a collaborative interaction (MARSDEN; MITCHELL; MYLES, 2013).

[27] Original italics.

2.2.2 ZPD, stages of development, and internalization

Arguably one of Vygotsky's most eminent insights presented in the context of his overall investigations concerns the zone of proximal development[28] (ZPD) which has been as widely as it has been inaccurately used—at times being mistaken for Krashen's *i*+1, for Wood, Bruner and Ross's scaffolding[29], among other constructs, explained in detail by Lantolf, Thorne, and Poehner (2015) (see also LIGHTBOWN; SPADA, 2017; WALQUI, 2006; NEWMAN; HOLZMAN, 2005; FINO, 2001).

Analogously, numerous researchers, who write from a sociocultural perspective, have proposed syntactic changes to the model. Some have defined it as an activity (rather than a plane), others suggested it be a zone *for* proximal development, while others considered a zone of *potential* development, as well as the possibility of naming it *intermental* development zone (SWAIN; KINNEAR; STEINMAN, 2015).

Regardless of these propositions, the ZPD (see Figure 3 below) is fundamentally considered, in essence, the metaphorical site between the learner's ability of being able to do something independently and not being able to do something independently; a location which fosters the aided learner to transition from the set of skills he already has to a more expanded set of skills—thus achieving the stage of self-regulation (LANTOLF; THORNE, 2007; TURUK, 2008). In Vygotsky's own words, the zone of proximal development is:

> the distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers. (1978, p. 86).

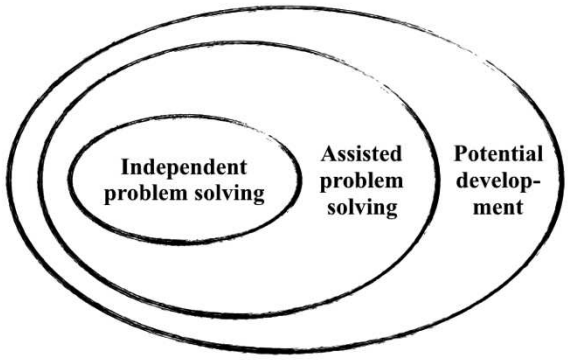
Assumed as a locus of co-construction of knowledge and collaboration; the zone of proximal development can be enriched with the use of cultural artifacts, gestures, and certain activities—child play being of special interest to Vygotsky (1978). At the same time, the ZPD may differ in length as it can be extended throughout a tutoring lesson or be brief (a just-in-

[28] There are diverging ideas about the conceptualization of the ZPD between Brazilian researchers (see ZANELLA, 1994). This discussion is, however, beyond the scope of the present study.
[29] Discussed further in the next section.

time assistance for Swain, Kinnear, and Steinman (2015)); the ZPD may also continue well after the initial stage of the activity—when the learner extends his development at home watching an episode of his favorite TV show, for example.

A terse account of this relationship is to maintain that the ZPD fosters learning that, in turn, leads to development. Learning, according to the Vygotskian sociocultural perspective, precedes development, i.e. individuals internalize concepts that cognitively develop into higher mental functions, enabling humans to approach problems in a novel—and gradually more efficient—perspective. As Barnard and Campbell (2005, p. 84) stated, "because individuals appropriate—and then reconceptualise—meaning in different ways, new ways of thinking invariably emerge in the dialogue."

Figure 3: Visual design of the zone of proximal development



Source: Author

The ZPD, understood as a mediating site, appears across two of the three stages of child development: (i) *object-regulation* is when the learner makes use of the tools and symbols available in his environment to think, reflect, and perform tasks, being easily distracted by objects that are not related to this task; (ii) *other-regulation* can be an implicit and/or explicit mediation and happens when the learner depends on another individual establishing assistance to perform a given task[30]; and finally (iii), *self-regulation* refers to the level that the learner achieves by becoming able to perform this task on his own, without assistance.

An individual's progress through these stages, however, is not smooth and his choices are not unrestricted. His actions are, on the contrary, always affected externally—by what are the

[30] Interestingly, facial gestures have also been contemplated as mediational means at this stage (DONGYU; FANYU; WANYI, 2013).

artifacts available to him as well as the affordances[31] (opportunities) and the constraints provided by them—and internally—by what he has internalized (SWAIN; KINNEAR; STEINMAN, 2015).

This brings us to a fundamental construct in Sociocultural Theory: internalization—or in some English translations of the original Russian, interiorization (KOZULIN et al., 2003). Defined as "the internal reconstruction of an external operation" (VYGOTSKY, 1978, p. 56), internalization is a process consisting of a series of transformations that progressively become superior psychological functions—including the development outcomes of logical memory, of intelligence, and of voluntary attention control.

In a transformational (and not merely a transmitting) movement from intermental to intramental, internalization appears first on the social plane and then on the psychological plane (into the individual learner's mind) (SAWYER, 2017). Internalization is accomplished when the learner has gained greater control over the use of a given cultural artifact (may that be the use of a drill or new Portuguese vocabulary).

One of the mediational means that lead to the development of higher psychological functions is the internalization of concepts. Instrumental to the understanding of internalization, the notion of everyday and scientific concepts to SCT is discussed separately in the following section.

2.2.3 Everyday and Scientific Concepts

Pursuing more effective ways to school children, Vygotsky explored the developmental process of concepts. As he began observing children's behavior, he noticed that by the time they began formal education, they already presented some (internalized) knowledge of how to act in the physical world. This is precisely how he became interested in psychology—a course he never indeed attended.

Sociocultural Theory, then, was nested in the ontological and microgenetic domains to adduce much of its conceptualizations. The internalization of concepts relied on empirical evidence of the development of an individual's higher mental functions as he witnessed

[31] This construct is discussed in more detail in section (2.3.2 Affordance) below.

children's learning process (CARRERA; MAZZARELLA, 2001). These concepts, i.e. internalized word meanings, are of two types: everyday concepts and scientific concepts[32].

As their labels suggest, the first ones refer to those concepts evolving from informal, typical everyday interactions while the latter are not extemporaneously developed, but rather develop under very specific contexts and depend upon a formal (but not direct[33]) learning context. The first, everyday concepts, can be spontaneous or non-spontaneous. Spontaneous everyday concepts are formed under concrete, face-to-face social interactions and are virtually undetectable. Non-spontaneous everyday concepts are, similarly, originated in the learner's own life experiences, but are systematically learned. (ABRAHÃO, 2012).

Scientific concepts, on the other hand, reside in their own realm. They are acquired through systematic, intentional, conscious learning and, as such, are not as effortless to form as are everyday concepts. According to Vygotsky (1986), "the difficulty with scientific concepts lies in their *verbalism*, i.e., in their excessive abstractness and detachment from reality"[34] (p. 148-9). Words used as scientific concepts are complex, often abstruse; they seldom appear explicitly in ordinary life interactions.

Nonetheless, Vygotsky understood interaction as dependent on the juxtaposition of both sets of concepts, but that does not mean they are independent of each other. On the contrary, notwithstanding the differences between them, they are co-dependent since scientific and everyday concepts are equally necessary for the student's cognitive development.

As aforementioned, learning is a transformative process in the Vygotskian framework. As such, everyday and scientific concept formation is not simultaneous. Scientific concept acquisition is, in fact, dependent upon the mediation of previously acquired everyday concepts. For instance, the acquisition of the scientific concept *exploitation* is more likely to occur if the learner has had previously acquired the spontaneous everyday concept of *use*[35]. Note that even though they can be perceived as near-synonyms, they are ordinarily used in different situational contexts—the first being typically more formal and specific than the latter. Representatively, see Figure 4 below.

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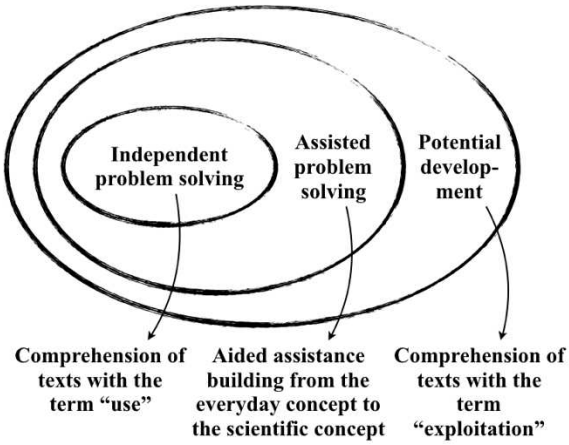
[32] Also translated as personal concepts and academic concepts, respectively (HAENEN; SCHRIJNEMAKERS; STUFKENS, 2003)

[33] Vygotsky (1986) claimed that "direct teaching of concepts is impossible and fruitless" (p. 150).

[34] Italics in original.

[35] An example of a non-spontaneous everyday concept could be *work* as in "work exploitation" or in "at work they use tools".

Figure 4: Visual design of concept formation in a developing ZPD



Source: Author

In a formal school setting, learners' everyday concepts—derived from typical, everyday interactions and from other educational interactions—should be taken into account in order to establish a connection between those prior concepts and the intended scientific concepts.

As the acquisition of a scientific concept is relatively dependent upon the prior acquisition of a (related) spontaneous everyday concept so is the dependence of the acquisition of an additional language on one's first language (also L1). The codependence relationship between scientific and everyday concepts is tantamount to the one observed between native and additional languages acquisition; as Vygotsky (1986) wrote:

> the external and internal conditions for the development of scientific concepts and the acquisition of a foreign language mostly coincide, differing in a similar way from the conditions for the development of spontaneous concepts and the acquisition of the native language. […] The acquisition of a foreign language differs from the acquisition of the native one precisely because it uses the semantics of the native language as its foundation. (p. 160).

In a nutshell, Lev Vygotsky established a theory and method for mapping the development of higher psychological levels of intelligence by studying children and adolescents—and extending them to adult cognitive development. Through investigations of intellectual development, Vygotsky sought to unveil the nature of verbal thinking based on the internalization of word meaning (concepts). In the following section, we focus on the works of

investigators who further Vygotsky's research into additional language development accounting for other external factors such as translation, agency, and scaffolding.

2.3 SOCIOCULTURAL PERSPECTIVE AND ADDITIONAL LANGUAGE RESEARCH

Within the larger framework of additional language research, those invested in a Vygotskian approach to additional language learning (ALL) aim their interest at understanding and improving language learner development as culturally embedded mediated interactions. Vygotsky's writings fueled not only the study of learning overall as much as it introduced a novel perspective on additional language learning—booming in the mid-1990s (ZUENGLER; MILLER, 2006). A fertile collaboration, to address ALL through a sociocultural lens means that:

> analysis moves beyond properties of individual learner language to examination of the creation of context, construction of task, coordination of goals, affective variables, learner cognition, and learner collaboration in order to better understand how learners socially construct the shared understandings through which language is acquired (OHTA, 1995, p. 96).

Investigators dedicated to researching additional language informed by a sociocultural approach to learning include Richard Donato (1994, 2004), Alex Kozulin (2003), James Lantolf (2013), Michael Mascolo (2005), Amy Ohta (1995, 2001), Aneta Pavlenko (& LANTOLF, 2000, & NORTON, 2007), and Merrill Swain (2015)—to mention a few. Still, others have, however, made rather unforeseen contributions that are now incorporated to the studies of a sociocultural approach to ALL (such as the concept of scaffolding, addressed below), especially those coupled with Vygotskian key constructs. In Brazil, advances have been made to further establish a sociocultural perspective to additional language studies both by establishing authors (PESSÔA, 2018; BATTISTELLA, 2015; COSTA, 2014; PINHO, 2013) as well as established scholars (FIGUEIREDO, 2019).

2.3.1 Scaffolding

Wood, Bruner and Ross's pioneering 1976 article is one such example of contributions to the development of a sociocultural theory applied to additional language research. Their concept of scaffolding has been traditionally associated with the Vygotskian zone of proximal development[36]. A metaphorical reference to the construction industry, scaffolding in the ZPD consists essentially of the assistance given—by a more knowledgeable other—in accordance with what the learner needs (in quality and in quantity) and that is gradually withdrawn as the learner moves toward the stage of self-regulation (SWAIN; KINNEAR; STEINMAN, 2015; WOOD; BRUNER; ROSS, 1976). This implies a constant shift in mediation, as the MKO evaluates and reassesses the use of mediational means according to the learner's process of internalization—considered empirical evidence of cognitive development (LANTOLF, 2013).

Also complementary to Vygotsky's sociocultural theory is not only the understanding that learning precedes development, but that it is a condition for scaffolding's success. The learner needs first to acquire the solution to a problem so it can eventually lead to (internalized) development—when he is able to apply and transform this learning according to newly faced problems.

One aspect of this construct has been frequently questioned: the tutor's role as represented with a very specific set of responsibilities; the tutor

> operates with an implicit theory of the learner's acts in order to recruit his attention, reduces degrees of freedom in the task to manageable limits, maintains 'direction' in the problem solving, marks critical features, controls frustration and demonstrates solutions when the learner can recognize them (WOOD; BRUNER, ROSS, 1976, p. 99)

The tutor, in this perspective, weakens and limits the learner's role, a concept that triggered critiques and consequent reconceptualizations (KNOUZI et al, 2010) as well as further subdivisions and underlying principles (BALEGHIZADEH; TIMCHEH MEMAR; TIMCHEH MEMAR, 2011; DOERING; VELETSIANOS, 2007; WALQUI, 2006, BARNARD;

[36] The researchers, however, refer to a 'tutorial interaction' and a 'tutorial process' described in similar terms as Vygotsky's ZPD.

CAMPBELL, 2005; DONATO, 1994). The proposed redefinitions of this construct all grant a shared responsibility and a co-authorship to the participants in the scaffolding process (KNOUZI et al, 2010), aligned with Vygotsky's fundamental concept: the social nature of cognitive development.

Mascolo (2005) proposed a coactive view of scaffolding encompassing a set of indissoluble units consisting of a social context in which individuals act upon a given object through the use of cultural artifacts as mediational means. Observing a spectrum of scaffolding, Mascolo distinguished three umbrella types of scaffolding (and corresponding subtypes), namely social scaffolding, ecological scaffolding, and *self-scaffolding*. The latter, self-scaffolding, he wrote:

> refers to the ways in which products of the individual's own actions create conditions that direct and support the production of novel forms of action and meaning. In self-scaffolding, individuals change their environments or representation of the environment in such a way as to direct further problem solving and the construction of novel meanings. (p. 193)

Contrary to Vygotsky's belief that "the presence of a problem to be solved […] may trigger the process, but it cannot sustain its development" (1986, p. 107), self-scaffolding—otherwise called analogy as imitative process by Lantolf (2013)—can lead to microgenetic development provided that the individual had experienced similar circumstances.

Consider the additional language learner who, recalling his previous (perhaps, his native) language learning experience(s), experiments with a similar approach by keeping a diary of new vocabulary or perhaps by testing hypothesis with sentence structure, for example. By doing so, the learner's own action informs him of new creative problem solving. Say, when he accurately adds words as *também*[37] and *limpeza*[38] to his diary, he may have referred to earlier writings of *sombra*[39] and *computador*[40] and reflexively used a spelling rule in Portuguese: before consonants 'p' and 'b', we use 'm' and not 'n'[41].

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[37] *Também* means *also*, in Portuguese.
[38] *Limpeza* means *cleaning*, in Portuguese.
[39] *Sombra* means *shadow*, in Portuguese.
[40] *Computador* means *computer*, in Portuguese.
[41] This is an example of an *analogical mapping* type of self-scaffolding, according to Mascolo (2005). Refer to his work for details.

Specifically interested in additional language learning, Donato (1994) analyzed the discursive mechanism of *collective scaffolding* between whom he called "individually novices and collectively experts" (p. 46). He observed that collaborative interactions in an additional language learning setting corroborate the Vygotskian premise that cognitive development is constructed socially and dialogically. In a collective peer-scaffolding interaction[42], his findings suggest that in language tasks learners co-construct meaning and take turns in assisting their peers while expanding their own knowledge. To this conceptualization may be added the not unreasonable assumption that learners may possibly have differing ZPDs, thus corroborating the documented exchange in expert-novice roles each learner plays.

Disinhibition and private speech were also observed in Donato's data. Dual scaffolding, he found, was responsible for assisting a peer to disinhibit and into pursuing his learning goal. An extensively investigated additional language learner characteristics (LIGHTBOWN; SPADA, 2017; RICHARDS; RODGERS, 2014; BROWN, 2002; KRASHEN, 1981), inhibition proved to lower in collective scaffolding interactions—due to a more tranquil co-construction of meaning.

Another important outcome of Donato's study is the documented private speech utterances in adults—during the interactions. The author himself acknowledged the preciousness of his findings and celebrated the occurrence in additional language adult learners. Private speech, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, is evidence of the process of internalization and validates the intramental and intermental features of language as a symbolic artifact.

Whether intermentally or intramentally, accessing language as a mediational artifact—as with all other mediational means—is not unrestrained. Instead, mediational means offer affordances as well as constraints. The theory of affordance is particularly consonant with Sociocultural Theory and is well suited to the study of additional language learning in that it supports the assistance given within a learner's (scaffolded) ZPD.

[42] Peer-scaffolding and learner negotiation are not interchangeable particularly because a sociocultural perspective supports social interaction as the outset for cognitive development, which far exceeds bare input (LANTOLF, 2013).

2.3.2 Affordance

The term *affordance* was coined by American psychologist and philosopher James Gibson, who developed an "ecological approach to visual perception" (1977, p. 136) detailing the relationship between the environment and the animal kingdom—including humans. He claimed that the environment provides affordances to all animals (for good or bad), but that they have historically transformed these natural affordances to fit their needs—overwhelmingly more by humans[43]. As Van Lier[44] (2010) wrote, "affordances are relationships of possibility, that is, they make action, interaction and joint projects possible" (p. 4).

Gibson (1977) highlighted, however, that this is not a unilateral relationship, but rather governed by reciprocity—between observer and observed. Affordances are, according to him, dependent upon perception; that is, only if an individual realizes the possibilities afforded by, say, an object, he can benefit from it. Conversely, once the individual realizes the constraints of a given object, he can act to transform it in his behalf. These can be associated with Vygotsky's culturally constructed mediational means; as Gibson's *mutual affordances* provided by other individuals can be associated with Wood, Bruner and Ross's (1976) scaffolding construct. A caveat seems appropriate hence consider the following.

In an additional language learning context, a learner can engage in and perform an activity once he realizes—and acts according to—the affordance and constraints provided by the available mediational means. Gibson's (1977) example of the available affordances and constraints provided by bodies of water—we can drink from it, it provides us fish for consumption, it allows us to navigate it with the proper instruments, but one cannot walk over it—is analogous to the affordances and constraints of a Portuguese as additional language textbook to the learner—it can provide examples of sentences and of grammar rules, vocabulary lists, translation of common idioms, different types of exercises, but it cannot give tailored feedback or engage in actual oral interaction.

Therefore, individuals engage in learning activities according to the affordances and constraints provided by the available mediational means—may they be objects or a more capable other. Yet, individuals are driven by their own determination and desire and are not

[43] One can broaden the concept into the affordances of societal rules (see a brief, but interesting, discussion in Block (2007)).
[44] Van Lier discerned direct affordances from indirect affordances in which the first refer to bodily features while the latter refers to the sociocultural contextual situation (2004).

entirely compliant to these affordances and constraints; and this determination is ordinarily called agency. Next, we account for this construct and its relationship with culture.

2.3.3 Agency and culture

A contemporary Vygotskian scholar, linguist James Lantolf (2013) further argues that acquisition of an additional language is reliant on the learner's *commitment* to acquire this new language (and culture) and not wholly reliant on the learner's first language (as we quoted Vygotsky in the previous section). Such commitment is performed by an intentional agent who purposely takes charge of his own learning, but who is also constrained and empowered by external factors such as situational eventualities, self- and interlocutor(s) competences, symbolic artifacts available, and so forth (LANTOLF; THORNE; POEHNER, 2015). In this sense, the learner is also responsible for his own learning process. That is, he is afforded agency. Although it may seem redundant to claim that learner volition is imperative to his learning, agency far extends this precept.

Agency has been defined differently by various scholars, however. Wertsch and Rupert, for instance, describe an agent as an individual carrying an action (WERTSCH; RUPERT, 1993, p. 230). Agency, to Warschauer (2005), is "the power to take meaningful action and see the results of one's decisions and choices." (p. 44). Yet, these characterizations seemed somewhat oversimplified and vague for a sociocultural approach to additional language learning, since SCT does not recognize learning as an individual accomplishment, but a co-constructed endeavor.

Alternatively, we understand agency as a more complex construct. Swain, Kinnear and Steinman's glossary includes an entry that states "all individuals are agentive, that is, they behave in certain ways according to their motives and goals" (2015, p. 149), while Swain (2009) wrote that learner as agent is "an individual who perceives, analyses, rejects or accepts solutions offered, makes decisions and so on" (p. 100-101). In line with these claims, we assume that in an ALL context "in essence, social agents constitute themselves in part through the language practice they engage in" (THORNE, 2000, p. 237).

Furthermore, some authors recognize diverse forms of agency—group agency and social agency by Portes and Vadeboncoeur (2003) and mediated agency by Wertsch and Rupert (1993). The former forms of agency support the outcomes of collective scaffolding, as

investigated by Donato (1994). The latter, characterized as an "individual(s)-operating-with-mediational-means" (WERTSCH; RUPERT, 1993, p. 230), corresponds to every relationship between individuals and the (social) environment, according to Vygotsky's studies.

Therefore, the mediational and social aspect of SCT—involving more than learning the material aspect of a language—is also observable in additional language acquisition. According to Lantolf and Thorne (2015), to learn an additional language means to focus "[…] on doing, knowing, and becoming rather than on the attainment of a steady state understood as a well-defined set of rules, principles, parameters, etc." (p. 138).

And this 'doing, knowing, and becoming' involves an imperative aspect of language acquisition: that of culture. For immigrants (whether permanent or temporary), the process of learning the local language intertwines with the process of learning the local culture. Conversely, these processes have an effect on the (re)construction e reconceptionalization of their selves as immigrants. As a learner starts (successfully) acquiring an additional language, he begins having difficulties in using his native language as a mediating tool, which, in turn, affects his sense of self (LANTOLF; THORNE; POEHNER, 2015).

Moreover, as they progressively develop, learners need to monitor their commitment to learning the target language, especially assuming that the mere circumstance of being a resident in a new community does not guarantee one will learn the language—regardless of the time of residence. Also, "what seems to be necessary is an intent and a commitment to live one's life as a member of the new community" (LANTOLF; THORNE; POEHNER, 2015, p. 148), to commit to this new culture and to a redesigned sense of self.

Thus, the learner-agent makes a better candidate to belong as member of a new community. In this scenario, learners bring their own culture to the interactions (DONGYU; FANYU; WANYI, 2013) as they engage in learning from other (their target) culture communities.

Chiefly interested in adult learners and yet associated with Vygotsky's SCT, Lantolf and Thorne contrasted adult and young learners:

> Because adults are more experienced in the culture of education than children, and because the leading, although not exclusive, activity of adult life is work, they are more likely to construe school as a site where serious work is to be carried out and where errorful performance, tolerated in playful behavior,

> often results in negative consequences (for example, failing grades). (2015, p. 204).

Nonetheless, the awareness of a culture of education and of a context of learning does not prevent most learners from speaking a hybrid of the two languages (their native and target languages). This is a direct consequence of adult learners' need of increased agency and deliberate engagement, since "it is through intentional social interaction with members of the other culture, through conscious attempts to construct new meanings through new discourses, that one becomes an equal participant in new discursive spaces" (PAVLENKO; LANTOLF, 2000, p. 174).

Additionally, and in the specific context of adult graduate students, a growing awareness of the sociocultural scenario of one's learning can inhibit uninformed and nescient translations between the two languages. Translation as a strategy to perhaps boost learning does not agree with a sociocultural perspective of cognitive development. Because we consider this an important aspect when investigating language learning, we address it—however briefly—below.

2.3.4 Translation and Transformation

Vygotsky maintained that additional language learning relied on the individual's native language as scientific concepts relied on everyday concepts—discussed above in (2.2.3). However, this cannot be considered a straightforward correlation.

When investigating storytelling, Swain, Kinnear and Steinman (2015) found that their participants relied heavily on the translation of words from their native language, thus using the target language "without conscious awareness of the linguistic system" (p. 62). The investigators found that their research participants were not attentive to the intricacies of both languages and failed to cross "linguistic and cultural borders" (p. 63). This notion of translation is organized in reference to Vygotsky's conceptualization of language as opposing a simplistic view of language as a 'ready-made garment' (1986).

Choosing what and how to translate is part of a "transformative imitation process" (SWAIN; KINNEAR; STEINMAN, 2015, p. 65) and, as such, demands a reorganization of the

individual's self. In other words, the individual is required to learn beyond the material aspect of the additional language, including its cultural aspects, through which he can achieve a redesigned sense of self.

Grounded in this statement, stimulating learners to engage in a peer-scaffolding activity makes a valid undertaking. A greater effect on ALL, according to Lantolf (1995 apud OHTA, 1995), additional language learners working collaboratively support the co-construction of meaning making in the target language. As a transformation rather than a translation activity, learners can assist each other's learning and cognitive development.

In this section, we have attempted to outline a sociocultural perspective of additional language learning. A sociocultural approach has been at the underpinnings of researches invested in bringing about evidence of its core constructs—namely ZPD, mediation, stages of development, internalization, amongst others—in different learning contexts. Many additional language interactions have been studied, from French (VAN COMPERNOLLE; WILLIAMS, 2012; DAGENAIS; DAY; TOOHEY, 2006; MONDADA; DOEHLER, 2005; SWAIN; LAPKIN, 2002), to Japanese (DINITTO, 2000; DONATO; ANTONEK; TUCKER, 1996; OHTA, 2001, 1995), to Portuguese (to which we dedicate chapter 4), to an overwhelming interest in English as an additional language (a simple exploration in a scholarly search engine suffices).

Nonetheless the works of these scholars, including those explicitly drawn from Vygotsky's body of work, we acknowledge there are more key aspects involved in additional language acquisition—particularly the constructs of investment and of learner identity—which deserve special attention and are, therefore, addressed in the next chapter.

3 IDENTITY AND ADDITIONAL LANGUAGE LEARNING

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Learner characteristics have been extensively examined in several academic studies. Whether invested in individual differences (LIGHTBOWN; SPADA, 2017, ORTEGA, 2014; GASS; MACKEY, 2013), attitude and aptitude (MASGORET; GARDNER, 2003; KRASHEN, 1981), or multiple intelligences (LARSEN-FREEMAN, 2000), scholars have concentrated on aspects that support or hinder learning. In this regard, two scholarly articles spearheaded an appeal to additional language investigators. Both articles were published virtually simultaneously: Firth and Wagner's in 1997 (republished in 2007) and Norton's in 1995.

Firth and Wagner dedicated their article (2007) to a discussion on the imbalance between the social identity and the cognitive aspects of language learners, opposing the concept of a single language learner identity—specifically the native speaker–nonnative speaker dichotomy. Also advocating for a greater account for (a frequently simplistic view of) learner identity, Norton's first stance on identity dates back to 1995, where she argues for a dynamic perception of social identity. Considered inauguration pieces on the significance of identity in the field of additional language learning (BLOCK, 2007), both articles inspired a number of scholars to contemplate learners as more than information vessels, more than stable, passive actors to language learning and meaning making.

Bonny Norton, from her initial investigations (1995), has developed a theory of social identity established on the premise of learner investment (complementary to the construct of motivation), whose agency is restricted by relations of power in the social world. In Identity Theory a particular attention is given to the concept of learner identity, viewed as the central theme of Norton's theory whilst the remaining concepts are considered subjacent—howbeit imperative to the key construct. Drawing on Norton's comprehensive theory, the goal of this chapter is to encompass a review of core constructs related to a poststructuralist, sociocultural approach to learner characteristics.

3.2 A THEORY OF IDENTITY

Born in apartheid-era South Africa, Johannesburger linguist Bonny Norton has had first-hand experience with the effects of power struggles on language and identity. Acknowledging a more complex and dynamic learner, Norton (1995) invited additional language researchers to rethink the notion of the language learner social identity. In this section, therefore, we discuss Norton's Theory of Social Identity with a particular focus on its five key constructs: social identity, power, investment, and imagined identity and imagined community[45].

Over more than two decades of identity research, Norton and her colleagues have grounded their investigations on the principle that individuals shape and reshape their identity conforming to a set of dynamic social circumstances. Power relations, (and power struggles) being the most eminent, afford and constrain the individual's opportunity to engage in (re)shaping his identity. Language, for its greater value in (inter)relationships, is considered beyond its communicative function and more than a system of signs. Instead, language is in and of itself a social practice responsible for the co-construction of meanings, experiences, and identities (NORTON, 2013; MCKINNEY; NORTON, 2011).

Specifically in regards to additional language learning, Norton and Toohey (2004, p. 10)) acknowledge that language acquisition does not exclusively take place in the classroom, but it extends to well beyond them into other socioculturally embedded practices. They, thus, define language as "a practice that constructs, and is constructed by, the ways language learners understand themselves, their social surroundings, their histories, and their possibilities for the future" (p. 1). Sociopolitically framed in this perspective, language is itself a site of struggle and transmutation through which power and knowledge charter the production and reproduction of power in (inter)relationships (NORTON; TOOHEY, 2004).

Drawing on the pioneering work of Vygotsky on the social nature of learning, Norton's identity approach considers SLA as a sociocultural practice in which language learning is a interpersonal activity that occurs between particular speakers situated in particular sociocultural contexts seeing learners as participants in social and/or historical groups (MCKINNEY; NORTON, 2011). More specifically, "language matters may be individual issues but, as

[45] A concept designed by Anderson (2006) and detailed in section 3.2.4.

communication tools, they are also shared, and are thus subject to collective trends and movements" (CLEMENT, NORTON, 2021, p. 166)

In order to appreciate the propositions of our investigation according to this perspective, the following subsections are dedicated to, respectively, social identity (3.2.1); relations of power and language opportunity (3.2.2); investment and motivation (3.2.3); and imagined identity and imagined community (3.2.4). Finally, we conclude this chapter with a table in which we diagram these key constructs.

3.2.1 identity

From a poststructuralist perspective, Norton reasoned that the language learner is not the sum of fixed personality traits (e.g. a motivated, extroverted, and uninhibited individual) nor can he be labeled solely from his linguistic social identity (native or nonnative speaker), his gender identification (even beyond the bounds of women or men[46]), or his racial identity (white vs. black; Nordic vs. Asian)—nonetheless these constituting his social identity (PILLER, 2002).

Conversely, the learner is understood as having a multiple, dynamic, complex identity, an identity that mirrors how he recognizes his relationship to the larger social world and rearranges that relationship in the many dimensions of his life (MCKINNEY; NORTON, 2011). In this regard, identity traits are fluid and dynamic while social categories are co-dependent and overlapping (NORTON; DE COSTA, 2018). Both identity and social categories are nonetheless constructed across time and space according to how the learner fathoms his possibilities for the future[47] all the while he engages in a process of identity construction and negotiation (NORTON, 2013; 2000; 1997).

"Culturally learned ways of knowing", writes Smagorinsky (2013), "provide a major source of difference in how people learn how to think." (p. 197). Thus, it is through a thorough investigation of the specificities of the learner's interactions that we can become aware of his language learning process and development. This includes, therefore, not simply observing classroom interactions, but also the relationships he builds within the larger social world

[46] See the research on gender discrimination and refugee immigration in Balestro and Pereira (2019).
[47] Darvin and Norton (2015) warn, however, that this does "not suggest that what is socially imaginable is also socially available" (p. 39).

mediated through socially constructed institutions surrounding their everyday activities such as their home, classroom, work environment (NORTON, 1997), for example.

Theoretical admonitions tend to underestimate the subtle dynamics within the everyday-interactions setting and often fail to account for the ways in which cultural integration and identity (re)construction take place in social interactions. This is precisely Norton's example of Eva (2000), a middle-aged Polish immigrant to Canada, who had to claim her standing in her work environment when confronted with pop culture references by a teenage coworker (who also happened to be a native speaker).

Inspired by the work of feminist postructuralist Chris Weedon, Norton and Toohey (2011) understand the concept of identity as: individuals who can, at the same time, be in a position of power *and* in a position of reduced power; being both the subject *of* and subject *to* certain relationships. In this regard, we may also return to Eva who had to revisit her positioning: from being subject *to* her young coworker's discourse (which triggered a feeling of embarrassment, as she confessed to Norton in an interview) to being subject *of* the relationship when she started to share her life experiences with her coworkers interested in the European life.

As this example substantiates, a social identity is, we believe, further informed by Bucholts and Hall's (2008) encouragement to 'think small', that is, to observe "a finer level of analytic granularity to consider such fleeting yet consequential subject positions as bully and bullied, advice giver and advice rejecter, interpreter and recipient of interpretation" (p. 153).

Therefore, it is by understanding that a learner's identity (with his changing personality traits and sum of social categories) is formed and transformed in social interaction that we may grasp more of the possibilities afforded to them in the additional language learning process. These affordances are dependent, most significantly, on power relations between interlocutors (even more flagrantly between language learners and target language speakers, as we have seen with Eva's example). The language opportunities afforded to learners according to the power relations at play are further explored in the next section.

3.2.2 Relations of power and language opportunity

In exploring additional language learning, Norton concerned herself primarily with how learner identity is significant in the additional language learning process. According to Norton and her colleagues' investigations, to focus solely on the learning context is to form an incomplete account of the learning process thus recommending researchers to also explore identity issues and human agency (NORTON; TOOHEY, 2001, p. 312).

Identity Theory argues that power relations are more significantly correlated with language learning than previously assumed. In fact, drawing on a Foucaultian conception of the micro-level workings of power in social interactions (MCKINNEY; NORTON, 2011, p. 74), Norton avers additional language learners are directly affected by relations of power. As so, power relations play a crucial role in learners' access to target language speakers, oftentimes limiting their possibilities of membership in the target language community.

As we have seen with Eva's example, power asymmetries go beyond the dichotomous native/nonnative speaker and expose the nuances in opportunities afforded to language learners. Thus, in social interactions relations of power that may or may not grant additional language learners the right to communicate (to practice and learn the target language) operate in ways that may, in turn, affect their learning development.

Uneven and shifting power relations are, furthermore, connected to the learner's agency. In that sense, emotional factors are often socially constructed in inequitable relations of power, varying through time and space, constituting the individual's conflicting and variable engagement (MCKINNEY; NORTON, 2011, p. 73; NORTON, 1995, p. 12). That is, as Eva succeeded in, learners may restructure their positioning and claim more power to speak in certain social interactions, especially once they acknowledge these forces at play.

Darvin and Norton (2015) advert to learners' progressively mobile lives as relevant to how they deal with additional language learning in a broader spectrum of possibilities to engage in social interactions—including those technologically mediated—and whether they employ their agency in creating these (or more) possibilities. Because these opportunities constitute new forms of complex social interactions, it stands to reason that they also be pervaded with power struggles.

Power relations is a core concept in Identity Theory and also correlate with other key constructs; one of these constructs is that of investment. Investment constitutes a construct with a crucial role in additional language learning and its conception and significance are discussed in the following section.

3.2.3 Investment and motivation

As above mentioned, a learner's social identity is (re)shaped and (re)constructed in social interactions which are, in turn, often characterized by asymmetrical power relations. Accordingly, the particularities of social relations may afford or constrain the learner's engagement and commitment to his own learning. Learner engagement and commitment are, thus, not considered lightly by Bonny Norton and her colleagues. Instead, Norton has developed a new construct to account for these idiosyncrasies—namely investment.

Investment was first observed by Bonny Norton (1995, 2000) in her pursuit of defining the influence of an individual' social identity and commitment to additional language learning. Investment, to the researcher, stands for a socially and historically constructed relationship between the learner's target language and their often-fluctuating motivation to engage in its practice (NORTON, 2013, p. 3; MCKINNEY; NORTON, 2011, p. 75). Significant to language learning, the notion of investment refers to the individual's alternating commitment and engagement in social interactions in the target language.

Motivation had hitherto been used to characterize learners who engage (or not) in learning. Extensively investigated, motivation does not account for the many circumstances in which learners do not engage in specific social interaction, while engaging in others and even disengaging in yet others. By realizing the notion of motivation was not sufficient to understand additional language learning, Norton conceptualized the notion of investment in the mid-1990s. In her understanding, motivation (a psychological construct) is complemented by the sociological construct of investment (NORTON; DE COSTA, 2018, p. 91).

Investment, as opposed to the construct of motivation, is not a fixed personality trait, but rather a concept that attempts to capture the dynamic characteristics of the relationship individuals engage in the larger social world. Norton's perspective, then, foregrounds investment over motivation. Motivation and investment are not, however, independent of each other. Instead, investment mediates the individual's motivation towards learning and interaction engagement such as in his desire to communicate with others in certain situations and, paradoxically, empowering the individual enough to claim his right to speak, according to McKinney and Norton (2011, p. 84).

It is rather relevant to realize the importance of investment to an additional language learner. McKinney and Norton (2011) describe the particularities of this concept precisely as: "language learners need to struggle to appropriate the voices of others; they need to learn to command the attention of their listeners; and they need to negotiate language as a system and as a social practice" (p. 81). As such, motivated learners must state their ground and establish their own right to interact.

Those researchers interested in additional language learning customarily focused wholly on the notion of motivation, acknowledged that part of a language learner's motivation included a definite goal or purpose. Establishing from that notion of motivation, Bonny Norton (2016, p. 476) understands that learners invest in language learning when they foresee greater material and symbolic resources capable of increasing their social power and/or cultural capital. Learners, according to that perspective, expect to gain something in return of this investment—thus, corroborating its original definition that entails an exchange, a certain give-and-take.

Return on symbolic investment refers to an individual's expectation regarding his affective filters such as family, friends, and social groups; a return on material investment, on the other hand, refers to the individual's for material capital (NORTON, 2001, p. 166). Whether intending to take part in a specific group or seeking membership, whether looking for better job opportunities or a promotion, whether relative to a romance endeavor or to academic pursuit, learners invest expecting something in return (DARVIN; NORTON, 2016).

Motivation, then, drives investment in language learning. However, that investment is not one-sided. As we have discussed before, power struggles are evident in social interactions and therefore can afford or constrain learners' investment. In such way, learner motivation is not sufficient for the learner to invest in learning the language when confronted with a xenophobic, racist, sexist or homophobic environment, for example (NORTON, COSTA, 2018). The additional language learner may be highly motivated in learning an additional language—referring back to Eva's example, as she strongly wished to communicate and interact with her coworkers—but may not invest when faced with a hostile or discouraging circumstance/environment.

A hostile or discouraging environment may be perceived not only in language practices held in the larger social world, but it may also happen in a discriminatory language classroom—however unintended. An unwelcoming learning environment may be the result of several variables, despite educators' best intentions. These classroom practices, according to Norton

(2010, p. 358), can handicap students' learning opportunities as well as more powerful social identities.

In sum, the notion of investment:

> conceives of the language learner as having a complex identity and multiple desires. The notion presupposes that, when language learners speak, they are not only exchanging information with target language speakers, but they are constantly organizing and reorganizing a sense of who they are and how they relate to the social world. Thus an investment in the target language is also an investment in a learner's own identity, an identity that is constantly changing across time and space. (MCKINNEY; NORTON, 2011, p. 75; NORTON, 1995, p. 17-18)

Empirical research concerning learners' desire or resistance to invest in language learning suggest that learner engagement goes beyond motivation and can result in nonparticipation (NORTON, 2001), for instance. Nonparticipation can perhaps be the result of an inhospitable environment or a resistance to inequitable social forces that shuns learners' investments (NORTON, 1995, p. 19-20). Norton and her colleagues have observed a growing spectrum of possibilities in which some learners alternate to online interactions to meet their need to practice the target language.

Likewise, at a historical moment characterized by a new stream of social movements claiming for equity and human rights across the globe, the concept of investment plead for transformation. To account for the recent world shift in the political and economic arrangements, Ron Darvin and Bonny Norton (2015) propose a revised model of investment in order to extend beyond microstructures of power in specific communicative events aiming at uncovering its underlying patterns of control. For this purpose, associated with the construct of identity, the researchers have incorporated those of ideology and capital.

Drawing on works of Pierre Bourdieu, Darvin and Norton (2015, p. 43) developed an extended model of investment that considers ideology to be one key construct in identifying and understanding the opportunities—or lack thereof—disposed to learners. Ideology, according to the researchers, is the nucleus to understanding the dynamics and the structures of power at play in social interactions. Legitimated authority over embodied minority identities is example to hegemonic and institutionalized modes of interacting and operating. In this

perspective, an unnatural or asymmetrical power relationship results from "the reproduction of dominant culture […] sustained by both coercion and consent" (DARVIN; NORTON, 2015, p. 44).

Even though ideology and capital are not examined empirically in our research, we do acknowledge them as constituting identity and investment practices nonetheless. We furthermore consider these constructs in correlation with the notion of affordances, but as one originated in ideology and power relations—which is revisited later in this chapter.

In the new world social order, driven by the many technological advances—generating newer means of communication and improving information sharing—, language learners have a greater spectrum of possibilities to engage (and disengage), to invest (and disinvest) in social interaction. This fluidity, as Darvin and Norton (2016, p. 33) indicate, may perhaps contribute to learners' enhanced agency as well as their will to invest in social practices not formerly available to them.

In this scenario, additional language learners may assume a more resolute and outgoing temperament when interacting online (LEUNG, 2013; CHAK; LEUNG, 2004). Adopting this renewed temperament reveals an important aspect of investment, that of expectations. Learners invest in relationships and social interactions when they expect something in return, as addressed above. It may be by hoping for a job opportunity (online video job interviews are becoming mainstream), to successfully set up a romantic date (aided by a dating website), or to achieve a sense of belonging (consider the gaming community), among others.

Investment, expectations and identity are closely interconnected since they imply a restructuring in the individual's self-awareness and identity. A language learner, for instance, may have invested in additional language learning hoping for a job opportunity in which he would have more challenging tasks and a larger team to manage. His aspiration, thus, encompasses an imagined identity—how he sees himself in this (future) position, if as the powerful executive, the motivational creative director, or the micromanager, for example—and an imagined community—the member of a selective country club, nominated for a distinguished award/prize, invited for interviews and celebrated social events, for instance.

Therefore, in the field of additional language learning, and in Bonny Norton's (2016, p. 477) perspective, an individual's investment in language learning (and learning in general) is driven by his imagined identity as well as by his hopes for the future. To explore the character

of this nexus we shall, in the next section, confine our attention to two notions in respect to additional language learning: that of imagined identity and of imagined community.

3.2.4 Imagined identity and imagined community

Having established the notions of social identity, relations of power, and investment, in this section we proceed to a discussion of how an individual forges his own identity from an imagined identity and imagined community(ies). There is a caveat, however, and a critical one: when we mention imagination, we do not refer to fantasy or a form of escape from reality (KANNO; NORTON, 2003, p. 244), but rather with aspiration and passion-driven motivation.

The notion of imagined community finds support in the work of political scientist Benedict Anderson (1991/2006) on the development of a theory for a sense of national kinship and membership. Anderson, examining the national imagination, developed a wholly picture of the imagined communities of nations made possible by the extended familiarity and sense of belonging provided by print-capitalism[48]. According to the Chinese-born Irish-citizen scholar, what we call nation is in fact an imagined community.

Returning to Norton's (2000) example, Eva was born in Poland and she had probably not personally met every fellow Polish national but still considered herself part of this (Polish) community. For Anderson, it is precisely because of this physical distance (and the unlikelihood of knowing every single member of a given community) that he termed it an imagined community. In his words, a national community is "*imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (2006, p. 6).

Extending on this conceptualization, imagined ties are not constrained by time and space:

> On a temporal dimension, the notion of imagined communities enables us to relate learners' visions of the future to their prevailing actions and identities. It is a way of affirming that what has not yet happened in the future can be a reason and motivation for what learners do in the present. On a spatial dimension, we can examine the interaction between national ideologies and

[48] Print-capitalism regards the sense of community as a consequence of the developments of the printing press propagated by capitalism.

> individual learners' identities on the one hand, and the influence of globalization and transnationalism on language learning and identity construction on the other. […] Our identities then must be understood not only in terms of our investment in the "real" world but also in terms of our investment in *possible* worlds. (KANNO; NORTON, 2003, p. 248[49])

In respect to additional language learning, an imagined community refers to those groups of people the learner imagines and hopes to connect as a result of and as motivation to his investment in the target language.

A learner's investment and engagement in target language practices are, then, a consequence of his imagined community and imagined identity (MCKINNEY; NORTON, 2011, p. 81). More specifically regarding our investigation, communities and identities are imagined by foreign exchange students before they arrive in the host country, and are reconstructed as they reorder and reorganize their own identity. Foreign exchange students, not unlike most additional language learners, invest in language practices and in social interaction according to the opportunities afforded to them—as well as the relations of power at play in an encouraging or discouraging environment—and if these meet with their (imagined) expectations. Therefore, investing in language learning may perhaps refer back to the learner's aspired community; one of which he aspires to become a member (NORTON, 2013, p. 3).

As a result, identity is constantly in process of (re)construction, and investment depends upon this process from which language learners draw to engage in different practices whether in the classroom or the wider social world. Learners struggle for legitimacy as they invest in their imagined communities (which they idealize and speculate as a wider possible reality) and those communities with which they indeed become affiliated may affect their learning trajectories and their sense of selves. Carolyn McKinney and Bonny Norton add further considerations to the conception of imagined communities:

> Such communities include future relationships that exist only in the learner's imagination as well as affiliations—such as nationhood or even transnational communities—that extend beyond local sets of relationships. These imagined communities are no less real than the ones in which learners have daily

[49] Italics in original.

> engagement and might even have a stronger impact on their identities and investments. (2011, p. 76; KANNO; NORTON, 2003, p. 242)

Imagined communities may have a greater impact on learner identity and investment precisely because they entail future accomplishments as a result of present engagement. Present relationships to which learners are already affiliated need investment in order to endure time, while imagined relationships to which learners aspire to affiliate need further investment in order to develop.

Imagined communities are not arbitrary or wholly relying on an individual's will and discretionary powers. All communities—imagined or classical—are governed by rules and regulations. This conception is rooted in Vygotsky's (1978, p. 95) claim of a rule-based imagination in which he argues that even a child models his behavior in roleplaying activities.

Similarly, adult imagination is rule-governed and has a powerful influence on language learning and, ultimately, the learner's educational goals (KANNO; NORTON, 2003, p. 244). The idiosyncrasies of social interactions and imagined communities are often in the language learner's imaginary: they foresee identity reconfiguration and invested attitudes as well as the desirable interlocutor(s).

Yet, such imagined communities, desired by language learners, have a connection with both the future and the past. From the perspective of a formal learning environment, a learner's target community may be a somewhat representation of his past communities and historically constituted relationships—hence its anchoring in the past—, and also the imagined account of a future community, a community capable of contributing to a wider spectrum of possibilities in the future, including (re)configurations of his social identity (NORTON, 2013, p. 3-4). Eva, Norton's research participant (2000), yearned to join a professional community in Canada much like the professional community to which she was affiliated in her homeland. Her investment in language learning was the result of the amalgamation of previous and future imagined communities.

Furthermore, "the process of imagining and reimagining one's multiple [past and future] memberships may influence agency, motivation, investment, and resistance in the learning" (PAVLENKO; NORTON, 2007, p. 589). It would be an oversight to investigate additional language learning apart from the core concepts of power relations, learner social identity, investment and motivation, and imagined identity and imagined community. Their

interconnectedness sheds light into a more comprehensive approach to language learning while recognizing a dynamic learner characterized by fluid educational goals and fluctuating investment.

Table 1: diagram of Identity Theory's key concepts

Concept (section)	Core meaning	Keywords
Social identity (3.2.1)	A multiple, dynamic, complex social identity, an identity that mirrors how one recognizes their relationship to the larger social world and rearranges that relationship in the many dimensions of their life; formed and transformed in social interaction	Fluid; multiple; dynamic; complex
Relations of power and language opportunity (3.2.2)	Power relations play a crucial role in learners' access to target language speakers, oftentimes limiting their possibilities of membership in the target language community; learners may restructure their positioning and claim more power to speak in certain social interactions, especially once they acknowledge these forces at play	Power asymmetry; positioning; learner engagement; learner commitment
Investment (3.2.3)	A socially and historically constructed relationship between the learner's target language and their often-fluctuating motivation to engage in its practice; refers to the individual's alternating commitment and engagement in social interactions in the target language; learners may engage in specific social interactions and nor in others	Dynamic; sociological construct; (des)continuing efforts in language learning
Motivation (3.2.3)	Drives investment in language learning; an overarching intent to learn an additional language; learner motivation is not sufficient for the learner to invest in learning the language	Psychological construct; inceptive determination to language learning
Imagined identity (3.2.4)	Constantly in process of (re)construction during the learning process; closely related to the desired membership in an imagined community; the learner must reconstruct his identity to conform to the imagined communities' rules	Unfixed, changeable, reliant on learner aspirations
Imagined community (3.2.4)	Groups of people the learner imagines and hopes to connect as a result of and as motivation to his investment in the target language; investing in language learning may perhaps refer back to the learner's aspired community; one of which the learner aspires to become a member	Extended familiarity; sense of belonging; learner intended membership

Source: Author

In the following chapter (4), we proceed to the current state of Portuguese as an additional language.

4 (BRAZILIAN) PORTUGUESE AS AN ADDITIONAL LANGUAGE

In scientific work on Brazilian Portuguese as an additional language (PAL) we observe a modest response to the specific sudden increase of exchange students across Brazilian universities (VASCONCELOS, 2017). Educators and specialists have especially alerted to the dire consequences of the shortage and deficiency of textbooks and methodologies designed with a particular focus in this group (BAGNO; CARVALHO, 2015; FURTOSO; RIVERA, 2013; SILVEIRA; ROSSI, 2006).

Brazilian Portuguese has the potential of becoming an international language, according to Bagno and Carvalho (2015), but has hitherto failed mostly depending upon appropriate language policy and autonomy—taking issue with the advocates for the unification of the many Portuguese dialects which resulted in the New Portuguese Language Orthographic Agreement of 2009.

These issues are not particularly addressed in our investigation but are recognized as important (underlying) aspects of the language and also might characterize a possible encouragement to Brazilian Portuguese language learners. Most importantly, the rise of international students in Brazilian tertiary institutions and the language's potential for international standing may perhaps draw the research community's attention.

Establishing research scholars (AGUIAR, 2013; AMADO, 2012; BAGNO, CARVALHO, 2015; CARNEIRO, 2019; FURTOSO, RIVERA, 2013; ROTTAVA, 2009; SCARAMUCCI, 2012a, 2012b; VASCONCELOS, 2019, among others), however, have become exceptionally interested in investigating Portuguese as an additional language and the Brazilian context of language learning. Amid the established scholars' scarce publications, dissertations and theses are abundant across the world, reaching the thousands in the last decade. Across fields of study, the majority of researches is carried out under the umbrella field of Applied Linguistics but is not restraint to it.

By reviewing examples of studies that explicitly investigate Portuguese as an additional language, we survey their main characteristics including objectives, focus group, and theoretical framework. Amongst those, we in this study focus on learners' social identity as relevant in investigating PAL, specifically to the Brazilian context. Depending on factors such as cultural identity, native language, prior educational experiences, and overall attitude toward

learning (all ultimately addressed in our analyses), Brazilian PAL educators can expect a myriad of possible outcomes while they plan their lessons.

The overarching goal of this chapter is, considering the aforementioned concerns, to shed light into the studies carried out regarding Portuguese as an additional language and Brazilian Portuguese as an additional language. With such purpose, this chapter is developed in three parts. First, we report on the scientific community's efforts to promote PAL (4.1)—with the establishment of graduate and undergraduate programs, the foundation of associations, and organized conferences around the globe. Next, we address the Portuguese language proficiency tests available both in Brazil and in Portugal, with a greater emphasis on the former (4.2). Finally, we review a larger body of scientific publications including articles, journals, books, theses, and dissertations.[50]

4.1. EFFORTS TO PROMOTE (BRAZILIAN) PORTUGUESE AS AN ADDITIONAL LANGUAGE: COLLEGE PROGRAMS, ASSOCIATIONS, CONFERENCES

In recent years, the number of Portuguese as an additional language programs greatly increased, particularly at higher education level. Brazilian higher education institutions presently offer four undergraduate and other four graduate programs with specific emphasis on Brazilian Portuguese as an additional language, while institutions in Portugal currently offer three graduate programs with Portuguese as an additional language as the area of emphasis. In the United States of America, we could find two Portuguese as an additional language graduate programs (see Table 2 below[51]).

Table 2: Portuguese as an additional language college programs

Program name	Host institution	Country	Created in	Degree level
Letras - Português do Brasil como segunda língua	Universidade de Brasília (UnB)	Brazil	1998	Undergraduate

[50] We deem important to mention again the use of other terms such as foreign and second language in others' works which do not influence on our perception and use of the term additional language, chosen for the purposes of this study and previously discussed in Chapter 1.

[51] We did not intend for this list to be comprehensive of the programs available worldwide, but rather an overview of the various programs found home and abroad.

Formação de Professores de Português para Estrangeiros	Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro (PUC-Rio)	Brazil	1999	Certificate[52]
Português como Língua Estrangeira	Universidade Federal da Bahia (UFBA)	Brazil	2006	Undergraduate
Ensino de Língua Portuguesa como segunda língua	Universidade de Brasília (UnB)	Brazil	2014	Certificate
Licenciatura em Letras - Espanhol e Português como Línguas Estrangeiras	Universidade Federal da Integração Latino-Americana (UNILA)	Brazil	2015	Undergraduate
Licenciatura em Letras - Português como Segunda Língua /Língua Estrangeira	Universidade Estadual de Campinas (UNICAMP)	Brazil	2016	Undergraduate
Língua Portuguesa para Estrangeiros	Universidade Federal Fluminense (UFF)	Brazil	2018	Certificate
Didática do Ensino de Português para Estrangeiros	Faculdade de Filosofia Ciências e Letras Souza Marques (FFCLSM)	Brazil	2019	Certificate
Professores de Português como Língua Estrangeira - Curso de Atualização	Universidade do Porto	Portugal	2006	Certificate
Mestrado em Português Língua Segunda/Língua Estrangeira	Universidade do Porto	Portugal	2008	MA
Mestrado em Português Língua Não Materna - Português Língua Estrangeira e Língua Segunda	Universidade do Minho	Portugal	2016	MA
Minor in Portuguese Language and Luso-Brazilian Studies	University of Washington	US	-	Minor
Luso-Brazilian Literatures	Brigham Young University	US	-	MA

Source[53]: Author

[52] A Certificate corresponds to a *Especialização lato sensu* in Brazil.

[53] This list is the result of research on higher education institutions' websites, in public forums (on journals and associations websites) as well as in posts on Facebook groups related to Portuguese as an additional language (for example, the group *Ensinar português como segunda língua* created by the renowned Applied Linguist Luis Gonçalves and available at <https://www.facebook.com/groups/ensinarple>). Furthermore, the list does not

Associations and institutes contribute to promoting the language in somewhat different manners. Two institutes in particular have put forth a variety of events and courses fostering the language: Instituto Português do Oriente established in Macau (China) and Instituto Camões, a Portuguese institution engaged in the dissemination, promotion and teaching of Portuguese language and culture in 84 countries. Despite their differences in funding and maintenance—the first is a private institute and the latter, a governmental institute—both have made efforts in a commitment to disseminate Portuguese as an additional language internationally by motivating future learners and language teachers. Associations across the globe, on the other hand, have exerted an important role among the community of educators and researchers, promoting teacher education, teaching practices, and the design of teaching aids and resources (see the following Table 3).

Table 3: International associations related to Portuguese as an additional language

Association	Foundation[54]	Country
AATSP – The American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese	1917/1944	US
Sociedade da Língua Portuguesa	1949	Portugal
APP – Association of Teachers of the Portuguese	1977	Portugal
Associação das Universidades de Língua Portuguesa	1986	Cape Verde
SIPLE – Sociedade Internacional de Português Língua Estrangeira	1992	Brazil
DLV – Associação Alemã de Lusitanistas	1993	Germany
AAPP – Asociación Argentina de Profesores de Portugués	1997	Argentina
Centro de Estudios Brasileños	2001	Spain
Instituto Internacional da Língua Portuguesa	2002	
AOTP – American Organization of Teachers of Portuguese	2007	US
BEM – Brasil em Mente	2009	US
TROPO-UK – Association of Teachers and Researchers of Portuguese Language	-	UK
SEEPLU – Sociedad Extremeña de Estudios Portugueses y de la Lusofonía	-	Spain
Associação de Docentes de Português na Galiza	-	Spain
CATPor – Canadian Association of Teachers of Portuguese	-	Canada
CEPE - Canadá: Coordenação do Ensino de Português	-	Canada

include broader programs such as Latin American Studies since we have chosen to highlight those programs specifically interested in the Portuguese language.

[54] The associations marked "–" under the Foundation column do not show the information on their oficial websites.

Source: Author

Sponsoring conferences featuring (Brazilian) Portuguese as an additional language, associations and institutes have strengthened and expanded actions in relation to the Portuguese language both nationally and internationally. Discussions on future practices and ongoing efforts at developing a supportive network of professional exchange are highlighted in these events. As a result, effective collaborations and partnerships are built and academic advances toward learner achievement are exchanged.

The "Educational Goals for 2021" project, first mentioned in the introductory chapter, as an inverse example, inspired the *Fórum Latino-Americano de Educação Superior* to address the issue of internationalization in their annual meeting occurred in 2014 in Foz do Iguaçu. A book published in the following year was the result of fruitful debates over the current state of higher education as well as over the discussions on public policies[55] addressing the future of these institutions—a discussion resumed in section 4.3. In addition, other international conferences and meetings have been organized in and hosted by many countries. Table 4 below lists a (not exhaustive, but for illustrative purposes) number of scientific events.

Table 4: Conferences about Portuguese as an additional language

Conference title	First edition	Country	Host or Sponsor
Congresso Internacional de 2019: Juntos mais fortes: o espanhol e o português	1917-18	US	AATSP
Jornadas da Língua Portuguesa	2005	Moçambique	-
Congresso Internacional da SEEPLU	2009	Spain	SEEPLU
Congresso Alemão de Lusitanistas	2009	Germany	DLV
Simpósio SIPLE	2012	Brazil	SIPLE
Encontro Mundial sobre o Ensino de Português	2012	US	AOTP
Língua Portuguesa em Festa	2013	China (Macau)	IPOR
Encontro de Português para Falantes de Outras Línguas	2014	Brazil	UTFPR
Bilinguismo no Mundo Hispânico e Lusófono	2015	Netherlands	-

[55] A considerable number of public policies have been carried out in the not-so-recent past, including, inexhaustibly: the Brazilian Network of Teaching Abroad (RBEx) formed by the Brazilian Cultural Center (CCB), the Bilateral Cultural Institute (IC) and the Lectorship Program; The Portuguese Language International Institute (IIILP); The Bilingual Intercultural Border School Program (PEIBF); the Border Education Obervatory (OBEDF); and The Latin-American Federal University (UNILA), to name a few.

Português Língua Global	2019	England	TROPO-UK
Seminário de formação contínua para os professores do ensino primário da CPLP	2019	Angola	-

Source: Author

The combination of these efforts is accentuated when coupled with the successful establishment of language proficiency exams. Considered a great initiative to promote the Portuguese language coordinated by the Brazilian Government, we highlight the implementation of Celpe-Bras in the next section.

4.2 PORTUGUESE LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY TESTS

Not unlike Portugal-issued International Certificates (CIPLE-A2, ACESSO-A1, DEPLE-B1, DIPLE-B2, DAPLE-C1, DUPLE-C2), Celpe-Bras is a well-established language proficiency test. First applied in 1998, the number of test takers and test centers has reached its peak in 2016 with over 10,000 applications in four continents over the course of that year (see Table 5 below[56][57]).

Recognizing its significance in the efforts to promote Brazilian Portuguese, a brief history of the test is valid to understand its implications. In 1993, under a decree (Portaria 7/1993), a committee was established to design the exam which was, in the following year, formally instituted by ministerial decree (Portaria 1787/1994).

Table 5: Test applications and test centers

Year	Applications	Test centers in Brazil	Test centers abroad
2019	-	41	66
2018	7442	47	62
2017	9241	28	50
2016	10946	28	50
2015	10343	24	50
2014	9136	23	48

[56] Data collected in February 2019.
[57] Further information can be retrieved from <http://portal.inep.gov.br/web/guest/acoes-internacionais/ celpe-bras>.

2013	9219	23	48
2012	7752	23	48
2011	6861	23	48
2010	5934	23	48
2009	5011	22	46
2008	4865	20	43
2007	4141	19	35
2006	4359	18	36
2005	3926	18	36
2004	3431	18	30
2003	3020	18	25
2002	2920	16	15
2001	2640	14	15
2000	1155	13	15
1999	703	12	10
1998	127	8	-

Sources: ufrgs.br/acervocelpebras; author.

Celpe-Bras is a comprehensive exam that tests all four language skills—namely listening, reading, speaking, and writing—designed to evaluate and rate test takers' proficiency in Portuguese as an additional language. Currently mandatory for most foreign students who apply for educational programs, Celpe-Bras has been subject to scrutiny and redesign (SCHOFFEN et al, 2017; CARVALHO; SCHLATTER, 2011; SIDI, 2002) over these two decades. Interestingly, despite these recasts in the exam design, the procedures to register as a test center and even the test procedures were only formalized in 2013 (Portaria 334/2013).

Developed by the Ministry of Education, Celpe-Bras is the only Brazilian certificate of Portuguese proficiency officially recognized by the government. The exam is applied in Brazil and in other countries with the support of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and it is conferred on four levels: intermediate, upper intermediate, advanced, and upper advanced. Internationally, Celpe-Bras is accepted in companies, organizations, and educational institutions as proof of competence in the Portuguese language, and, in Brazil, it is required by universities for admission to undergraduate courses and postgraduate programs.

Worth mentioning is the recent development of the exam's comprehensive database, the Collection of Exams and Public Documents of the Celpe-Bras Exam (*Acervo de Provas e Documentos Públicos do Exame Celpe-Bras*[58], in Portuguese). According to Schoffen et al. (2017), all involved in the research that resulted in the database, it includes all public documents (ministerial decrees and other official documents) and the majority of past exams.

[58] Available at <http://www.ufrgs.br/acervocelpebras/acervo>.

4.3 SCIENTIFIC PUBLICATIONS: FROM THESES AND DISSERTATIONS TO ARTICLES AND BOOKS

We have previously stated the limited number of publications by established scholars, surpassed greatly by those establishing scholars demonstrated, especially, by masters' theses and doctoral dissertations both nationally and internationally. However timid, the increase in interest is unquestioned and is surveyed and briefly reviewed in the next subsections dedicated, respectively, to theses and dissertations (4.3.1), academic journals (4.3.2), and articles and books (4.3.3).

4.3.1 Theses and Dissertations

In this section, we consider a number of theses and dissertations investigating Portuguese as an additional language. They are product of research studies held in various institutions, including those listed in Table 2 above, in which we list undergraduate and graduate programs pointedly devoted to Portuguese as an additional language teaching/learning. As aforementioned, studies in the area exceed the limits of these fields and are encouraged in Programs as overarching as Linguistics. In fact, a greater number of theses and dissertations originate from (Applied) Linguistics and from Languages (also called Letters in Brazil) Programs—mostly due to their greater number.

Evidence to this statement, by searching for the keywords *Portuguese*, *additional*, *language*, and *identity* (in Portuguese) the search engine resulted in 66,839 files on the Brazilian Ministry of Education database of theses and dissertations[59] (with the field of *Linguistics, Letters, and Arts* filter selected) and 1,602 on the OpenThesis repository database[60]. Universidade do Porto's Masters Program in PAL alone, for instance, has been the birthplace of more than 130 theses over the span of a decade.

Different researchers, drawing on diverse sources and using a variety of methodologies, have brought diverse perspectives to Portuguese as an additional language studies. In order to avoid a random sample of theses and dissertations, we have selected the first documents that

[59] MEC's database can be accessed in <https://catalogodeteses.capes.gov.br>.
[60] Openthesis.org is a free repository of theses and dissertations.

matched our research interests. That is, we have scanned for the first 50 research documents investigating PAL and (in some degree) student identity—resulting in 26 Masters' theses and 24 Doctoral dissertations.

The selected theses (listed in Table 6 below[61]) originated in ten different institutions and, drawing from distinct theoretical assumptions, were categorized according to their main interest and divided into: distance learning (3), exam (3), teaching materials (4), method (3), production (3), research (1), task (6), and teacher education (2).

Table 6: Sample of Masters' theses investigating PAL

Author	Year	Topic	Institution
OHLWEILER	2006	task	UFRGS
SANTOS	2007	exam	UFRGS
YAN	2008	method	UFRGS
GOMES	2009	exam	UFRGS
LI	2009	production	UFRGS
ANDRIGHETTI	2009	task	UFRGS
KRAEMER	2012	distance learning	UFRGS
CARILO	2012	method	UFRGS
MITTELSTADT	2013	material	UFRGS
SANTOS	2013	task	UESC
MENDES	2014	production	UnB
CABABE	2014	teacher education	PUC-SP
GONZALEZ	2015	distance learning	UFRGS
COELHO	2015	teacher education	CEFET-MG
FERNANDES	2016	exam	UnB
PIMENTEL	2016	material	PUC-RS
FRANKEN	2016	method	CEFET-MG
GOIS	2016	production	UFS
CONCEIÇÃO	2016	research	UFRGS
MOREIRA	2016	task	UFAL
DORIGON	2016	task	UFRGS
ARAÚJO	2017	distance learning	UnB
DUARTE	2017	material	UFMG
RUIZ	2017	material	UFG
FEITOSA	2017	task	UFS

Source: Author

[61] One of the first master's thesis in Brazil is by Rottava in 1995 at UFRGS, entitled "O uso de estratégias de comunicação em Português como L2".

The investigations of Carilo (2012), Gonzalez (2015), and Araújo (2017), all focus on distance learning environments. Gonzalez (2015) and Carilo (2012) collected data from foreign students enrolled in the Spanish/Portuguese Course for Exchange Students (CEPI)[62] while Araújo (2017) collected data from a learning website[63]. Araújo (2017) analyzed the material design available on the website in comparison to print materials focusing on the multimodal aspects of the proposed tasks. Gonzalez (2015) researched the effect tasks had on the participants and how those encouraged participants to engage in a learning community. Carilo (2012) focused on reading and writing tasks that contribute to practice real-life situation activities. These three theses highlight the learners' need for a sense of relevancy in their learning activities, somehow aiding their own identity formation as PAL learners.

Computer-mediated Portuguese language courses[64] such as those investigated by Carilo (2012), Gonzalez (2015), and Araújo (2017) are often informed by Celpe-Bras. This is chiefly since Celpe-Bras is generally a requirement in (commercial, cultural, and scientific) exchange programs and due to its comprehensive design to address natural contexts. The proficiency exam also inspired studies on its specificities: Gomes (2009) examined its reading and writing tasks' complexities according to test takers' performances and Dorigon (2016) studied the exam's potential as a language policy instrument with an agenda that surpasses that of the educational one, having effects on commercial, social, political, ideological and cultural agendas. Santos (2007), however, does not analyze Celpe-Bras *per se* but experiments on the validity of a unique placement exam to assess learner proficiency.

Gomes (2009) concluded that his investigated test takers' performance was heavily reliant on the interaction itself, congruent with a social perspective of language development. Dorigon (2016) studied actions that have a direct effect on language learners and, consequently, affect their social identity. Santos (2007), on the other hand, focused on its evaluation and technical aspects of the test, considering little of the subjectivity of test takers.

Celpe-Bras also informs teaching material design, may that be textbooks or specific tasks. Studies' aims range from an interest in multimodality in textbook design (DUARTE[65], 2017), to how intercultural aspects are approached in textbook tasks (RUIZ, 2017). Others focused on

[62] CEPI was created in partnership between UFRGS and Argentina's Ministry of Education, Science, and Technology in 2006. More information can be retrieved from <https://www.ufrgs.br/cepi/sobre-o-cepi/>.
[63] The online platform loecsen.com is a free online language course that offers courses in 41 different languages.
[64] See also MELO-PFEIFER, ARAÚJO and GROSSO (2013).
[65] Duarte (2017) considered both Portuguese as an additional language and Portuguese as mother tongue textbooks, unlike the other three mentioned studies (RUIZ, 2017; CONCEIÇÃO, 2016; MITTELSTADT, 2013) which considered PAL exclusively.

guiding principles to PAL oral teaching materials (CONCEIÇÃO, 2016) while others concentrated on material design for advanced-level students (MITTELSTADT, 2013). A common concern in these studies was for students' identity aspects, a central motivity for teaching material design.

Task design was also considered in this respect: produced to foster learner development. Amongst our sample, there were researchers interested in more generic types of tasks, such as listening comprehension (ANDRIGHETTI, 2009) and lexicon activities (FRANKEN, 2016). Other researchers, on the other hand, selected specific tasks to examine: Ohlweiler (2006) suggested a newspaper design project to promote students' language development and investment; Santos (2013) invested on teaching PAL with the use of cover headlines from the monthly magazine *Língua Portuguesa*; Gois (2016) focused on advertisements; and Feitosa (2017) proposed the use of Brazilian carnival songs (*marchinhas*) to teach phraseology in PAL classrooms.

Learner production and teaching methods are also subject to establishing scholars' interest. The interconnectedness of social activity and language development, for instance, was the objective of Cababe's (2014) research while interlanguage and literacy drove Fernandes' (2016) study. Li (2009) investigated Chinese students, focusing on their language use in tasks modeled after Celpe-Bras.

Yan (2008), also interested in Chinese students of Portuguese as an additional language, investigated a genre-based learning in order to create opportunities for student involvement in different social practices. Moreira (2016) examined a course he designed aimed at developing learner language through a language as social practice perspective. Kraemer (2012) questioned curriculum progression according to students' traits and needs.

In our sample theses, we also found a researcher who modeled a proposal for transcribing oral interaction in the PAL classroom. Two other scholars engaged in PAL teacher education (MENDES, 2014; COELHO, 2015), questioning student teachers' identity formation and the educator's role

The selected doctoral dissertations (Table 7 below) not only contemplate researches carried out in Brazil, but also include European and North American samples. The myriad of research interest, however, hinders any form of categorizations such as with the theses above.

Table 7: Sample of Doctoral dissertations investigating PAL

Author	Year	Institution
KIM	2005	UFRGS
XAVIER	2006	UNICAMP
FORTES	2009	UFRGS
FERRAZ	2011	UnB
IVERSON	2012	University of Iowa - US
BIANCONI	2012	Lesley University - US
SANTOS	2013	University of Illinois - US
VASILIEV	2013	University of California – Los Angeles - US
BULLA	2014	UFRGS
SOUZA	2014	UFRGS
ALLEGRO	2014	PUC-SP
FERNANDES	2015	UnB
TAKAHASHI	2015	USP
SIDI	2015	UFRGS
SILVA	2015	Mackenzie
SOUZA	2016	UFG
BARRETO	2016	UNESP
CARDOSO	2016	UFC
FANGFANG	2017	UFRGS
CARILO	2017	University of Edinburgh - UK
GONDIM	2017	UFC
OLIVEIRA	2017	USP
LOBO	2017	USP

Source: Author

Computer-mediated learning of Portuguese as an additional language was the focus of two researchers, Bulla (2014) and Sidi (2015), who investigated the CEPI Program from a sociocultural perspective and a situated learning perspective, respectively. Celpe-Bras was also the object of two of the studies in our sample; Fortes (2009) investigated the oral section of the exam while Barreto (2016) focused on the written tasks. Acquisition of grammatical categories motivated the studies carried out by Xavier (2006)—who studied the acquisition of the null subject in Brazilian Portuguese—and Kim (2005)—who studies the definite article acquisition by Korean students.

Phonology was the baseline of three doctoral dissertations: Vasiliev (2013) compared language learner perception of two different vowels in Spanish and in Portuguese; Fernandes (2015) reflected upon the learning of Brazilian Portuguese by Francophone Africans; and Allegro (2014) analyzed pronunciation approached in five PAL textbooks from Brazilian and Argentinean publishers.

Teaching materials also inspired the works of Lobo (2017) and Ferraz (2011). Lobo (2017) explored the adopted textbook for the PAL course designed for the More Medical Doctors for Brazil Program (*Programa Mais Médicos*) offered in Brazil and in Cuba for prospective foreign medical doctors. Ferraz (2011), on the other hand, studied multimodal teaching materials (CD-ROM and websites) considered capable of stimulating a real inclusion of students in various social practices.

Iverson (2012) and Santos (2013) observed PAL learners' learning process, concerned with language attrition and cross-linguistic influence, respectively. A narrower objective motivated the investments of Takahashi (2015), Cardoso (2016), and Fangfang (2017). Takahashi (2015) analyzed literary reading as a method of developing students' reading skills; Cardoso (2016) was occupied with lexical knowledge as evidenced in learners' written productions; while Fangfang (2017) concentrated on the rewriting process of a group of Chinese students undertaking a PAL course in China.

The remaining sample doctoral dissertations are the most diverse in their aims. Studying the use of songs in teaching PAL, Souza (2014) focused on literomusical literacy to language development by including songs' lyrics and music to language tasks. In a United Statesian context, Silva (2015) studied the contributions of the integration of culture and language to PAL learners' development in US undergraduate courses. Bianconi (2012) researched students' motivation to study Portuguese as an additional language in the United States. Adopting a more complex theoretical background, Souza (2016) investigated the language concept of participants in a PAL classroom according to, amongst others, Chomskyan and Bakhtinian theories.

As mentioned earlier the Introduction chapter, PEC-G is a program has been known as a significant promoter of the Brazilian language for half a century. Exchange students to Brazil awarded the scholarship usually undertake a PAL course which sparked the interest of Carilo (2017), who investigated curriculum development and curriculum enactment and their suitability to these scholars' context. The Lectureship Program (*Programa de Leitorado*) awarded by CAPES motivated Oliveira's (2017) dissertation intended to recognize specific

developments in PAL teacher training according to former lecturers' reports. Gondim (2017) too investigated teacher education through an action research realized in Rosario, Argentina.

This sample of Masters' theses (see Table 6) and Doctoral dissertations (see Table 7) was intended to illustrate the different scientific studies interested in Portuguese as an additional language and to further demonstrate the validity of our research—to the extent that it additionally justifies our investigation. We continue in the next sections to review of (established and novel) specialized journals and to explore some of the work published by established authors (through articles and books).

4.3.2 Academic Journals

Published research articles are undeniably a considerable source of novel research findings and a major activity for academics (BUCHOLTZ, 2010). The most reliant means of research publication are peer-reviewed journals. To address such source of knowledge exchange, we first engage in reviewing a few of those relevant to our investigation. Whereas all of the following journals are framed with reference to the Portuguese language, many of them, implicitly or explicitly, address the larger question of language learning and learner characteristics.

A traditional publication, the *Revista Internacional em Língua Portuguesa* emerged from the desire of an exchange between Portuguese-speaking locales across the Americas, Europe, and Africa. Founded by the Association of Portuguese Language Universities (AULP) in 1989, the biannual journal's interest lies on the discussions regarding the different cultures that shape (and are shaped by) the Portuguese language.

Concentrated on articles addressing Portuguese language teaching and learning, the double-blind refereed journal is a collaboration between the American Organization of Teachers of Portuguese (AOTP), the Center For Latin American Studies at the University of Florida, the Latin American and Iberian Institute at the University of New Mexico, and the Latin American and Caribbean Center at Florida International University.

Another publication, formerly interested in work on teaching and learning English as an additional language, the Brazilian English Language Teaching Journal has included those works interested in Portuguese as an additional language to its scope, accompanying the

growing interest in the field. Similar in scope, Platô, developed by the International Institute of Portuguese Language (IILP) and primarily invested in publishing the resulting discussions planned by the *Plano de Ação de Brasília para a Promoção, Difusão e Projeção da Língua Portuguesa*, is a biannual publication exclusively interested in the Portuguese language—whether addressed as a first or an additional language.

The Journal of Portuguese Linguistics is a Portugal-based publication concerned with the wider spectrum of scientific investigations in the field. Launching two issues a year, the journal invites work that reflects the variety of Portuguese topics and aspects. Another Portuguese-born publication is *Palavras – revista em linha*. Organized by the Association of Teachers of the Portuguese Language (APP, for its Portuguese acronym), the journal welcomes work on pedagogy, didactics, linguistics and literature.

Table 8: Journals focused on Portuguese Language

Journal	First issue
Revista Internacional em Língua Portuguesa	1989
Portuguese Language Journal	2006
Brazilian English Language Teaching Journal	2010
Platô	2012
Journal of Portuguese Linguistics	2016
Palavras - revista em linha	2018

Source[66]: Author

These journals are exceptional means for promoting the Portuguese language internationally and for engaging academics in discussions that prove to motivate further studies in the field. However, from a sample investigation on the available scientific articles, we observed the research literature on immigrants (and more specifically exchange students) learning Portuguese as an additional language in Brazil is not substantial. Therefore, in the

[66] This list is, consonant to the efforts in retrieving the list of higher educational programs interested in Portuguese (Table 2), the result of research on higher education institutions' websites, in public forums (on the journals and associations websites) as well as in posts on Facebook groups related to Portuguese as an additional language. Furthermore, the list does not include the number of articles published by each of the mentioned journals, as the information was unavailable in most host sites (thus, we have chosen not to include this information on merely some of the listed journals).

following brief review of recent research, we hope to illustrate the various aspects of PAL learning that have been described and linked to learning outcomes.

When compared to only a couple of decades ago, there is now a wealth of research that explores PAL, testament to the fact that there is a greater interest in taking action to promoting the language through exchange programs—inbound and outbound—and the earlier mentioned economic and commercial arrangements. The new wave of university internationalization documented in tertiary institutions across the globe (TINSLEY; BOARD, 2014) observes the increased global commerce and cultural network, thus contributing as a motive force in the study and promotion of less commonly taught languages such as Brazilian Portuguese (FURTOSO; RIVERA, 2013).

The remainder of this review will focus specifically on article and book publications. The next section will attend to recent research findings on the underlying issues of Portuguese as an additional language learning.

4.3.2 Articles and Books

The growing (albeit timid) investigations of PAL suggest multiple objects of interest and a background of different perspectives. Our sample of articles and books surveyed in this section attempts to illustrate the richness of present studies in the field. Most of the works reviewed here are published by established scholars, especially since we have intended to represent establishing academics in the theses and dissertations section above (4.3.1).

Significant research has been carried out towards trying to understand the role of learner motivation and characteristics in language acquisition (see a discussion in chapter 3). One notable example investigated the influence of learners' emotional states in learning Portuguese as an additional language. From a student's affective responses to classroom foreign language learning, Garrett and Young (2009) explored the implications for the role played by emotion in the learner's learning and the development of sociocultural competence in an additional language.

However, recognizing the limited scope of their research, the authors highlight their investigative results: the participant (also the first author) felt influenced both by an immediate community—that of her learning environment—and by a distant community—the Brazilian

culture. The experience of learning PAL, for the participant, far extended that of learning language structure and held heavily in her investment in culture knowledge. She revealed a greater learning experience in cultural instruction lessons, lessons she reportedly felt excitement in learning and practicing the language.

Another research report which recently examined participant's narratives is that of Vasconcelos (2017). Unlike Garrett and Young (2009), however, Vasconcelos (2017) examined PAL educators' perspective on their profession. The interviewed demonstrated an urge to carve tenacity in their profession so they could face the foreigner as a less intimidating subject—a concept the author perceived as prevalent in their narratives: that of a national inferiority especially to the English-speaking audience. This self-perception has the conceptual effect of perpetually casting PAL educators in a discouraging whirlpool, the author concluded.

The recent increase in learners interested in Portuguese as an additional language should further motivate educators to reconfigure their self-perception and eventually acknowledge the significant role they play in promoting the language. This increase has been reported in different stances, from foreign students attending classes in Brazilian regular schools, to the teaching of Portuguese to indigenous peoples, to also the teaching of Portuguese as heritage language.

Although much of the research found in PAL addressed the foreign language classroom context, applied linguists Andrade and Santos (2006) analyzed foreign students attending regular public schools in Brazil's Federal District. According to the authors, the newly enrolled students were not proficient in Portuguese and struggled to understand the lessons. The issue is direr as the authors distinguished between two distinct teaching approaches in a single classroom since educators were charged with the double task of teaching the subject matter (may that be mathematics or geography, for instance) and attending to the language deficiency of the foreign students.

From a communicative approach, Amado (2012) examines PAL teaching to indigenous peoples in Brazil—a practice as old as Jesuits teaching the language to Native Americans. Investigating the acquisition of interlinguistic aspects of Portuguese learning, Amado (2012) argues for the relevance of adopting pluri and intercultural perspectives in PAL teaching to account for a more comprehensive understanding of the target language. Such an effort would also ensure learners reflect on their learning development and their own language and culture, appropriating the different language aspects that go beyond its linguistic features.

A more recent topic attracting academics' interest is that of Portuguese as heritage language. Coughlan's (1995) transports the reader out of classrooms and educational institutions into the domestic sphere of the home. The research is based on the longitudinal study of a young child that sought to investigate the relationship between the participants' linguistic behavior and the larger social world. Drawing from a sociocultural perspective, Coughlan's (1995) study of a potentially bilingual child favors the concept of language fossilization.

The participant in the study, Portuguese-born, moved to the United States at a very early age (at 5 months) and would only have contact with Portuguese in routine activities concentrated predominantly in the household and in the somewhat regular phone calls with his Portuguese grandmother. Among the author's findings are that change in interactions in the target language caused the participant's second language to fossilize before being fully developed. He concludes inviting further research focused on heritage language development in potentially bilingual children in various socioculturally relevant activities to better understand the underlying source(s) of successful language learning.

There has been a long-standing debate on how to improve additional language development. Given the influence of prior learning in the acquisition of a new language, there continues to be strong interest in understanding how third languages are acquired. In a United Statesian context, Child (2013) examined the role of Spanish in Portuguese Acquisition as a third language (L3). He sought to better understand the composition of bilingual students enrolled in a beginning Portuguese for Spanish-speakers course and their insight on language transfer.

Reflecting upon students' perception, Child (2013) concluded that a balanced program designed to build metalinguistic awareness is essential especially because of the different reports from English-Spanish (L1-L2) bilinguals and Spanish-English (L1-L2) bilinguals. The first group reported Spanish to benefit their learning development in terms of grammatical units, while the second reported a more advantage in listening comprehension activities.

Yet, language transfer is not the sole interest in third language investigations. Rottava (2009) takes the reader to the United Kingdom, a region in which Portuguese language learning has recently risen by an astounding 50% since 2013[67]. Her research on how L3 Portuguese

[67] See the news article by Branwen Jeffreys available at <https://www.bbc.com/news/education-47334374>. Accessed: Apr 24, 2019.

learners co-construct meaning in interaction provides a window on the effervescent studies taking interest in Portuguese as an additional language and the concomitant effects on language learners' identities. The author, searching for the learner's "voices" in interaction, concluded on a positive account of meaning exchange; her research participants demonstrated a concern in comparing their perspective to that of others and in the use of different strategies to engage in meaningful communication. To understand students' learning strategies is to understand their learner identities, an issue relevant to account for in teaching material development and in curriculum design.

As previously mentioned, the study of PAL has brought attention to the importance of developing more authentic and updated teaching materials. A survey of recent research held by Furtoso and Rivera (2013) revealed that teaching materials continue to be overlooked and neglected. According to the authors, the available teaching materials have changed little over the past years and require a redesign contemplating new technologies and innovative communication means. Their interest focused specifically in the United Statesian context—as the authors intended to survey papers published focusing on the history, development and perspectives for the teaching of Portuguese in universities in the United States—, but shed light into the global context of Portuguese as an additional language, nonetheless.

Due to the already mentioned concern for reliable (and updated) available teaching materials—and in unison with Furtoso and Rivera's (2013) conclusions—, our sample observed the issue as a common interest in four other articles. Addressed from different perspectives and focusing on various aspects of material design, these studies contribute to better inform teachers' decisions, for instance.

Silveira and Rossi (2006) explored the teaching of pronunciation in available PAL textbooks. Eight textbooks were analyzed according to their methodology and the included phonetic and phonological aspects. Advocates of the communicative approach, the authors stress the scarcity of teaching materials that values pronunciation, given its significance in additional language learning. Silveira and Rossi's (2006) central insight is that textbook methodology is not only fundamentally deficient; it comprises a deficit in teacher education and, consequently, learner (dis)investment. According to them, an oblivious teaching material coupled with an unprepared instructor is the recipe for student disengagement in learning pronunciation.

A welcome addition to this debate is the contribution of Matos' (2007) investigations about the manifested and/or underlying influence of Linguistics in various textbooks for the

teaching of PAL. He thoroughly inspected the adopted methodologies throughout the analyzed textbooks, especially in the design of the different activities across units—including students' and teacher's editions—and in the foreword to students and teachers. His analysis was carried out following a checklist—constructed by the author to frame a critical appreciation of the target textbooks—and eventual e-mail exchange with the authors to refer to the analyst's questions.

In addition to investigating PAL textbooks, another promising research context is to examine other sources of teaching materials. The Portal of the Teacher of Portuguese as a Foreign Language/Non-Mother Tongue (PPPLE, abbreviation from *Portal do Professor de Português Língua Estrangeira/Língua Não Materna*) is an open-access educational resource for PAL teachers. The online platform, accessed more than 600,000 times from 2010 to 2019 according to the site's counter, has been capturing scientific consideration. According to Reis (2016), the available resources at PPPLE fill the gap left by textbooks since they account for linguistic and cultural differences, recognizing the pluricentric aspect of the Portuguese language.

Also addressing the shortage of authentic teaching materials, Sellan (2018) proposes external guided classes as an alternative activity concerned with a more communicative and intercultural approach. Researching foreign students to PAL in a course offered by PUC-SP, the author reports on a guided tour to the Soccer Museum in which the activities involved many aspects of language learning, focusing especially in culturally relevant features of the language—a perspective in agreement with to that of Celpe-Bras.

De facto, the most recent studies examining PAL learning have acknowledged the influence of Celpe-Bras in teaching methods and course curriculum (SCARAMUCCI, 2012a), as stated earlier in this chapter. However, decreasing in numbers of test-takers since its pinnacle in 2016 (refer back to Table 5), the proficiency exam has contributed to raise the academy's attention. The exam has been inspected and minutely studied by several investigators—see a compendious list in Schoffen et al. (2017)—and one of the less commonly examined aspects is the exam's influence in teacher training.

The work of Scaramucci (2012b) problematizes the often-overlooked relationship between test results and instructors' proficiency—understanding test results as a measure of teaching and learning effectiveness. Preparing for the exam presupposes a compatible and consistent teaching approach as well as for the instructor's proficiency in the language. Instructor's proficiency, the author argues, has a direct influence on students' performance in

the exam. She moves further to claim that instructors' beliefs and educational background are also responsible for the success or failure of the exam.

Most of these researchers address a recurrent theme in PAL: that of the scarcity of language policies that pointedly address Portuguese as an additional language teaching and promotion. A review of the related research suggests that, albeit the celebrated accomplishments, further efforts need be made. In this regard, Carvalho (2012), Carvalho and Schlater (2011), and Schoffen and Martins (2016) have investigated the issue from different perspectives.

Carvalho (2012) explored the relationship between language policies and the constructs of value and of linguistic market built upon the concept of New Economy. In her article, Carvalho (2012) argued that public policies put forth in Brazil and abroad have been harmonious with the current global shifts in terms of new economy paradigms—which demand a greater attention to the globalized world (with an emphasis in mass communication, cultural exchange, and international commerce) and, therefore, to language learning.

Reviewing recent actions that promote Brazilian Portuguese especially in Latin America, the author recognizes a growing appreciation for cultural exchange across borders. Claiming for pertinent language policies, Carvalho distinguishes their actions as pertinent to a moment in history market by the inevitable (re)configuration of social, political, and cultural identity of individuals.

A comprehensive account of language policies is addressed in the article by Carvalho and Schlater (2011), who acknowledge the expansion of Brazilian Portuguese in the linguistic market. While they observe the accomplishments witnessed over the past decades and echo the establishment of Celpe-Bras as a milestone in language policies in Brazil, Carvalho and Schlater (2011) reiterates the importance of further actions.

Despite the recent successful efforts in language promotion, the lack of Brazilian official documents addressing PAL teaching, much like those found in Portugal, hinders advancements in curriculum design, teaching material production, and coordinated teacher education programs in the country. In their study, Schoffen and Martins (2016) traced the available official documents in Brazil and in Portugal and analyzed the possibility of a dialogue between them, including that of future alliances and binational agreements. The authors identified a discrepancy in PAL teaching from Portuguese and Brazilian perspectives, appealing for immediate national parameters capable of defining the many aspects of Portuguese as an

additional language learning such as teacher training programs, curriculum design, and teaching material development.

In addition to a growing interest in the development of public policies regarding the learning/teaching of Portuguese as an additional language, one recent research on PAL has argued for the shortage of *corpora* in Portuguese language—extensive in English as an additional language and yet a prevailing issue in less commonly taught languages studies. Antunes et al. (2016) present a new *corpus* of Portuguese as an additional language in their article—the Portuguese as a Foreign/Second Language Corpus (or COPLE2, the abbreviation of *Corpus de Português Língua Estrangeira/Língua Segunda*).

The referred *corpus* is, according to the authors and data compilers, composed of spoken and written data produced by foreign learners of Portuguese at the University of Lisbon. The 483 students had whether attended classes of PAL—in annual or in summer courses—or taken the language proficiency exam. The data was collected between the years of 2010 and 2014 and the students presented diverse background information—ranging from 18 to 40 years of age, with 14 different mother tongues, and various academic experiences. The *corpus* is being built to serve as data to future research that may explore a myriad of investigations.

A somewhat timid number of investigations selected in this sample of recent works, three articles attend to noteworthy grammatical aspects of PAL learning. Gonçalves et al (2015) studied Spanish- and Guarani-speaking school children's acquisition of the subject-verb and verb-subject sentence structures when learning PAL. From a sociofunctionalist perspective, the investigators realized a longitudinal study of six children (from the ages of 6 to 8 years) studying in a Brazilian regular school located on the border of Brazil and Paraguay. Their research hypotheses were partially supported—pointing to a correlation between the learners' first and additional language in terms of their sentence structure, enabling their language development.

A very different outcome emerged from Huback's (2011) case study on the acquisition of the different verbs 'to be' in Portuguese—namely *ser* and *estar*. Contrary to the methodology adopted by teaching materials, the author found, the traditional distinction traced between the two verbs (in characterizing them as permanent and temporary, respectively) do not encompass all instances of concrete use of these verbs. Grounded on Cognitive Linguistics, Huback applied a structured quiz to 18 Brazilian Portuguese native speakers and 18 PAL learners (United Statesians) and concluded that the definitions found in teaching materials are oversimplified and do not correspond to real language use, misleading PAL learners.

In another comparative study, Perna and Sun (2011) analyzed the use of hedges among Brazilian speakers of Portuguese and Chinese learners of PAL. Using Corpus Linguistic to guide their analysis of oral occurrences, the authors concluded that the Chinese students were able to express themselves quite clearly, but in a much straightforward fashion, due to their lesser use of hedges when compared to Brazilians occurrences.

Researching Haitian exchange students studying in a public higher education institution in Brazil, Carneiro (2019) analyzed the participants development in language production. The author observed and proposed a course in text production in Portuguese to eighteen students (sixteen awarded scholarship from Programa Pró-Haiti[68] e other two from PEC-G[69]) Underlying his main purpose, Carneiro (2019) invested in shedding light into the multiple ways the foreign students engaged and resist institutionalized conventions (such as pre-conceptions of Haitians in Brazil, their social-cultural status, and the political implications of their coming to the country) while learning in Portuguese for personal purposes (chiefly their college degree).

Amongst the found studies, we surveyed books composed of chapters written by multiple scholars that engage in discussing different issues from different perspectives of Portuguese as an additional language. Gil and Amado's (2012) edited book addresses various aspects of PAL learning—including phonology, culture, Portuguese for Specific Purposes, PAL teacher education abroad, literature in the PAL classroom, among others. Gonçalves (2016) edited a book composed of 72 chapters, delivering a much comprehensive account of recent scientific efforts toward PAL including the use of authentic teaching materials as well as the role of technology in PAL.

Contemplating specific issues pertaining to Portuguese as additional language learning and teaching, Vasconcelos (2019) edited a book aimed at considering pedagogical practices and teaching materials while Simões, Carvalho and Wiedemann (2004) were editors of a book examining the teaching of PAL to Spanish-speakers.

These studies have been selected for their particular relevance to questions of Portuguese as additional language learning from research of various focus and methodology, including case

[68] According to CAPES, the program was designed to "contribute to the reconstruction of Haiti by supporting the training of human resources at the graduate-sandwich level" a program initiated following the 2010 earthquake that struck Haiti with a 7.0 magnitude. In the original: "Contribuir para a reconstrução do Haiti por meio de apoio à formação de recursos humanos em nível de graduação-sanduíche" See more information at <http://www.uab.capes.gov.br/bolsas-e-auxilios-internacionais/pais/206-haiti/9611-programa-emergencial-pro-haiti>.

[69] See section 1.1.

studies of individual learners, documental research on language policies, and research on the teaching material design.

A portion of these works describe accounts of educators' experience as Portuguese as an Additional Language instructors teaching culturally diverse student populations while another portion of these works describe the experiences of students who have taken such classes. To our knowledge, among the various publications on PAL, little has been written on the constraints facing the Brazilian graduate classroom. Consequently, there is a tacit, yet prevalent tension between exchange students and their professors/advisors about pertinent learning practices and the practical limitations under which many PAL courses are conducted (including instances of power struggles).

Furthermore, all of these aspects conceive the additional language-learning microcosm by adult immigrant learners we aimed at observing in this study. Complementary to Vygotsky's (1986) perspective, we understand learning an additional language is putting words into play in order to solve an eminent problem. As such, the learner language development and the learner identity reconstruction are engaged and interconnected—he learns and uses language to invest in social interactions and possibly achieve his goals.

Having concluded the theoretical chapters of our investigation, we move forward to addressing the adopted method for data collection and analysis in the following chapter.

5. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

5.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

This chapter provides the detailed description of the methodological procedures adopted in the present study, starting from its overarching design and main methodological characteristics and followed by its specificities (sections 5.2 to 5.6). In a nutshell, this study is chiefly tailored to determine the relationship between learners' (re)construction of social identity while learning Brazilian Portuguese as an additional language. Hence, this research's design follows a developmental method[70] (WERNER, 1956; VYGOTSKY, 1978) and an identity approach (NORTON, 2013; 2000; 1997) to a case study under a prestructured qualitative paradigm (FLICK, 2018).

Given the nature of this research, our guiding research questions were addressed by way of a case study design. Miles et al. (1994), in their *magnum opus*, described a case study as "a phenomenon of some sort occurring in a bounded context" (p. 25). Merriam (2001) defined the case study as "a thing, a single entity, a unit around which there are boundaries" (p. 27), which "plays an important role in advancing a field's knowledge base" (p. 41). Therefore, a case study is the most appropriate design for this investigation since it is particularistic, descriptive, and heuristic (GAY, MILLS & AIRASIAN, 2014). It is particularistic in its pursuit of the particulars of students' language development and (re)construction of their social identity; descriptive for it aims at providing detailed accounts of these phenomena; and heuristic since it is this researcher's intention to shed light and instigate discussions over the phenomenon here addressed.

Furthermore, and in reference to Miles et al's (1994) and Merriam's (2001) definitions of a case study: (a) the unit of study is a group of four foreign graduate students at a public university in Southern Brazil; and as such, there are naturally defined boundaries around this "single entity;" (b) the focus in this research is on the process students follow to the (re)construction of their social identity while learning PAL; and (c) there is a need to contribute to the teaching and learning of Brazilian Portuguese, particularly to inform educators on characteristics of prospect learners which should positively influence their teaching practice.

[70] Also called microgenetic approach by some researchers (see SHVARTS & ABRAHAMSON, 2019).

Additionally, we adopt a developmental method (WERNER, 1956; VYGOTSKY, 1978), in order to trace our participants' language development and an identity approach to determine the participants' (multiple and changing) social identity (re)construction. The choice for a developmental method to language development is appropriate for it examines change as it occurs, (agreeing with our decision of) shadowing the same participants while assessing and computing their development over a time span. This method of research analysis is found in Heinz Werner's work (1956), one of the leading developmental psychologists of the 20th century, and further advanced by Vygotsky in his studies (1978). Overall, a developmental method[71] analyses

> "a process undergoing changes right before one's eyes. The development in question can be limited to only a few seconds, or even fractions of seconds (as is the case in normal perception). It can also (as in the case of complex mental processes) last many days and even weeks." (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 61)

The developmental method does not equal a longitudinal design. Both assess their participants multiple times during research, but the first repeats its measurements within a shorter period between events, unlike longitudinal studies. The continual of measurement events is thus significant, specifically to identify participants' moment in history. As Lantolf and Thorne define:

> The issue of history (culture-in-the-present), then, is important since practices and tools (for example, human language) grow and transform over time and subsequently inherit the historical residua of their developmental trajectories. Quite literally at the same time, people exhibit agency and creativity as they adapt to, reproduce, and transform their symbolic and material environments. (2015, p. 229)

Moreover, and taking into account the established guiding questions and theoretical commitments, this investigation is developed under a prestructured[72] qualitative paradigm combining qualitative and quasi-statistics methods. A qualitative design, of an exploratory and

[71] This method has been widely used in social studies. See for example those of SHVARTS and ABRAHAMSON (2019), BROCK and TABER (2017), and RANJBAR and GHONSOOLY (2017).
[72] We use the term proposed by Maxwell (2008) to account for subsequent revisions; to which we return in section 5.4 below.

empirical approach, provides complex descriptions of social phenomena; it is primarily concerned with participants' perspective of certain everyday life events and researchers are charged with the responsibility to gain a holistic overview of the investigation's object of study (MILES et al., 1994).

Maxwell (2008) advocates for an integrated and integrating model of qualitative research which presupposes methodological restructuring that account for validity threats and alternative hypotheses. This process, he argues, calls for reformulation of methods, adaptation of data collection instruments, and revision of emic (themes and concepts drawn from the participants) and etic (themes and concepts drawn from the researcher) categories during the investigation. According to Maxwell (2008), qualitative studies ensure validity and increase credibility once they are developed conforming to four qualities: intensive, long-term involvement; rich data; respondent validation; and searching for discrepant evidence and negative cases.

Additionally, we agree with Miles et al. (1994) when they call qualitative data "sexy" and a "source of well-rounded, rich description and explanations of processes in identifiable local contexts" (p. 01). Our purpose lay on providing abounding depictions of social identity (re)construction during Brazilian Portuguese language development. To this end, a careful design planning of methodological procedures was developed in view of qualitative imperatives encompassing data collection instruments and data analysis procedures (to which we return in sections 5.4 and 5.5, respectively).

Lastly, we would like to direct to a possibly raised concern: why not study and analyze the written production of language learners? Although understanding that language learning comprises both written and oral speech, our focus was the type of activity that correlated with our research aims. Therefore, to study co-occurring language development and social identity (re)construction, the abstract, voluntary, and conscious aspect of oral speech (VYGOTSKY, 1986) was deemed more appropriate. In addition, given that they were beginners and—perhaps more importantly—because they had recently arrived in Brazil, we adjudged they would initially concentrate more on learning how to communicate orally. A small sample of short written texts (through questionnaires) were collected and analyzed, nonetheless, especially to confirm our initial assumptions.

The central purpose of this chapter is to describe the methodological procedures adopted in this study. The next sections are thereupon developed to address the specific aspects of this research design. First, the site for the study is detailed to account for the situational context that served as background to data collection (5.2). Next, the participants are thoroughly described

pertaining to their demographic information and their status as graduate students (5.3). The instruments and data collection are specified in section 5.4, which includes some revisions made along our research. Then, section 5.5 concentrates on the data analysis procedures informed by our theoretical background. Finally, we dedicate the last section to account for our investigation's trustworthiness.

5.2 SITE FOR THE STUDY

The site for this research was a public, federal university in Southern Brazil. The university, founded in 1969, had its main building currently located on a former stockyard by the portside. At the time of the study, the university consisted of four main campuses and other various off-campus centers and colleges—including historical buildings—situated on two neighboring cities with a total enrollment of over 16,000 students (INEP, 2018). The institution's course catalogue included 22 colleges and schools and offered 185 undergraduate courses and 113 graduate programs[73].

With a history of welcoming foreign students, the institution began offering Portuguese as additional language courses to students and prospect students. Under a project managed by the Center for Languages and Communication Department (CLC) towards the implementation of the institution's internationalization agenda, courses are offered at every beginning academic semester. Practice teachers—Letters undergraduate students—are instructors of the PAL courses, supervised by the Head of the Department (CLC). The learning materials are all collaboratively developed by the instructors who use a variety of available sources, fairly informed by Celpe-Bras—a communicative approach to task-based learning.

When we first contacted the institution, five courses (one cohort each) were offered in different schedules and on different topics (focus on oral skills, on written skills, proficiency exam preparatory, Brazilian cultural aspects, and Portuguese for beginners). Four of those were intermediate and advanced level courses promoted by the Languages Without Borders Program and the beginners' level course was offered by the CLC. Portuguese for beginners initially had 16 enrolled students, a number which varied greatly during its 4-month duration in the second semester of 2018—some of the enrolled students never attended classes, for instance. In the

[73] This information was retrieved from the institution's website, available at <https://institucional.xx.edu.br/cursos/nivel/pos-graduacao>. Accessed: 29 April 2019.

first semester of 2019, the number rose to 26 enrolled students and included some of the students from the previous semester.

Students were not graded in these courses, which means their academic performance were encouraged and induced, but not tested. This schooling model allowed a student to enroll in the same course more than once—which was the case for most of the participants observed in this study. Notwithstanding the sense of flexibility, the model gave students, they regularly attended classes. The fluctuating number of students was due to the attendance of foreigners not associated with the institution—most were AIESEC[74] members and, therefore, stayed for a shorter time period (3-6 months), while others had recently immigrated to the country.

Through purposeful sampling, we deliberately selected this PAL classroom; in this setting, participants were presumably motivated to (perhaps, invested in) learning the language and of rather leveled language proficiency. The persistent and steady students, participating in the present investigation, were graduate students who relied on the course to advance their own studies and research endeavors.

The researcher was very familiar with this institution and had easy entry into the site to conduct the study. She had been a temporary professor a few years prior to the beginning of the study and had a professional relationship with some of the professors in the Letters Department.

5.3 PARTICIPANTS

Participating in this study were four foreign graduate students at a public university in Southern Brazil. Selecting these participants represented purposeful sampling, "a strategy in which particular settings, persons, or events are deliberately selected for the important information they can provide that cannot be gotten as well from other choices" (MAXWELL, 2008, p. 235).

Investigating participants for long-term periods, however, is a challenge in all fields of study (GIBBS, 1997; WILLIG, 2001; KITZINGER, 1994; WALDRAM; SASKATCHEWAN, 2009; GIL, et al, 2008). Regardless of their initial acceptance, taking part in research is voluntary and they may retire at any given moment. In order to discourage this behavior, a quid

[74] AIESEC is originally an acronym for Association Internationale des Étudiants en Sciences Économiques et Commerciales.

pro quo was developed: we invited the participants to take part in regular group meetings in which they would have the opportunity to improve their reading, listening, and speaking skills while data was collected for this study.

Twenty participants were invited to voluntarily take part in the study, and four elected to participate. Initially, eight had agreed to collaborate, but four soon after withdrew from the course and the study—confirming our initial concerns. Yet, our meetings were not depleted, AIESEC members would sometimes take part in our out-of-school group activities—which was deemed an opportunity to observe our participants engaging in social interaction with these occasional visitors.

The four participants observed in this study were formally enrolled in the Agronomy Graduate Program at a Master's or Doctoral level. All of them were awarded a full scholarship which enabled them to live off-campus. The participants lived in shared houses; all but Jeremias[75] and Pierre lived with other college students. Jeremias and Pierre lived in the same shared house, with another university student.

Foreign students were not granted special treatment, thus required to attend classes in Brazilian Portuguese as well as to be tested and evaluated in the language. Their research investigations' written report and oral defense must also be in Brazilian Portuguese—with a possible exception of it being in English which would benefit Abdul. Additionally, Master's students were exacted to take Celpe-Bras by their third school period and Doctoral students by their third school year. All of the participants were expected to have the equivalent of 5.5 (out of 5) on the proficiency exam.

The reported mean age of participants was 31 years (age range 28-35). Two were Spanish-speakers and had never learned an additional language and the other two were bilingual. None of them had taken Portuguese lessons before arriving in the country—in the 1-6 months before this research commenced. Table 9 below shows the participants' demographic information obtained from the responses to a questionnaire (described in section 5.4.3).

[75] We have adopted the policy of 'blanket anonymization' to ensure the participants' confidentiality and anonymity and, therefore, use pseudonyms throughout this study.

Table 9: Participants' demographic information

	Jeremias	**Pierre**	**Abdul**	**Ramon**
Age	32	35	28	29
Nationality	Ecuadorian	Haitian	Pakistani	Ecuadorian
First language	Spanish	Haitian Creole	Urdu	Spanish
Additional language	-	French	English	-
Arrived in the country by time of first contact	2-6 months	2-6 months	Less than 1 month	2-6 months
First contact with Portuguese in Brazil	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Race/Ethnicity	Latin	Did not respond	Asian/ Oriental	Latin
Graduate Degree	Master's	Master's	Doctoral	Master's

Source: Author

Jeremias was born in Babahoyo, Ecuador, in 1986. Coming from a family of five siblings, he was raised a monolingual speaker of Ecuadorian Spanish. He was educated in the public-school system all through technical school (he was awarded a diploma in Agronomy from the *Universidad Técnica de Babahoyo*) and attended a public university, the *Universidad Agraria del Ecuador*, where he graduated in Agronomic Engineering in 2008. He had never learned additional languages and his first contact with Portuguese was in Brazil; a place where he was both learning the language and pursuing a master's degree in Agronomy. He came from modest beginnings and was expected to assist financially at home at the early age of 15 but had always been encouraged to focus on his studies. Pursuing a master's diploma in phytosanitary measures, Jeremias studies the control of fruit flies[76]. His plans, therefore, include applying his acquired knowledge to the development of more advanced projects upon his return to Ecuador. His plans also include resuming his work in the Ecuadorian Department of Agriculture and pursuing a teaching career.

[76] Ecuador, the second largest exporter of various tropical fruits according to the International Atomic Energy Agency, is home to a number of fruit fly species which affects one of its main commercial trades. This information was retrieved from < https://www.iaea.org/newscenter/news/iaea-supports-the-protection-and-production-of-ecuadors-most-valuable-fruits>. Accessed: 3 May 2019.

Abdul was from Pakpattan, in Pakistan and left a wife and two young daughters in his country—one of his daughters was born while he was in Brazil and by the time we had finished contact they had not yet met. Initially, his plans included his wife and children joining him in Brazil, but they had later reconsidered due to their economic circumstances. He led a working-class life in Pakistan and, despite being accustomed to biking everywhere in Brazil, he claimed to miss his car. At 28 years of age and pursuing a doctorate in Agronomy, Abdul was attempting to develop a resilient wild potato; one that could endure heat waves and prolonged droughts—characteristic to over half of the year in Pakistan. His research interests were a statement to his patriotism and desire to improve the living conditions of his fellow citizens.

Pierre was born in 1983, in Mombin-Crochu, a small Haitian town of about 25,000 inhabitants 152 km north of Port-au-Prince and was not born into wealth. The third of seven kids, he was raised speaking Haitian Creole (the most popular language, spoken fluently by 95% of the population) and later introduced to French (the country's official language, in which only 40% of the population is fluent[77]) in elementary school. He graduated in Agronomy in 2012 from the *Université d'Etat d'Haiti*'s *Faculté d'Agronomie et de Médecine Vétérinaire*. Located in Port-au-Prince, it is the country's top-ranked university. Before coming to Brazil, he lived in the capital with two of his siblings, where he had been working for the Haitian Department of Agriculture for four years. His plans for the future include becoming a professor in Port-au-Prince.

Ramon had a diploma in Agronomy from the vocational school *Colegio Tecnico Agropecuario Jose Rodriguez Labandera* and an Agronomic Engineering Degree (2016) from the *Universidad Técnica Estatal de Quevedo*, in Ecuador. Born in 1989, Ramon grew up in a rural community in Quinindé, 224 km west of Quito, Ecuador. He was working on his family's cocoa farm with his father and siblings before applying to graduate school in Brazil. Once his family farm endured difficult times, Ramon realized the need to study so he could work in the city. Enjoying the farm life, he had never considered going to college, but a farm-work injury and globalization (according to his statement), led him to academic life. Motivated by his college professors, and now researching weed control of tropical crops with herbicides, Ramon's future plans include the pursuit of a PhD in the near future—which could be in Brazil, according to him.

[77] Information retrieved from the World Atlas website, available at <https://www.worldatlas.com/ articles/what-languages-are-spoken-in-haiti.html>. Accessed: 5 April 2019.

Becoming acquainted with the participants' background information is significant for our research aims and is relevant to our analysis. In an attempt at summarizing their biographies, we shed light into the lives of those whose data was collected and examined. Data collection instruments and procedures are further detailed in the following section (5.4).

5.4 INSTRUMENTS AND DATA COLLECTION

Immediately after approval was given by the Ethics Committee (September, 2018), we contacted the university chosen as site for this study. With signed consent from the Head of the Department and the course instructor (Appendix A), we observed one class and invited the attendants to a reunion where we carefully explained the research aims and procedures. An informed consent form, as shown in Appendix B, was required for each participant prior to actively participating.

From September to October 2018, having observed two classes, the researcher was asked to help to teach the course we were observing. We agreed with the intent to create a better relationship with the participants and to draw their interest in their language development. The outcome exceeded our expectations since a greater number of participants began attending our group meetings.

In addition to the group meetings, this research reports on the data collected from a myriad of interactions with the four exchange graduate students. The data—of qualitative and quasi-statistical nature—drew from individual and group interviews, questionnaires, classroom observations, messaging chats (WhatsApp©), their social media platforms (Facebook©, Instagram© and Twitter©), "real world interaction" observations, and proficiency test scores (Celpe-Bras). These instruments are described below.

5.4.1 Qualitative instruments

The following qualitative data collection procedures were used:

Semi-structured interviews. Audiotaped individual, semi-structured interviews were conducted by the researcher with all four participants on separate occasions—particularly when we had the opportunity to ask them for further information on data from other instruments. Semi-structured interviews allowed the researcher to begin with specific questions but to

redirect from those questions in consonance with the answers provided by the respondents. Interviews are unique instruments that can elicit rich information about personal experiences and perspectives that allow for spontaneity, flexibility, and responsiveness to individuals. The interviews were conducted in Portuguese with most participants, although Abdul would use English in most of his responses as well as often request the translation of the interview questions.

This instrument provided information related to the participants' learning experiences, social practices, and social identity within and outside the classroom. Drawing from Norton's (2010) data collection, in the initial interview we asked the participants how they had found out about the PAL course, how much Brazilian Portuguese they had learnt in the course and which skills (listening, speaking, reading, writing) had been principally developed. They were also asked which activities they found most helpful in learning the language, and how the course might be changed to facilitate learning. The following interviews with participants were designed to expand and/or clarify issues observed in the other instruments. These interviews were in-depth because there is significance in determining the participants' understanding of their social practices and the meaning they make of their experience (SEIDMAN, 1991). A copy of the questions of the first interview is included in the Appendix (Appendix C).

Diary. One of the instruments asked to the participants was an electronic diary. Five of the initial participants—two of which later withdrawn from the study—wrote at least once (in Portuguese); none of them had written more than thirteen entries. Revisiting their initial questionnaire answers, discontinuing this activity was unavoidable given that the participants who volunteered for this study had many duties and responsibilities as graduate students. Consequently, they had little opportunity to participate in further educational activities.

Classroom observations. We asked the instructors for permission to video record the lessons. Some of them, however, declined. The response was not unexpected considering they had had limited teaching experience and were still not wholly comfortable. Nevertheless, they graciously granted us access to their classroom and welcomed us to observe their lessons biweekly; on these occasions we witnessed our participants interacting in Brazilian Portuguese with their classmates as well as their overall attitude towards the language and the lesson. Amid and after the lessons, the researcher documented the four participants' participation in class by means of annotations—in the interest to capture the complexity of classroom interaction. The recorded annotations focused on the four participants interaction amongst themselves and with the other students (non-participants) in the classroom. These other students are only mentioned

in relation to their contact to our four participants. In other words, there are only prompts as to their involvement in said interactions—for example, one annotation reads

> When asked to join in pairs to exchange idiomatic expressions in their first language and to explain them in Portuguese to their partner, Pierre felt visibly more comfortable when interacting with another student (non-participant) with whom he had already developed a personal relationship. (Classroom observation; August 16, 2018)

Group and individual meetings. Structured and carefully planned activities were designed to prompt the four participants to share their experiences and to manifest their social identity. During these meetings, the researcher introduced activities of different approaches—from task-based to text-based, focusing especially on their reading and speaking skills—designed to advance their language development while collecting research data through annotations. This is precisely the *quid pro quo* we mentioned earlier (see section 5.3). These meetings would take place in various places around town—public places including the public market, parks, plazas, and the beach, as well as the researcher's own home. The change in scenery was conceptualized to establish an informal event of data collection, intended to elicit candid accounts from the participants.

"Real world interaction" observations. Participants were invited to meetings and activities in different locations across town to observe their behavior in naturally occurring settings. The meetings followed a specific design in which they first studied dialogue samples and were asked to practice them in pairs; and then the group was accompanied through the real-world interaction—for example clothes shopping, food ordering, phone service contract, etc. Observing—and annotating—individuals in different settings serve as research evidence towards a holistic overview of their learning journey. Annotations were made both during and immediately after these meetings and activities, mirroring Norton's (2013) method.

5.4.2 Quasi-statistical instruments

The following quasi-statistical data collection procedures were used:

Proficiency test scores (Celpe-Bras). On the 9th month of data collection, three of our four participants took the Brazilian Portuguese proficiency exam Celpe-Bras—Abdul could not

register for the test due to technical problems. They authorized us to disclose their test scores for the purpose of this research. A final interview allowed us to retrieve the participants' perspective over their test scores, which we considered an opportunity to examine them self-assess their language development.

Social media platforms. Relevant data was obtained through a general count of the language chosen by our participants when posting or sharing content on social media platforms. The advent of the Web 2.0 has significantly enhanced mediated social interactions (ELLISON; BOYD, 2013). Becoming a part of the individual's social world, documenting their online activity provide insight into the participants' social identity. Aided by social media platforms, such as Facebook and Twitter, users cultivate socially relevant interactions and language is the main means of communication on these platforms.

Messaging chat. The researcher documented the conversations held with the use of the messaging chat application WhatsApp©. However initially attempting to maintain contact through e-mails, the phone application soon became our main mean of communication. As opposed to our e-mail exchanges, replies were more prompt and frequent when contacting through WhatsApp©. Initially, a group conversation chat was created to foster the interaction between the participants. However, as some of the participants withdrew from the study, the conversations were initiated in private by the four remaining participants. Such as observed in the individual interviews, Abdul would communicate mainly in English. These conversations were later downloaded in text format for analysis purposes. The data originated from the app exchanges substantiate their language development and investment in language practice.

5.4.3 A qualitative and quasi-statistical instrument

The following data collection procedure—that supplied both qualitative and quasi-statistical data—was used:

Questionnaires. A total of three mixed questionnaires—consisting of close-formatted questions and open-ended questions—were designed and administered by the researcher—the first was administered prior to classroom observations in 2018, the second in early 2019 and the last in mid 2019. The questionnaires were sent to the participants to answer in an electronic format. They contained structured, partially structured and non-structured questions designed to best collect relevant data.

The initial questionnaire included questions considering the participants' prior experience with language learning, their knowledge of and approach to Brazilian Portuguese, their overall concept of Brazil and the Brazilian people, comfort levels in using Brazilian Portuguese, the learning process and their perception of the relationship between language and culture. Participants' demographic data were part of the questionnaire as well, so it was possible to have overall characteristics of the participants. All this information helped to understand the participants' background information and language status; it also helped to guide the following data collection—in terms of checking for comparative information, for instance. The development of a second, detailed questionnaire aimed to secure information from each participant about their past experiences and future plans, centering mostly on their family history and academic life. The third questionnaire turned to a self-assessment on their language development and their social identity (re)construction—the format of the questions was carefully designed in an effort to prevent leading participants' answers.

The table below (Table 10) presents the research questions and the instrumentation for this study.

Table 10: Matrix of methods for data collection

Research Questions	**Instrument**
1. Do foreign students effectively invest in their learning of Portuguese as an additional language? In other words, do they take advantage of the opportunities of using the target language inside and outside the classroom, testing hypotheses, seeking answers to their questions, and interacting in different situational contexts?	Classroom observations, "real world interaction" observations, social media platforms, group interviews, messaging chat
2. Have their imagined community and imagined identity in the Brazilian context motivated their investment as foreign learners? That is, the actual interactions as well as the language use and learning context(s) (imagined interactions and contexts) correspond to their expectations, thus motivating them to invest in learning Portuguese?	Individual interviews
5. Do learners, in the course of their studies, adopt identity positionings based on their imagined communities and imagined identity? In other words, have their identities, once imagined, become concrete identity positions (in real contexts of use)?	Classroom observations, "real world interaction" observations, social media platforms, individual interviews
4. Do foreign learners express any resistance when they are exposed to the Brazilian cultural context? That is, do the cultural identity and historical memory of foreigners acquiesce with the Brazilian cultural identity?	"Real world interaction" observations, social media platforms, messaging chat

Source: Author

Data collection for this study consisted, therefore, of four main qualitative instruments: semi-structured interviews, classroom observations, group and individual meeting, and "real world interaction" observations. A quasi-statistical instrument supported data collection and was retrieved from proficiency test scores, social media platforms, and messaging chat exchanges. One instrument, electronic mixed questionnaires, provided both qualitative and quasi-statistical data.

These data were collected over a ten-month period by means of carrying a microgenetic and identity approach to development. The multiple sources of information and collection methods provided a means to triangulate the data, used to account for validity and reliability purposes.

5.5 DATA ANALYSIS PROCEDURES

The data collection for this case study consisted of qualitative and quasi-statistical measures. The analysis focused on those characteristics and factors that were found across the multiple data sources. Audiotapes of the interviews were transcribed and assorted using the categorizing approach modeled by Norton (2000). These transcripts were cross-collated with the information provided by the additional annotations—from classroom observation and out-of-school meetings—and the written data—social media posts, chat conversations, questionnaire answers.

These instruments were analyzed for evidence of their social identity configuration as well as for evidence of their learning development. In investigating participants' social identity, the analysis focused on imagined identity and imagined community representations on their responses—particularly comparing those representations collected for the duration of this study. Our participants' conceptualization and representation of collaboration, mediational means, and everyday and scientific concepts were examined in order to determine their language development. The phenomenon of a sociocultural perspective to additional language learning is, therefore, discussed in terms of these two correlating aspects analyzed.

5.6 TRUSTWORTHINESS

To ensure analytical rigor in qualitative research, it is essential that the researcher cross-references information from multiple sources—whether from supplementary documents or perhaps other informants (DREW; HARDMAN; HART, 1996; CONNELLY, 2016). Therefore, to ensure trustworthiness to this case study, various sources, methods, and instruments were used to collect a broad variety of data—which reduces threats to internal validity in qualitative research. According to Merriam (2001), internal validity is described as:

> The extent to which research findings are congruent with reality [and] is addressed by using triangulation, checking interpretations with individuals interviewed or observed, staying on-site over a period of time, asking peers to comment on emerging findings, involving participants in all phases of the research, and clarifying researcher biases and assumptions. (p. 218)

To strengthen the study's internal validity, the researcher spent approximately 30 hours observing the classroom for ten months, and approximately 50 hours engaged in out-of-class meetings. Considerable time was spent interviewing the participants and examining relevant documents. While developing the emerging categories of data analysis (social identity representations and aspects of language development), the researcher met routinely with her advisor, and together they analyzed key pieces of data.

For the purpose of ensuring verification of the qualitative findings, there were multiple and varied data sources (i.e., lead teacher, student-participants, proficiency test scores), collection methods (i.e., interviews, annotated observations, questionnaires), and data types (i.e., audio recording, questionnaire answers, social media posts, messaging chat conversations). Taken together, the varied sources of information provided a comprehensive picture of the participants' development.

6. DATA ANALYSES AND RESULTS

Our four participants—Abdul, Jeremias, Pierre and Ramon—made great progress in learning Portuguese, but in different ways and at different paces. In this chapter we present and discuss the findings deriving from the data generated from our study participants over 10 months. Determined to examine the relationship between identity and language learning, we were ultimately interested in defining the social identity (re)construction of foreign graduate students learning Brazilian Portuguese as an additional language during their studies in Brazil.

Informed by that purpose and guided by the methodological procedures presented in Chapter 5, we have conducted this research within the setting of a public university which has welcomed several foreign students—four of which have voluntarily agreed to (and actively participated in) our study.

Information collected from various instruments, also described in the previous chapter (Chapter 5), compose our data. One of which, social media (Facebook and Instagram were analyzed), was used quite similarly by all participants. Their posts were abundantly regarding their study field and information about their respective home countries. None of the participants have more than five entries (posts) in Portuguese. The instances in which they have written in Portuguese on their social media profiles were found in comments of their posts as replies to their own friends' comments. Therefore, the following analyses concentrate on the remaining data generation—namely, semi-structured interviews, classroom observations, group and individual meetings, "real world interaction" observations, messaging chat, and questionnaires.

The following subsections of this chapter are devoted to each individual participant in reverse alphabetical order (Ramon, Pierre, Jeremias and Abdul, sequentially) and a final chapter (chapter 7) apropos of a contrastive analysis of the four participants and our final remarks.

6.1.4 Ramon's anchoring to the past

Ramon made limited progress in learning Brazilian Portuguese but demonstrated a perceptive understanding of his overall goals and his contextual situation as well as his imagined identity and imagined community. In this section, we draw on our appreciation of his learning journey to determine the relationship between his additional language learning—more specifically, Brazilian Portuguese—and his social identity.

Upon his arrival in Brazil, Ramon had only studied Portuguese very briefly and had never lived outside his country. Coming to Brazil was challenging to him, "*Vir ao Brasil foi um desafio para mim. Não conhecia ninguém aqui. Apenas havia falado com o professor da universidade*."[78] Through language development (however limited) and interpersonal relationships he was granted independence and autonomy, enough for him to begin feeling more comfortable so that "*agora eu vou para qualquer parte*"[79]—admitted during a group meeting held in early May, 2019.

Such challenge was not related entirely to him arriving in unknown territory, it was also associated with how Ramon was welcomed at the university and by his peers. Therefore, a contributing source of discomfort was the initial reactions to his accent which seem to have impaired Ramon's investment in learning the language. His application process was entirely in Spanish with the consent of his advisor—which conceded him a comfortable situation—but his first face-to-face conversation with his advisor was peculiar and possibly what sparked his resistance to invest. Ramon claimed that, in their first meeting, his advisor belittled his speaking by saying he spoke poorly ("*fala ruim*"[80], in his exact words) and ultimately stating "*Ah, eu não entendo o teu espanhol*."[81] From this account, we may assume Ramon's advisor was never a mediator in affording and scaffolding his language development—although he spoke only in Portuguese during research meetings and supervised Ramon's research project written in Portuguese.

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[78] The sentence translates: "Coming to Brazil was a challenge to me. I didn't know anyone here. I had only spoken with the university professor."
[79] The sentence translates: "I now go everywhere."
[80] Which translates: "speak poorly."
[81] Which translates: "Oh, I don't understand your Spanish."

While Ramon had ample desire to acquire knowledge ("*aprofundar o conhecimento*"[82] in his own words), valuable knowledge did not include learning the language—in our first interview he mocked "*Eu falo com meu amigo: [...] vou fazer um mestrado em idioma ou em fitossanidade*?"[83] One of the questions from the initial interview was if he thought he did not need to study his Portuguese at home, to which he replied "*Não, porque [eu] v[i]m para aprofundar o conhecimento*."[84] He was studying to gain knowledge and it did not involve learning Portuguese. Culture was also understood as a separate entity, as dissociated from the language. In his response to the first administered questionnaire:

Researcher:	*Consideras importante aprender aspectos culturais da língua? Por quê?*
Ramon:	*Não. A cultura se relaciona com a convivência das pessoas dia a dia.*[85]

Excerpt 1: Questionnaire 1

Despite this understanding, most of his friends were Spanish speakers and he typically had contact with Brazilians in a learning environment—may that be a classroom, the research laboratory, or even his advisor's office. His investment was never sufficient to push him to surround himself with the target language—for instance, he had never attempted to change the language on his cell phone and still used it in Spanish, he also continued watching movies and TV shows in Spanish on a streaming service for home television, and most of his posts on social media platforms were in Spanish and rarely in Portuguese (and of those, none were written by him, but were shared from other profiles/pages).

The research laboratory, for instance, was one of the few places where Ramon had regular exposure to Portuguese and extended contact with Brazilians. Yet, it was not a nurturing environment as his lab colleagues did not engage in mediating his learning and ultimately made him feel out of place— "*Vamos fazer assim, vamos contando os dias [que] não te falam*."[86] Considering "it is in the public world that language learners have the opportunity to interact with members of the target language community" (NORTON, 2000, p. 12), Ramon was given little opportunities to practice his Portuguese.

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[82] Which translates: "To further knowledge."
[83] Which translates: "I told my friend: […] is my master's degree in languages or in Plan Health?"
[84] Which translates: "No, because I came to further my knowledge."
[85] Which translates: Question: Do you find important to learn the cultural aspects of a language? Why?
Ramon: No. Culture relates to people's daily coexistence.
[86] Which translates: "Let's do this, let's keep count of how long (in days) they don't talk to you."

The relationship between Ramon and his peers affected his investment in additional language learning. Power relations are crucial in the learning process (NORTON; MCKINNEY 2011) and power asymmetries may limit learners' membership in the target language community. The unevenness of power relations in Ramon's learning environment—with his peers in the research laboratory and with his advisor in his office—may have affected his engagement and commitment to his own learning.

The isolation that he felt had both symbolic and material consequences, as his access to both friendship and expertise was compromised. At one of the real-world activities, a visit to the Grape Harvest Festival in February of 2019, corroborate his statements of feeling unwelcomed. In our notes we have written (immediately after the event):

> *A large group of people attended the festival with us. One of these visitors was engaged in a conversation with our research participants. At one moment, this person directed his attention to Ramon and said "**Para de falar espanhol! Eu não falo mais contigo, só em português!**"[87]. Ramon became immediately silent and restrained himself from engaging in longer conversations with this person. After the festival, when asked if he enjoyed the event, he merely manifested he liked it.*

Excerpt 2: Researcher's notes

Nevertheless, according to him, he was able to use his Spanish to cope without having to learn Portuguese. Such a statement is not entirely unreasonable to accept given the typological proximity of the two languages, especially at the lexical, morphological and syntactic levels. However, once he learned he needed a certain score in Celpe-Bras and that he had to deliver seminars for various courses, his concern increased but still not enough to further promote his investment. Even acknowledging a need to improve in order to take Celpe-Bras, other course demands seemed more immediate and important. For instance, when asked how he estimated the improvement of his Portuguese within the following six months, he replied "*Mais ruim que agora porque vou estudar em inglês agora*."[88][89]

In sum, although Ramon had an ambivalent attitude towards Portuguese because of the way he was treated in regard to his Spanish accent, he was somewhat willing to learn it so that he could pass the proficiency exam and also be approved in his master's degree research defense.

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[87] Which translates: "Stop speaking Spanish! I won't speak to you anymore, only in Portuguese!"
[88] Ramon had taken a course taught by his advisor, in English. He had not reached the minimum grade required for passing the course and, because it was a core course, he was obliged to retake it in the first semester of 2019. With this goal at heart, he was committed to learning English during the summer vacation.
[89] Which translates: "Worse than now because I will study in English now."

Still, his resistance to invest in language development was accompanied by a significant shift in accountability. Ramon attributed the responsibility over his learning to others: to the course offered to exchange students ("*Devia ser obrigatório fazer português formal.*"[90]) and to his first Portuguese teacher in Ecuador ("*O que acontece é que a professora tem parte da culpa disso. Aqui no sul [...] se fala diferente*"[91]), for instance.

Scientific concepts are, according to Vygotsky (1986), best and mostly learned through formal schooling; an understanding noticeable in Ramon when he plainly states "*Para falar na rua, sim, o informal. Esse eu aprendo na rua, eu sempre falo. E não precisa ter aula. Mas a aula deve sempre ser formal.*"[92] The course lead instructor, during one of the observed lessons, called him lazy and concluded "*tu sabes falar português, mas não tentas*"[93]—an attitude consonant with how he understood a formal Portuguese course was fundamental to his needs as a graduate student, on which the course would not focus.

Ramon's endurance to invest in learning Portuguese was influenced not only by reduced language opportunity and uneven power relations but had also been instigated by his expectations over the Brazilian people—in terms of his imagined community—and over his sense of membership—his imagined identity and his social identity.

According to Norton (2019), "a learner's imagined identity and hopes for the future will affect her or his investment in the language and literacy practices of a given classroom and subsequent progress in language learning" (p. 302). This is particularly relevant in Ramon's case, since he had repeatedly stated he saw himself as still grounded in his origins and not able to fathom the idea of dismissing his past. His academic success had not been planned, but had rather been a necessity as appreciated in the following excerpt from a chat exchange:

Ramon:	*Então o mundo foi sufriendo a globalização eu eu saí a estudar*
Researcher:	*Ah... pra ajudar mais a família, então?*
Ramon:	*Sim, despois volte [[a]] trabalhar um tempo*
Ramon:	*Por que meu pai Tenhia contas que pagar*
Ramon:	*Eram tempos bom*
Ramon:	*Agora não sei*
Ramon:	*Então pagamos e eu tive uma lesão que até hoje segue incomodando*
Ramon:	*E fique[i] um ano sem trabalhar*
Ramon:	*[[De]]pois disso sai pra estudar de novo*
Researcher:	*O que aconteceu?*

[90] Which translates: "formal language courses should be mandatory."
[91] Which translates: "So it happens that my teacher is to blame for all this. Here in the south, they speak differently."
[92] Which translates: "To speak on the streets, yes, the informal. This I learn on the streets, I always do. And for that we don't need classes. But classes should be formal."
[93] Which translates: "You know how to speak Portuguese, but you don't try."

Ramon:	*Á coisa tava diferente computador e coisas asi o mundo avanço e eu vi a necesidade de estudar pra trabalhar na cidade*
Ramon:	***Nunca pensei em ir pra Universidade mas foi***[94]
Ramon:	*Kkkk*
Ramon:	*Ali conocimiento muitos pesquisadores e gostava de meus trabalhos e as ganas de aprender eles mostrarão o caminho pra chegar até aqui e sigo estudando*
Ramon:	*Difícil de explicar*

Excerpt 3: private messaging chat; June 2019.

These roots were so vivid and palpable, Ramon could not understand the shift in his perceived social identity. He inserted himself in the farmer imagined community and not yet in the engineer imagined community:

Ramon:	*Mas muitas pessoas acha que sim eu agora só engenheiro tenho que cambiar*
Ramon:	*Eu falo foi dali onde eu saí por o esforço dessas pessoas*
Ramon:	*Sim*
Researcher:	*Como assim "cambiar"?*
Ramon:	*Mudar**
Camila:	*Mudar como?*
Ramon:	***Deixar de ser Ramon Flores e ser Eng. Ramon Flores***[95]

Excerpt 4: private messaging chat; June 2019.

Nonetheless these internal conflicts, Ramon claimed his membership in the Brazilian community, evidenced by his comment on two occasions: in a group chat on a messaging phone application in September 2018 when he claimed "*Ja sou aspirante a gaúcho* 😂😂"[96] and in a second moment to another participant during a group meeting in early May 2019: "*Cara, tem que torcer pra um time. Por isso você não é brasileiro ainda.*"[97] He similarly claimed membership in the foreign graduate student community— "*A proficiência deveria ser tão fácil como a disciplina é para* ***nós***"[98]—in which the choice for using the object pronoun 'us' suggests he was challenging his right to belong to these communities, however conflicting.

[94] Which translates: "I have never thought about going to college, but I did."
[95] Which translates: "Not being Ramon Flores to become Engineer Ramon Flores."
[96] Which translates: "I'm an aspiring *gaúcho*."
[97] Which translates: "Dude, you must support a team. That's why you're not a Brazilian yet."
[98] Which translates: "The proficiency (exam) should be as easy as the college courses are to us."

An additional source of opposition arises from the fact that, despite confessing to a discouraging relationship with his peers, he felt welcomed by the community at large. This conclusion is suggested by the following excerpt from our initial interview:

Researcher:	*Vamos focar nas pessoas. Vamos simplificar.* ***Como as pessoas da cidade te tratam?***
Ramon:	***Bem. Sempre muito bem. Tranquilo, todos.***[99] *As pessoas dizem que não gostam de estrangeiros. Outros brasileiros, que vem de outros lados, dizem isso.*
Researcher:	*E tu concordas?*
Ramon:	*Eu escutei alguma coisa por aí. Mas aqui em volta tem várias culturas, aqui dentro do Brasil mesmo tem parte italiana, tem parte alemã... não sei assim, em que parte está mais o problema.*
Researcher:	*O brasileiro em geral, então?*
Ramon:	*Acho que criam o problema por si só.*

Excerpt 5: Interview; November 2018.

These claims are also found in his responses to the final questionnaire, at the end of our 10-month data generation. In his responses the linguistic oversights are particularly noteworthy. A carelessness to the language grammar and orthography is evident when compared to the message exchange in June 2019 (see excerpt 4 above).

Question:	*Como descreves tua experiência no Brasil?*
Ramon:	*É uma optima experiencia ter conhesido muita gente legal e uma cultura muito diferente da minha*[100]
Question:	*Achas que algo mudou na tua forma de ver o mundo?*
Ramon:	*sim, muita coisa forma de pensar e ter mais experiencia e* ***ter conhecido perssoas de muitas partes do mundo***[101] *faz pensar que não deve existir barreras e diferenças entre as persoas*
Question:	*O que significa aprender português pra ti?*
Ramon:	*uma nova a* ***oportunidade de conheser uma nova cultura e perssoas em outros lugares ja que facilita a comunicação***[102]*, alem de facilitar novas oportunidades de trabalho e colaboração com outros paises*

Excerpt 6: Questionnaire 2

[99] Which translates: "Researcher: How do the town's people treat you?
Ramon: Well. Always very well. All right, all of them."

[100] Which translates: "It's a great opportunity to have met so many cool people and a culture that is much different than mine."

[101] Which translates: "having met people from many parts of the world."

[102] Which translates: "the opportunity to have contact with a different culture and people from other places since it facilitates communication."

Interestingly, Ramon sent a message immediately after answering the questionnaire in which he wrote: "*Foi com portugues chinelo mas [você] vai entender* 😂😂😂😂."[103] This statement shows an awareness of his knowledge of Brazilian Portuguese as well as what is acceptable according to the situational context of the language production. His understanding of an appropriate use of the language is also evidenced in his message, i.e., he himself evaluated his production as poor and yet submitted it as such since he considered it acceptable and/or satisfactory.

At other real-world activities promoted by the researcher, Ramon attended a dinner at a busy restaurant with live music (October 2018) and a recital at the city's Conservatory of Music (January 2019). In the restaurant, the participant seemed very comfortable in interacting with the waitstaff (soliciting help first to their classmates and then to me), and at the recital Ramon was somewhat intrigued and eager for its start as he would attend one for the very first time.

Ramon had embarked on an unsmooth journey toward additional language development but had maintained his desire to belong to certain imagined communities. However, in denial of the importance of appropriating and taking responsibility for his learning, Ramon began stating his ground in (re)constructing his social identity as a foreign graduate student in Brazil while celebrating his foundations—his parents, his farm life, his roots.

6.1.2 Pierre's invariant personality trait and language opportunity

When Pierre arrived in Brazil, he had virtually no knowledge of Portuguese. Unlike Jeremias and Ramon—who could rely on the mutual intelligibility between the Spanish and Portuguese languages—and Abdul—who could rely on the widespread learning of English as a lingua franca—, Pierre met hardly anyone who spoke French. Learning Portuguese meant ensuring his immediate survival as well as his independence. We now focus on Pierre's experience as a language learner while dealing with issues of internal and external nature.

Pierre's first week in Brazil was nearly traumatizing. Relying solely on a few acquaintances, he reached his (psychological) limit within three days. He mentioned how grieving it was on three separate occasions during the course of our 10-month study. One,

[103] Which translates: "It was with a poor Portuguese, but you will understand."

however, was especially significant since it was during a lesson in the Portuguese course offered by the university. Per our written notes:

> *Pierre: For the first time, he mentioned to the larger group how his first week in Brazil was difficult. He was visibly upset when confessing he was not able to communicate in Portuguese and he had only one Haitian—introduced at the university—to help him around—going shopping, for instance. He, perceptibly and deeply distraught, said he considered returning to his country three days after his arrival in Brazil.*

Excerpt 7: Classroom observations, September 6th, 2018

As Norton (2000) defines identity as "to reference 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" (p. 5), Pierre became acutely aware he had to learn Portuguese as quickly and efficiently as possible to ensure his future projects (namely his master's degree and eventually his doctorate). Driven by a strong desire to learn Portuguese, Pierre's language development improved at a rapid rate, initially.

> *Chegou, cheguei, em março.* ***Cheguei aqui e não falava nada****.* ***Agora eu moro com duas pessoas. Primeira vez, dois brasileiros***[104]*. Eu fiz contato desde o Haiti para conseguir um lugar, tanto que eu cheguei aqui e um deles me encontrou na rodoviária. Aqui,* ***no primeiro dia... no segundo, eu não falava nada***[105]*. Mas a cada momento que eles falavam, escreveram no computador para poder traduzir e depois eu fiquei uma semana com isso (assim). Desde que eu cheguei em março, a aula começou em abril. Aqui esse momento* ***[durante esse tempo] eu tive tempo para ler, estudar o dicionário***[106]*. As coisas que não aprender, tinha que traduzir, procurar conhecer.* ***Depois entendi a gente [as pessoas] que falavam. E consegui falar depois***[107]***.***

Excerpt 8: Interview, November 2018

His early language stages of development grew rapidly over the first few weeks in the country. Pierre showed ample investment and agency. Through self-scaffolding, he used various mediational means to aid his learning—his Brazilian roommates, a computer, the dictionary. Interestingly, Pierre's initial situation empowered him to seek new and improved language opportunities. Much as Norton (2013, p. 3) described "through human agency, language learners who struggle to speak from one identity position may be able to reframe their

[104] Which translates: "I arrived and didn't speak a word. Now I live with other two people. At first, two Brazilians."
[105] Which translates: "On the first day… the second, I couldn't say a word."
[106] Which translates: "[during that time] I had time to read, study the dictionary."
[107] Which translates: "Then I understood what people were saying. I could speak later on."

relationship with others and claim alternative, more powerful identities from which to speak, read or write, thereby enhancing language acquisition," Pierre went further and used available mediational means—both through individuals and artifacts (MONDADA; DOEHLER, 2005)—in a process called self-scaffolding by Mascolo (2005), in which Pierre created knowledge from his own actions.

A few months later, Pierre befriended other students within his program and moved in with them. One was Jeremias (also a participant in our study, to whom we dedicate the next subsection) and the other a Brazilian. This is pertinent due to his choice of "*a gente*" instead of "*as pessoas*[108]"—indicating a Spanish language influence from his roommate. Nonetheless, having a Brazilian roommate meant constant exposure to Portuguese and ample opportunities to practice Portuguese. In one of our last meetings, in May 2019, he mentioned that, at home, "*normalmente, a gente fala só português*[109]".

In both at home and at the university, Pierre had most of his opportunities to practice Portuguese: "*porque não tenho onde falar mais. Mesmo quando [...] não falou [falo]. Aqui é melhor*"[110]. Once Pierre invested in conversations with native speakers, he would still find hard to express himself in legitimate phonological and syntactic forms, albeit committing to making himself understood.

> *Sem problemas. Ás vezes, dizem que não entendem e eu falo de novo. E as coisas que eu não falo muito, falo outra coisa. Um sinônimo...*[111]
>
> Excerpt 9: Interview, November 2018

Pierre's struggle to initiate conversations, however, also arises from his shyness—a prominent invariant personality trait. I pressed Pierre on the issue of the relationship between his introspective self and the opportunities to practice Portuguese. He was unequivocal about their interrelationship:

> *Quero sair, conhecer tudo, ter a oportunidade de falar [..] Eu escolho muito não falar. De mais, não [[sou]] como pessoa que fica parado com outras pessoas na rua. Não.*[112]

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[108] Which translates: "people."
[109] Which translates: "We usually speak only Portuguese."
[110] Which translates: "Because I don't have anywhere else to speak. Even when […] I don't speak. Here is better."
[111] Which translates: "Not a problem. Sometimes they say they don't understand me and I repeat myself. And the things I don't speak much, I say something else. A synonym…"
[112] Which translates: "I want to go out, meet everything, have the opportunity to speak. […] I choose not to speak much. Moreover, I am not someone who just has conversations with others anywhere. Not me."

Excerpt 10: Interview, November 2018

The seemingly disjuncture between his intent to engage in conversations in Portuguese and his feebleness to engage in such interactions are markedly the most considerable limitations to both his language development and especially his movement toward participation in the coveted imagined community (that of his peers and fellow academics).

Systemic patterns of control hindered this access to his imagined identity. Pierre's struggles to acquire membership in the academic community while devoting invaluable time to excel academically was render by Jeremias in one of our meetings:

Jeremias:	*O mais complicado é que ele [Pierre] passou quase dois semestres fazendo um artigo, uma revisão. E ficou ótimo o trabalho dele e* ***o professor****, sabe o que ele falou? Deu pra ele uma nota ruim porque* ***falou que alguém fez por ele o trabalho***[113]*. E ele nem reclamou.*
Pierre:	*Eu falei!*
Jeremias:	*E ele melhorou a nota?*
Pierre:	***Não****. Eu fiz uma revisão bibliográfica.*

Excerpt 11: Meeting, February 2019

Significantly, however, Pierre's lack of confidence and shyness did not detract from his investment in learning Portuguese. He was not unmotivated or uninvested to learn Portuguese. Despite his demure identity, he demonstrated no desire to withdraw and gradually developed his level of competence in Portuguese.

> ***Agora mesmo, meu principal problema é entender***[114]*. Porque na verdade [[quando]] o professor fala posso entender três, quatro palavras... depois tenho que fazer uma lista para depois conseguir... depois repetir.* ***Repetir para aprender***[115]*. Só que quando o professor falou (fala), tenho que, como se fala?, entendo duas, três palavras e depois não consegui [consigo] mais.* ***Eu estudo muito, para ler e escrever, mas eu faço um trabalho exaustivo de revisão por muito tempo***[116]*. Mas na verdade eu entendo mais ou menos.*

Excerpt 12: Interview, November 2018

As Pierre became more comfortable and confident with his teachers, classmates and friends, he spoke more Portuguese and, as he spoke more Portuguese, he became more

[113] Which translates: "The professor […] said someone else did his essay for him."
[114] Which translates: "Noe, my main problem is understanding."
[115] Which translates: "Repeat in order to learn."
[116] Which translates: "I study a lot, to read and write, but I do an exhausting reviewing work that takes a long time."

comfortable and confident. The relationship between comfort/confidence levels and use of Portuguese is an intricate one for him:

> *Pra melhorar o português tenho que conseguir... tenho que ter a possibilidade, na aula tenho mais. Como aqui com você, com a professora. Uma vez, mês passado, a gente teve um jornal e esteve aqui para fazer entrevistas. E a professora disse "tem que falar" e tive que falar um pouco de português. Então eu falei com eles e agradeci a professora que me ensinou.*[117]

Excerpt 13: Interview, November 2018

Pierre's response to his need for language use opportunity was complex, however. He craved for more opportunities to practice Portuguese, albeit simultaneously confessing not being able to initiate conversations (excerpt 10 above). Placing such responsibility in others, Pierre ultimately missed numerous opportunities. Yet, the classroom being a culturally diverse environment may be (at least partially) a reason for his continued investment in that setting.

Awareness of his strengths and weaknesses also steered his motivational basis for acquiring Portuguese. As Pierre sought to gain access to affordances of learning (such as dictionaries), the one he craved the most was language assistance from his interlocutors. In three occasions, Pierre stated:

> *Researcher:* *As pessoas te corrigem?*
> *Pierre:* *Não! Eu quero! Sim, sim. Se eu falar alguma coisa "ah, não, tem que falar isso". É uma coisa que o professor faz também, está fazendo.*[118]

Excerpt 14: Meeting, December 2018

Also:

> *Pierre:* *Só uma guria fala francês e estudou lá. Ninguém mais. E tem um menino lá no campus. Só que o pessoal que não quer corrigir o que você fala.* ***Por exemplo, quando falo uma coisa errada, você fala ... Mas lá no campus eu às vezes eu preciso que me corrijam***[119].
> *Researcher:* *Então queres que te corrijam e não te corrigem?*

[117] Which translates: "To improve Portuguese I have to... I have to have the possibility, in class I have more. Like here with you, with the teacher. Once, last month, there was a newspaper and it came here to do interviews. And the teacher said "you have to speak" and I had to speak a little Portuguese. So I talked to them and thanked the teacher who taught me."

[118] Which translates: "Researcher: Do people correct you?
Pierre: No! I want them to! Yes, yes. If I say something 'oh, no, you should say this.' It's something the professor does as well, is doing."

[119] Which translates: "For example, when I say something wrong, you say… But at the campus I sometimes need to be corrected."

Pierre ***Eu falo, faço esforço e quero que me corrijam***[120]*. A pronunciação e palavras e verbo também.*

Excerpt 15: Meeting, February 2019

And in:

Bom, o mais difícil é falar. Falar porque ***se não falo não compreendo, não entendo***[121]*. Eu ficar na sala de aula... eu quero falar, faço [fazer] pergunta. Não quero porque se falo, as coisas ficam ruim. Não quero.* ***Eu pergunto como falar e como não falar***[122]*. É um problema também.*

Excerpt 16: Interview, November 2018

Pierre had a conscientious knowledge of additional language learning. Speaking Haitian Crioulo and French before learning Portuguese has given him an awareness of the learning stages of development and of specific linguistic patterns, which in turn did not mean to enable him an easier language development:

Porque se eu escrevo uma página eu tomo muito tempo. E tenho que escrever em francês para traduzir. Mas tenho problema também. Em francês tem... quando vocês escrevem uma frase... o verbo auxiliar no francês e conseguir pro português. E tem as palavras que no português e em francês são masculinas e no português é feminino. Porque é inverso. É complicado demais[123]

Excerpt 17: Interview, November 2018

In the second questionnaire, Pierre wrote:

Aprender português, como uma língua estrangeira para mim, é, claro, aprender palavras (seu significado, sua pronúncia, sua escrita), as formas que podem assumir (em vários tempos, singular, plural, masculino, no feminino), as regras a respeitar para incluí-los nas frases e as regras a respeitar quando se quer usar essas frases para se dirigir a alguém (as regras da polidez e do tato, por exemplo); mas também é aprender a se [[fazer]] entender e se expressar usando suas habilidades no idioma. ***Trata-se de adquirir as***

[120] Which translates: "I speak, I try and want them to correct me."
[121] Which translates: "If I don't speak, I don't understand."
[122] Which translates: "I ask how to say something and how not to say something."
[123] Which translates: "Because if I write a page I take a lot of time. And I have to write in French to translate. But I have a problem too. In French there is ... when you write a sentence ... the auxiliary verb in French and get it to Portuguese. And there are the words that in Portuguese and French are masculine and in Portuguese it is feminine. Because it is the other way around. It's too complicated"

> ***ferramentas que permitem comunicar numa língua estrangeira, como se faz na sua língua materna, e ao mesmo tempo aprender a usar essas ferramentas***[124]*.*[125]

Excerpt 18: Questionnaire 2

After a few of months, Pierre had managed to penetrate the boundaries of the social network at the university's research laboratory, and also developed confidence dealing with his colleagues in Portuguese. This success can be partly explained with reference to the kind of activities that the research team engaged in both outside and inside the context of the university (he started being invited to outings more frequently) and how Pierre himself acted upon the social structures of the school environment, resisting marginalization.

Because Pierre had gained access to the social network at university, he was able to practice Portuguese on a regular basis and become a proficient speaker of Portuguese. Indeed, he became sufficiently proficient to apply and be accepted for a PhD scholarship in the same educational institution. His identity had shifted and, with it, his inclination to speak in the public world.

Those efforts and accomplishments were not smooth. Pierre, as a member of a minority group in Brazil, experienced racial discrimination at different occasions and in different places. However observing the fraught complexity of researching race/ethnicity and language learning, we do not concentrate our efforts on this matter, but we acknowledge their relationship (see CLEMENT, NORTON, 2021; KINGINGER, 2013; WEEDON, 2004) and focus attention on the outcomes in the participants' identity shift.

Pierre used the university bus service—free and exclusive for university students and employees—to commute from one campus to another as well as from and back home. Passengers are required to show their student card or staff ID to use the service, which guarantees only university members can travel with it. Yet, in the university bus, Pierre was subject to discrimination. He described the episode in which a female student (or staff) was already seated and as he sat next to her, she immediately changed seats. In his words:

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[124] Which translates: "It is about acquiring the tools that allow you to communicate in a foreign language, as you do in your mother tongue, and at the same time learning how to use these tools"

[125] The parentheses in this excerpt were originally written by Pierre.

> *Uma vez eu estava no ônibus e eu fiquei muito desconfortável. Uma menina, foi [fui] sentar, e [[ela]] saiu do canto... como se eu queria alguma coisa e sentou em outro lugar. Três ou quatro vezes aconteceu.*[126]

Excerpt 19: Interview, November 2018

On February 2019, I returned to the subject enquiring if there were any more instances of perceived racial discrimination and where have they occurred. Pierre encapsulated his sentiment in a sentence: "*ah, em todo lugar*"[127].

It appears that racist practices in Brazil—either covert or overt—have had a deleterious effect on Pierre's identity (not unlike that of Abdul's, at least initially; to whom we dedicate section 6.1.4 below). The significance of race/ethnicity within language learning is directly related to the power asymmetries Pierre has endured. Like Abdul, Pierre was the target of racist comments, but he did not react in the same way that Abdul did. Unlike Abdul, he chose to disregard those comments, albeit clearly feeling uncomfortable and offended.

Hence, what is noteworthy in Pierre's data is what he had to undergo to achieve access to social practices and the university community, and how his identity within the community changed as he was given information, resources and opportunities for participation (especially by his professors).

Although Pierre was reluctant to use Portuguese outside of the classroom, he nevertheless had a great investment in his learning the language. He believed that knowledge of Portuguese was essential and expected of him. When asked what his language development within six months would be, he said:

> *Porque até seis meses, seis mais oito meses para ficar bom no mestrado. Porque tenho que defender. Não só defender. Imagina eu estudando três anos no Brasil pro mestrado e não conseguir falar. Acho que não vou conseguir falar como brasileiro, brasileira, mas...*[128]

Excerpt 20: Interview, November 2018

By eight months, Pierre meant to add the time he had been in the country. In that sense, he was foreseeing his language development along the total of 14 months (six ahead, as asked)

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[126] Which translates: "I was on the bus once and I was very uncomfortable. A girl, [motioned] to sit, and [[she]] left the corner seat ... as if I wanted something and sat somewhere else. Three or four times that happened.
[127] Which translates: "oh, everywhere."
[128] Which translates: "Because up to six months, six plus eight months to get good at my master's. Because I have to defend. Not only defend. Imagine me studying for three years in Brazil for a master's degree and not being able to speak. I don't think I'll be able to speak like a Brazilian, but ..."

in the country. His major priority was not only to join the academic community, but also to ensure that he could perform as it was expected of him (and, perhaps, of all foreigners).

The imagined identity of a learner is particularly salient to investment in language learning. For Pierre, learning Portuguese meant joining a professional imagined community: "*encontrar com profissionais em sua organização, no Brasil ou de Portugal, que fala português.*[129]"

Pierre's identity shifted from that of a foreigner to that of an exchange graduate student. How others position him as an Afro-Haitian shaped the dynamics of their interaction. Overall, the experience of learning Portuguese in Brazil was ultimately considered a positive one:

> *Quando cheguei ao Brasil, não era fácil de me adaptar ao dia a dia com uma cultura tão diferente da minha, mas com o tempo tudo estava indo bem, mesmo que até agora não esteja totalmente correto. Eu tentei, arrisquei com tudo, no que diz respeito ao aprendizado do idioma e também a realização dos trabalhos do meu curso [...] As vezes eu me divertia bem com meus colegas.*[130]

Excerpt 21: Questionnaire 2

6.1.3 Jeremias

This research's participants were studying and living close to the border between Brazil and a Spanish-speaking nation, where mutual intelligibility of spoken Spanish and Portuguese is facilitated by familiarity (LIPSKI, 2018). Such mutual comprehension can be understood as another resource that was conjectured in the school environment, serving to offset limitations in Jeremias's competence in Portuguese. This perception of PAL for Spanish speakers has the conceptual effect of perpetually casting learners in a discouraging whirlpool.

Unlike Ramon, Jeremias did not have difficulty gaining access to the social network in the school environment and had many opportunities to practice Portuguese. Unlike Abdul, Jeremias did not have such a language barrier—by reason of the closeness of the Spanish and Portuguese languages. Unlike Pierre, Jeremias was not an introvert and a passive learner. On

[129] Which translates: "meet with professionals in their organization, in Brazil or Portugal, which speak Portuguese"
[130] Which translates: "When I arrived in Brazil, it was not easy to adapt to daily life with a culture so different from mine, but with time everything was going well, even if it is not entirely correct so far. I tried, risked everything, with regard to learning the language and also carrying out the work of my course [...] Sometimes I had a good time with my colleagues."

the contrary, some of Jeremias's main invariant personality traits were his outgoingness and talkativeness. This characteristic was extensively observed throughout classroom observations and meetings, as can be noticed in these notes:

> *Jeremias: helped his classmates with new vocabulary, demonstrating interest in vocabulary new to him ("não se usa 'urinar'? Se diz então 'fazer xixi' ou 'ir ao banheiro[131]'?"). Frequently initiated conversation with the teacher, interacting mostly with her and sporadically with his classmates.*

Excerpt 22: Classroom observation, August 1st, 2018.

> *Jeremias: Kept interacting mostly with the teacher but continued helping his classmates when solicited.*

Excerpt 23: Classroom observation, August 7th, 2018.

> *Jeremias: In class the whole group pointed him as the most outgoing and helpful to others. He was visibly happy with the compliment and agreed he has always been the "class clown".*

Excerpt 24: Classroom observation, August 23rd, 2018.

> *Jeremias seemed interested in assisting the newly arrived exchanged students, by explaining new vocabulary and giving examples of how to ask for the meaning of unknown words ("Como se fala tal palavra?[132]"). He also gave corrective feedback on the others' pronunciation (when one said "uma moneda" he immediately said "uma moeda[133]").* ***Fifteen minutes from the start of the activity, his classmates would ask him for assistance directly.***
> *He pointed out homophones to his classmates: "uma 'meia[134]' pode ser 'seis' também" when using it as 'sock'.*

Excerpt 24: Meeting, October 9th, 2018.

His identity is grounded in his view of responsibility and independence, gained early in his life. As many Ecuadorians, Jeremias began working at an early age in order to help support his family. In the following excerpt it is evident his concept of the social fabric in Ecuador and of what is widely expected of their youngsters.

Jeremias:	🤔 *Proprio* ***desde os 15 anos, que empeze a trabalhar por minha conta[135]***.
Researcher:	*Mas porque tu precisavas ajudar em casa ou porque tu querias independência?*

[131] Which translates: "don't you say 'urinate'? So do you say 'pee' or 'go to the restroom'?"
[132] Which translates: "How do you say this word?"
[133] Which translates: "a coin."
[134] Which translates to "sock" or "six".
[135] Which translates: "Since I was 15, I started working."

Jeremias:	*Ajudar.*
Researcher:	*Ah, bom*
Jeremias:	🤔🤔 *Mas acho aue isso não vai server muito.* *De ahi trabalhe como garção aos 19 anos.* *Acho melhor botar esta idade.*
[...]	
Jeremias:	*Depois alguem olha e vai achar que em Ecuador ainda temos crianças trabalhando (isso é segredo).*
Jeremias:	*Hahaha.*
[...]	
Jeremias:	*Lamentablesmente é real. Mas não é tipo escravidão,* ***todo mundo trabalha para poder soster a casa***[136].
Researcher:	*Siim... aqui no Brasil também*
Researcher:	*Bem comum até*
Jeremias:	*Sim.* ***Acho que embira seja triste e ilegal. É um fato dificil de encerrar definiivamente***.[137]

Excerpt 25: Messaging chat, April 4th, 2019.

Therefore, his identity shaped his perception of his language development. "The construct of 'language'", according to Norton (2019), "is not only a linguistic system of words and sentences but also a social practice in which identities and desires are negotiated in the context of complex and often unequal social relationships" (p. 301). Jeremias understood that, in order to practice Portuguese, he had to become part of the social network within the university's community: he had to form social relationships and affiliative links with his professors and peers. The relevance of such relationships for language learning is clearly articulated by Jeremias in the following words:

> *O bom é que pra publicar, na área em que estou, tem que formar um grupo, sempre. Então quando a gente vai publicar, sempre passa pela mão de todos pra... E* ***faço parte de um grupo*** *que tenho é de boa. Um amigo da Colômbia, antes de ir embora, apresentou a um grupo de laboratório que não ajudavam muito ele [inaudible] ...* ***dei sorte que os meus são anjos***. ***Os guris são uns anjos.***[138]

Excerpt 26: Meeting, October 2nd, 2018.

Norton found that "high levels of motivation did not necessarily translate into good language learning, and that unequal relations of power between language learners and target language speakers was a common theme" (2013, p. 6). Jeremias felt his language development

[136] Which translates: "everyone works to help support the family."
[137] Which translates: "I think that however it being sad and illegal. It's a fact difficult to end definitely."
[138] Which translates: "I'm part of a group […] and I lucked out because mine are angels. The boys are angels."

was hampered by the academic community. He acknowledged his professors and peers as more knowledgeable others who did not engage as mediators. That is, his professors and peers were understood as those with more cultivated skill and knowledge in Portuguese, but resisted to play the role of a mediator—especially and more gratifyingly in a scaffolding scenario. We emphasize scaffolding as defined by Lantolf and Thorne (2007) as it "refers to any type of adult–child (expert–novice) assisted performance" and more pointedly, "thought of in terms of the amount of assistance provided by the expert to the novice rather than in terms of the quality, and changes in the quality, of assistance negotiated between expert and novice" (p. 209). In Jeremias's words:

Researcher:	*Como vai tua escrita acadêmica?*
Jeremias:	*Esse é um problema, na verdade, porque os professores não corrigem. Eu acho que estou bem. Eu sempre tento escrever, tento passar pelo Google, perguntar pra alguém... e me viro. Mas o professor nunca fala "tem um erro aqui, tem um erro cá". **O único que o professor falou foi "aos estrangeiros se perdoa que tenham erros de português", mas ele não falou qual o erro. E dos brasileiros ele cobrou**[139].*

Excerpt 27: Meeting, October 2nd, 2018.

This extract is greatly significant. It indicates that from his professor's perspective, Jeremias was not a member of his *Portuguese-speaking graduate students' community*. Repurposed by Norton (2019), from Anderson's (1983) geographical perspective, an imagined community "signals any community of the imagination that is desirable to the language learner" (p. 302) and Jeremias indicates a sense of belonging to this particular academic community. His desires was also evident in one of our meetings:

Jeremias:	*"Qual a palavra mais difícil do português?"*
Ramon:	*Eu sabia.*
Researcher:	*Não, pra vocês. Não da língua.*
Jeremias:	***Tem uma que eu sempre falo errado, mas não me corrigem***[140]*. Apresentar e presentar. A palavra correta é apresentar e eu sempre falo "Ah, tinha que presentar um trabalho" ou [inaudível] E as pessoas não me corrigem.*
Researcher:	*E isso por causa do espanhol, tu achas?*
Jeremias:	*Sim, por causa do espanhol. No espanhol é presentar, não tem o A.*

Excerpt 28: Meeting, May 8th, 2019.

[139] Which translates: "the only thing the professor said was 'foreigners are forgiven for their Portuguese errors', but he didn't mention which were the errors. From the Brazilians he demanded."
[140] Which translates: "There's one I always say wrong and nobody corrects me."

Pierre had also protested against the lack of assistance from his peers and typical interlocutors. These circumstances ensued in both participants a greater exercise of human agency—"both subject of and subject to relations of power" (NORTON, 2019, p. 301)—in which both sought the mediation of supplementary sources.

> *Geralmente quando tenho que escrever em português, tento escrever em português. E logo jogo no tradutor pra conferir se é... alguma coisa assim. Quando tinha uma palavra que tenho dúvida, vou pra lá pra me ajudar.*[141]
>
> Excerpt 29: Meeting, February 10th, 2019.

Moreover, Jeremias demonstrated a greater awareness of his language development. Through self-scaffolding—by focused observation to others' actions and by testing his own actions—he acknowledged his progression in a narrative:

> *Jeremias –* ***Quando eu cheguei aqui eu relacionava... ah, 'guri'. De quem estão falando? Estão falando de um menino, de um cara. Ah, esse é um guri.*** *Tipo assim.* ***Eu me lembro que me mandaram pegar uma tesoura.*** *Mas eu, nas nuvens, lá, no ar.* ***Não sei o que é uma tesoura. Mas uma das minhas colegas disse "Jeremias, tu me traz uma tesoura?" Aí, sim.***[142] *Então... ah, me liguei. Tesoura é aquela coisa aqui. Tijeras em espanhol. Fui pegar. "Ai, nossa, que bom, tu reconheceu a palavra. Pois somente porque eu olhei o que ela falou (he gestured demonstrating she looked and pointed as she asked him for it).* ***Foi o gesto****.* ***E assim fui me acostumando com palavras e falando e falando. Repetindo.***[143] *As básicas são: bom dia, boa tarde, boa noite, obrigado, me podes ajudar. Tipo assim, são palavras que tu vai repetindo e aí tu vai...*
>
> Excerpt 30: Meeting, February 23th, 2019.

Notwithstanding the noted impediments to his Portuguese learning process, Jeremias never demonstrated withdrawal, resistance or lesser investment. In our meetings and real-world activities, Jeremias seized every opportunity to engage in social interaction and practice his Portuguese. In the group messaging chat, he was the only of this study's participants who initiated language-related conversations—whether by asking for a word definition or by sharing

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[141] Which translates: "Usually when I have to write in Portuguese, I try to write in Portuguese. And then I use with the translator to check if it's ... something like that. When I had a word that I 'm not sure, I go there to help me."
[142] Which translates: "When I got here I would relate ... ah, 'kid'. Who are they talking about? They're talking about a boy, a guy. Ah, this is a kid. […] I remember being asked to get scissors. […] I don't know what scissors are. But one of my colleagues said, 'Jeremias, will you bring me scissors?' Oh yes."
[143] Which translates: "It was the gesture. And so I got used to words and speaking and speaking. Repeating"

recently learned vocabulary. Jeremias was the only participant who was scored 'advanced' at Celpe-Bras.

6.1.4 Abdul's cultural identity charging his language development

Abdul initially struggled to learn the language, showing a slow (albeit, stable) development in most of his first year in the country. Nonetheless, numerous unfortunate experiences with unsympathetic locals—due mainly to his cultural identity and religious beliefs—have not thwarted him from further investing and engaging in social interactions in Portuguese. In his first four months in the country, Abdul realized he was inserted in a culture in which there was resistance to certain foreigners. In a sense, unless Abdul redefined his identity, his chances of membership in this new community were particularly limited. He could either perpetuate his foreigner status and retort locals' comments, he could accept a marginalized status and endure the caustic remarks towards his nationality with insouciance and dry humor, or he could claim an alternative status that would provide him with an expanded set of possibilities. Abdul chose the last option, reconstructed his identity, and reaped the rewards. In this section, we convey an appreciation of his language learning development apropos of his identity and investment.

When Abdul arrived in the country, he hardly knew any Portuguese. Before his arrival, he had attempted to learn from a language learning cellphone application and mentioned a curious anecdote about the use of Portuguese words by Pakistanis:

> *I want to tell you a funny thing is that when the mobile phones are [inaudible] in Pakistan we use to write in many styles. We are writing in English we also write in styles. So,* ***we use words in Portuguese to write in styles****. If we are going to write a word like color, we use this.* ***We don't know what does that means, we just write that, in styles****.*
>
> Excerpt 31: Interview, October 2018

Therefore, Abdul initially relied (almost exclusively) on the Portuguese course for foreigners provided by the university. The course would be his opportunity to develop his language skills provided that it was within his ZPD. The zone of proximal development is, as proposed by Vygotsky (1978, p. 86) "the distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as

determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers." Furthermore, "classroom pedagogies [should] promote greater agency on the part of learners", as Norton (2000) points out, and "explore language as both a linguistic system and a social practice" (p. 25). Unlike in Pierre's case, Abdul had to rely on self-scaffolding and the search for more knowledgeable others to assist him in his learning process.

> *Yes, I'm attending the classes, because... but I don't understand what she was trying to teach. So, when she gave me an order first class. She give me her notes. Then I will go home and on the next day I will talk with my supervisor, Dr. G[144], about the notes. And then we would also have another class about the notes he told me what he told about these notes. Then, this is how I'm learning Portuguese. With my advisor. He is a good Portuguese teacher. But he's not professional. He does not know how to teach Portuguese.*
>
> Excerpt 32: Interview, October 2018

This comment, we believe, is highly significant for two reasons. Firstly, it depicts very clearly that the course provided by the university was not within his ZPD and he could not seize the opportunity to learn Portuguese. Thus, Abdul requested assistance to a MKO, his advisor[145], demonstrating agency and investment in his language learning. The first account can be corroborated by our classroom observation notes:

> *Abdul: (his first appearance) Seemed motivated, but since he had arrived in the country two weeks before this meeting,* ***he seemed lost most of the time****. He had virtually no knowledge of the language, which had him rely much on English translations (a language which he was not proficient either).* ***Two other students (non-participants) assisted him during class so it would not be interrupted so many times****.*
>
> Excerpt 33: Classroom observation, August 16th, 2018

Perhaps for this reason, Abdul's investment was not evident in class a few months later. On our notes:

> *Abdul: Seemed distracted with the arrival of an exchange student from India. They set next to each other and displeased the larger group when speaking English (at times in a loud tone). A student (non-participant) mentioned to the teacher the possibility of him having separate lessons as not to interrupt the class.*
>
> Excerpt 34: Classroom observation, November 1st, 2018

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[144] The names have been redacted and only the initial maintained for anonymization purposes.

[145] Interestingly, Jeremias had mentioned in a meeting that "*O problema é que o orientador do Abdul fala inglês com ele*" to justify Abdul's initially timid language development. Jeremias's statement can be translated as: "The problem is that Abdul's advisor only speaks in English with him."

When asked what activities he believed were more efficient to his language development, Abdul mentioned the need for a complex of different activities comprising both theoretical and practical learning in the Portuguese classes. In his words, the course would benefit from:

> *Activities like this, when someone is teaching me Portuguese there should be a practice session. Not just give a lecture and then nothing. [...] The activity we have planned for next week*[146]*. More practical.*

Excerpt 35: Interview, October 2018

Regarding his frustration in following the Portuguese classes, Abdul disclosed, in the same interview, the importance of a mediator who could assist him in the Portuguese classes: "there should be some[one] who know English so then she can explain." Thus, both appropriate mediational means and scaffolding were not available to him in those lessons, at first. A topic he returned to in the second questionnaire:

> *Acho que português é uma língua muito legal, mas deveria haver alguns programas de curta duração especializados para pessoas da Ásia como eu.*[147]

Excerpt 36: Questionnaire 2

It was only in December of that year that assistance was provided for him, thus meeting with the requirements of a successful task within his ZPD, albeit the substantial use of translation in the aid given by the teaching assistant. According to our notes from the class observation on December 7th, 2018:

> *Abdul: Another teacher was assigned to help him during the classes. This seemed to have pleased most of the other students. Abdul mentioned, after the lesson, that he* ***learned more with this assistance****.*

Excerpt 37: Classroom observation, December 7th, 2018

146 We had planned a "real world" activity at the local street market, in which I would have accompanied him in shopping for electronics.

147 Which translates: "I think Portuguese is a very nice language, but there should be some specialized short-term programs for Asians like me."

Furthermore, since Abdul had only limited fluency in the Portuguese language, he often could not make himself understood with ease in social interactions outside of the classroom. As he stated in our first interview:

Researcher:	*Me conta quando e onde usas o português.*
Abdul:	***In Portuguese? I've tried everywhere**. If somebody doesn't follow my accent, so then I really just get my mobile and show this is what I was trying to tell. First time I was trying, I tried to explain by speaking so I can explain and If they didn't understand, then this… I show them this is what I was talking. Then, oh, yeah. **I always try to speak first.***
Researcher:	*Do you usually try this when you are by yourself?*
Abdul:	*Yes. When I was like that, I'm going to somewhere and I have to ask somebody, like when I go to some shopping, I have to ask them about something that I just… **first I just translated from my app and then I just speak with them**.*
Researcher:	*So, you prepare yourself beforehand?*
Abdul:	***Yeah. I prepare myself first**. This thing I'm going to need.*

Excerpt 38: Interview, October 2018

His statement is a testament to his investment and self-scaffolding: planning and preparing himself for social interactions in the target language, making use of the translator application he had on his cellphone since before coming to Brazil as well as rehearsing his 'lines' beforehand.

Yet, it was on such forms of social interaction which Abdul experienced animosity from locals as well as showing signs of a conventionally sexist credence. In one of the out-of-class meetings at the City Public Market in October 2018, his statements made another student visibly unconformable. Per our notes from that meeting:

> *In this meeting another student (non-participant in this study, female) began acting distant from Abdul. He seemed to notice it but maintained his usual attitude during the meeting. The fact that it was the first opportunity we had to meet in a public place did not influence on his engagement to the activities proposed. **During the activities, he occasionally made statements belittling to women, which visibly bothered the non-participant**. At these moments, when he noticed the other student's discomfort, he seemed to glimmer in content.*

Excerpt 39: Meeting, October 2018

This sentiment was echoed another time when he reinforced his mindset in an interview a month later:

The thing which I now think is that the city 90% of is woman empowerment and from those 90%, 30% are racist women.

Excerpt 40: Interview, November 2018

The social meaning of this comment may be understood with reference to his investment in his identity as a Pakistani male and his particular form of shunning discriminatory comments towards him.

Norton (2019) reasoned that "a student may be highly motivated, but if the classroom practices are racist, sexist, or homophobic, for example, the learner may have little investment in the language practices of the classroom and demonstrate little progress in language learning" (p. 303). Assuming that this circumstance is applicable to other environments outside of the classroom, three relevant occurrences showed in our study data.

I am a Muslim, so culturally I'm very different from the people from here. [...] I have one or two times I have wear [the jalabiyyah, their traditional clothing] here on Fridays and people stare.

Excerpt 41: Interview, October 2018

Abdul's story indicates, therefore, that a language learner's investment in the target language must be understood with reference to religious beliefs as well as race and ethnicity. His identity as a Muslim was more powerful than his identity as a foreign graduate student. As Norton (2000) notes, "a learner's identity is not only constituted by social interaction, but also constitutive of social interaction" (p. 99) and Abdul's religious and cultural identity lead him to situate his actions and comments towards others, as in one particular event. As he said:

Abdul: I went to a shop to buy a chicken [...] they have live animals like rabbits, chicken and all these kinds of animals. Then we went to the store and we asked her about the chicken, live chicken. [...] ***First of all, she told that we want to do some like just kill it and put some legumes in it and throw it on the roadside*** *... [...]*
Researcher: Oh, she thought you wanted to do one of those offerings.
Abdul: Yeah, offerings. And then I told her: no, we are going to cook it. Then she asked: oh, then you want us to kill it for you? I said no, I will kill it in my way. She said "why?" I told her that I'm a Muslim, so I need some specific ways to kill it. ***When she get to know I'm a Muslim she was running in her shop like she got scared of me. And then she asked me a very strange thing that "you are one of them who make bombs in our town?"*** *(laughs uncomfortably).*

Researcher: Did you talk to her in English?
Abdul: I used my translator. Some of the things she was saying I understand which I don't understand I used my translator to understand it. ***Then I said "no, I'm not one of***

> ***them". Then she asked me also a very strange thing, she said something very strange thing: "oh, so your women wear… cover all of their bodies. Why?" Then I just got a little bit angry, but [my friend] said you don't need to respond that also. Then I said I just ask her that every country has its own traditions, has its own culture.*** *That's why. She said okay. Then we buy chicken. Then she ask "come back if you need more". I said I will come back. (laughs) (long pause) That's it.*

Excerpt 42: Meeting, November 2018

Later in the same meeting, Abdul described another distressing interaction with a local:

> *Last week I was waiting at the bus stop for the bus to go to the university, last class. And there was an old lady, and she was standing there. I was also standing there. She starts talking with me. I tell her that I'm a student here and I'm a foreigner. She asked from each country.* ***I said that I'm from Paquistão[148]. She say "Oh, from Paquistão?" I said "yes, from Paquistão". Then she was asking something which I don't understand then she explain it by expression. Like you are from the country which have (gestures shooting a rifle). I said no, I'm not, this is not real happening there in Pakistan. She said okay. Then she said me that I listen there are fighting and bomb blast. I said no, it's wrong. You're listening to the wrong things.***

Excerpt 43: Meeting, November 2018

In these accounts, Abdul's purpose was to introduce his own history and experiences into the conversation in the hope that his symbolic resources would be validated. Overall, his narratives suggest cultural stereotypes being used as fuel to maintain uneven power relations. Abdul's cultural and racial identity was associated, by his interlocutors, with a violent and oppressing country and cultural beliefs. These accounts were understood as factual since, in one of the real-world activities organized in order to generate data for this study, a similar instance of discriminatory conduct was observed. For the activity, all four participants were invited to attend a street market, yet only Abdul participated. However, three non-participants were also present. In a first moment, the researcher brought them a sample shopping dialogue (asking for a product's price and specific information) which was role played in pairs. After this activity, they all proceeded to the street market and would be assisted in their enquiries (if they did not understand a word, it would be repeated and explained in Portuguese). On our notes:

> *Abdul was shopping for a shaving machine and at one particular stall, the vendor enquired about Abdul's origin and when Abdul answered (in Portuguese), the vendor laughed and*

[148] Abdul himself said the name of his home country in Portuguese.

said "Ah, veio pra cá porque lá é só[149] *(the vendor gestured a throat slash, moving his hand across his own throat)" and kept laughing. Abdul became visibly uncomfortable, gave a grim smile and continued enquiring about the product.*

Excerpt 44: Real-world activity, October 10th, 2018

Despite his beleaguered identity, Abdul advanced his investment in learning Portuguese. Abdul's opportunities to language development were extended once he began frequenting the university research facilities. Furthermore, just by remaining at the research laboratory helped him, not merely because of the increased exposure to Portuguese and practice in Portuguese, but also because he was able to observe how his research colleagues talk to one another and behave towards one another—shedding light into the social interactions particular to an academic environment. Investment, observation and imitation are also evidenced in his statement:

When somebody speak in Portuguese [at the university research facility] I don't understand what they are talking about. Some of the words I start listening them carefully. They don't know I'm listening. But I'm listening them carefully what they are talking about.

Excerpt 45: Meeting, December 2018

His investment in learning Portuguese was associated with his expectations of becoming a member of the overarching local community. This entails full participation in habitual social interactions in diverse settings and with different purposes. Abdul also had a clear objective to improve his language skills in order to begin attending classes and ultimately be awarded his Doctorate Degree within the planned four years.

*In **6 months, I'm expecting that I'll be able to talk with anybody about anything**. Like when I'm do some shopping, go to some hospital or something, when I have to visit some doctor. These are the main things. I'm expecting that in 6 months I will be able to talk to them on my own. And not to need any help. **I'm expecting that after 6 months my supervisor says I can start classes.** But I'm expecting I'm going to start taking some classes. Not too many, but some. **So, I can finish my own course on time.** I also plan on attending the Portuguese classes for at least two years.*

Excerpt 46: Interview, October 2018

[149] Which translates: "Oh, so you came here because over there it's just"

His plans to continue attending the Portuguese courses offered by the university are reiterated in his answer to the second administered questionnaire:

Question: *O que significa aprender Português pra ti?*
Abdul: *para mim apenas para ter conversas com meus colegas, amigos e locais*[150][151]

Excerpt 47: Meeting, December 2018

These statements are particularly interesting in that they demonstrate his understanding of language opportunity and membership to the local imagined community—in which his membership would grant him access to social practices not yet available to him.

During the data generation period, Abdul would not feel confident enough to maintain longer conversations in Portuguese. Notwithstanding his initially slow development, in a classroom observation on April 22nd, 2019 Abdul showed greater improvement and investment in social interactions, taking advantage of the learning opportunities provided in the classroom. He initiated conversations with his classmates and demonstrated a more comfortable approach to speaking Portuguese. Our notes read:

Abdul: Visibly more comfortable in class, Abdul could form larger sentences and was able to keep a conversation for a longer period without using English.

Excerpt 48: Classroom observation, April 22nd, 2019

Subsequently, after data generation, the researcher had maintained contact with Abdul through a messaging app and Abdul started writing back in Portuguese in early 2020 which, therefore, might demonstrate a limited *early* language development. Considering his minimal knowledge of the language upon the beginning of our data generation, Abdul has achieved an intermediate level (confirmed with his Celpe-Bras score) in two years—approximately his predicted attendance in the Portuguese course classes according to his statement in our first interview in October 2018 (excerpt 46 above).

Abdul was a particularly diligent language learner – he took every opportunity he could to speak and use the language. He took every course available to him at the university, despite

[150] His misuse of the word 'locais' is a clear case of straightforward correlation in translation, as discussed in section (2.3.4) above.
[151] Which translates: "Question: What does learning Portuguese mean to you?
Abdul: to me, merely to engage in conversations with my peers, friends, and locals.

not being able to comprehend much at first. He made efforts to practice when shopping for groceries and running errands (he would typically do these activities by himself). He also regularly attended our meetings and real-world activities with interest. Abdul's investment in learning Portuguese meets with the understanding that "language not only defines institutional practices but also serves to construct our sense of ourselves—our *subjectivity*[152]" (NORTON, 2013, p. 4).

Abdul's identity and the way in which his identity constructs and is constructed by his social interactions provide important insight into the relationship between identity and language learning. His identity shifted from that of a foreigner who was determined to learn Portuguese to cater to his PhD to that of an exchange graduate student who volitionally engaged in learning Portuguese to ensure his membership in the local imagined community—which, in turn, would grant him access to social practices available to those participants. The way relations of power are structured in Abdul's narrated interactions, however unbeknownst to him, have had considerable impact on his language learning. Abdul showed little linguistic development during the 10-month research study but showed great identity reconstruction in that he actively took initiative and did not passively accept the derisive and patronizing comments from locals.

This chapter was dedicated to the individual analyses of data generated from a 10-month study accompanying four exchange graduate students. The following chapter consists of a comparative analysis of the participants' data and our final remarks.

152 Original italics.

7. CONCLUSION AND FINAL REMARKS

In this final chapter, we will revisit our research questions and then briefly consider a comparative analysis of our four participants.

1. *Do foreign learners express any resistance when they are exposed to the Brazilian cultural context? That is, do the cultural identity and historical memory[153] of foreigners acquiesce with the Brazilian cultural identity?*

According to our findings, Abdul and Ramon demonstrated resistance to the Brazilian cultural context due largely to how they were treated by some locals—Abdul suffered discrimination by virtue of his cultural identity, i.e. a Muslim Pakistani; while Ramon endured intolerance by reason of his Spanish accent. Jeremias, on the other hand, maintained a positive attitude despite observing the indifference of his peers regarding his language development—he continuously pointed out his desire for his interlocutors' mediation. Pierre's circumstance was exceptionally special in view of his intrinsically introvert characteristic—which drives us to interpret as not necessarily a resistance to the exposed Brazilian cultural context, but mostly an individual trait.

2. *Do foreign students effectively invest[154] in their learning of Portuguese as an additional language? In other words, do they take advantage of the opportunities of using the target language inside and outside the classroom, testing hypotheses, seeking answers to their questions, and interacting in different situational contexts?*

Pierre—as opposed to Abdul, Ramon and Jeremias—did not feel comfortable in engaging in and initiating social interactions. He took minimal opportunities of language practice and language production and, the ones he ultimately did take advantage of were mainly in learning environments (at the university and in our

[153] In section 3.2.1 the understandings of such cultural identity and integration are found in detail.
[154] The concept of investment is described in section 3.2.3.

meetings). Ramon resisted improving his Portuguese and often used Spanish to interact with others, nonetheless his intention to excel in his degree sufficiently drove him to develop his language skills in order to meet the proficiency exam and his course requirements. Abdul and Jeremias have, conforming to our data, greatly seized almost every opportunity to engage in social interactions in the target language—Abdul would practice at home beforehand and Jeremias would solicit assistance from his interlocutors. Overall, all four participants, although not equally motivated, demonstrated different degrees of investment—in agreement with Norton's (2000) findings.

3. *Have their imagined community and imagined identity*[155] *in the Brazilian context motivated their investment as foreign learners? That is, the actual interactions as well as the language use and learning context(s) (imagined interactions and contexts) correspond to their expectations, thus motivating them to invest in learning Portuguese?*

Of all four participants, Ramon's was the most critical in terms of his investment derived from actual social interactions. According to his statements, his expectations were not met and hampered his language development—leading him, perhaps, to placing the responsibility of his minimal language development in others (his teachers, his peers, and so forth). Interestingly, Ramon was the only participant who, on numerous occasions, uttered his membership in the local community—as a *gaucho* and as a Brazilian.

Abdul's cultural identity, on the other hand, superseded his unfortunate interactions with locals—possibly by means of his own expectations (which lie mainly in him returning to his family immediately after being awarded his Doctorate degree). Pierre had never mentioned verbal discomforts—however feeling upset with the lamentable events when he was riding the university transport—and Jeremias revealed a continuing investment in social interactions and language learning.

[155] Imagined identity and imagined community are detailed in section 3.2.4.

4. *Do learners, in the course of their studies, adopt identity positionings based on their imagined communities and imagined identity? In other words, have their identities, once imagined, become concrete identity positions (in real contexts of use)?*

Ramon was the most evident case of identity resistance—referring back to excerpt 4 (page 88), he struggled with his reconstructed identity as an engineer. The remaining participants demonstrated a willingness to adapt and adopt new social identities although not to the detriment of their cultural and historical identities. Jeremias became an active member of a research group (excerpt 26 on page 100), Pierre developed an imagined identity to conform to his professors and peers expectations and, eventually, 'have fun with his peers' (excerpt 21, page 98).

We acknowledge the limitations of this study especially concerning the characteristics of the participants—all male students of the same graduate program. As aforementioned, male and female students of numerous undergraduate and graduate programs had been invited to participate. We believe to have met with our expectations in this study, although we acknowledge the richness in continuing this study—especially since three of the participants are still studying at the same university (two of them have applied and have been accepted to the PhD program). Yet, for the purposes of our current objectives, we draw our conclusions in the following paragraphs.

Unlike Abdul and Pierre, Jeremias and Ramon were not bilingual when they arrived in Brazil. While for both Jeremias and Ramon Spanish served as a facilitator for their social relationships, their experiences and opportunities to learn Portuguese were radically different.

There was some evidence that Abdul's cultural identity and Pierre's racial identity may have had an unfavorable impact on the nature of their relationships with target language speakers. Adversely, Jeremias and Ramon's first language have had a supportive impact on the nature of their relationships with locals. Such reversals in the relationships between locals and foreigners receive little attention in our research due to time constraints and merit further research.

The excerpts from the participants' narratives indicate peer interactions seemed to have helped them appropriate the meaning and value of collaborative learning—recall Pierre and Jeremias's frustration with their peers' lack of mediation/scaffolding when they neglected to assist them by 'correcting' they language production. This requires abandoning the barren notion of learn-by-living (residing in a place is enough).

Norton (2000) concluded that "with reference to SLA theory, it is clear […] that opportunities to practice [...] cannot be understood apart from social relations of power in natural or informal settings" (p. 72), a finding which is sustained by our own research data. In this regard, it is not only sustained contact with the dominant community (our participants' professors, peers, classmates, and research colleagues) that is important, but access to social networks within this community—the academic community.

Norton (2000) also pointed out that "learners should be conceptualized as members of social and historical collectivities, and not as isolated individuals" (p. 85) and we have brought our participants' social and historical background and identities which mirror Norton's findings. By recollecting Abdul's Muslim identity and Ramon's struggle to accept membership in an engineer community, it becomes clear how social identities are constructed and reconstructed in and from social interactions.

Furthermore, while Abdul's data highlights the relationship between religious beliefs and language learning, Jeremias's underlies the relationship between language learning and personality traits, and Pierre's data highlights the relationship between language learning and race, Ramon's draws attention to the relationship between language learning and power relations. The four participants's investment in language learning was largely structured by an identity as exchange students who must take courses and defend their research in Portuguese.

Ultimately, we have sought to develop an enhance understanding of the relationship between identity and language learning. Our analysis indicates a deeply intricate relationship amongst them, shedding light into the prominence of language development. Fortuitously, our participants seemed to have reached their ultimate purposes: they have all prospered in their academic and professional communities—be that by means of being awarded their sought degree (Pierre and Ramon), by concluding courses ministered in Portuguese (Abdul), by meeting the proficiency exam requirements, or even by being professionally promoted (Jeremias).

In sum, living and learning are much more complex than commonsensically reproduced. Social interactions and asymmetrical relations of power are evidently and intrinsically related to language development.

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APPENDIX A – CONSENT FORM FOR COURSE INSTRUCTOR

TERMO DE CONSENTIMENTO LIVRE E ESCLARECIDO – PROFESSOR(A)

Chamo-me Camila Quevedo Oppelt e sou doutoranda do Programa de Linguística Aplicada da Unisinos. Você está sendo convidada(o) a participar da pesquisa "Questões culturais e identitárias nas percepções de alunos estrangeiros aprendendo português no Brasil", sob orientação da professora Marilia dos Santos Lima. O objetivo deste estudo, para o qual conto com a sua colaboração, é compreender o processo de (re)construção identitária e cultural de alunas(os) estrangeiras(os) enquanto aprendem o português brasileiro.

Sua participação nesta pesquisa consistirá em gravações de algumas aulas regulares de português em vídeo e áudio. As informações obtidas através dessa pesquisa serão confidenciais e asseguro o sigilo absoluto de sua participação, pois não serão divulgados nomes ou informações que possam identificar as(os) participantes envolvidas(os) e/ou os locais da pesquisa.

A sua participação não é obrigatória. A qualquer momento você pode desistir de participar e retirar seu consentimento. Sua recusa não trará nenhum prejuízo em sua relação com a pesquisadora ou com a instituição. Dentre os benefícios relacionados com a sua participação estão: potencializar o desenvolvimento de habilidades dos alunos em língua portuguesa, participar de momentos de interação na língua alvo e, especialmente, contribuir com a possibilidade de auxiliar no processo de (re)construção identitária e cultural de futuras(os) alunas(os) estrangeiras(os). Os riscos relacionados com sua participação podem incluir eventual fatiga, enfado físico e psicológico. Você ficará com uma cópia deste Termo de Consentimento Livre e Esclarecido, podendo tirar suas dúvidas sobre o projeto e sua participação, agora ou a qualquer momento com as responsáveis pela pesquisa: Prof.ª. Dr.ª Marília dos Santos Lima e Camila Quevedo Oppelt através dos e-mails marilialim@unisinos.br e camila.q.oppelt@gmail.com.

Considerando que fui informada(o) dos objetivos e da relevância do estudo proposto, de como será minha participação, dos procedimentos e riscos decorrentes deste estudo, eu _____ _____, ID no. _____, declaro o meu consentimento em participar da pesquisa, como também concordo que os dados obtidos na investigação sejam utilizados para fins científicos (divulgação em eventos e publicações).

Pelotas, _____/_____/_____ _____

Assinatura do Participante da Pesquisa

Responsabilidade do Pesquisador

Asseguro ter cumprido as exigências da Resolução 466/2012 CNS/MS, da Resolução 510/2016 CNS/MS e complementares na elaboração do protocolo e na obtenção deste Termo de Consentimento Livre e Esclarecido. Informo que o estudo foi aprovado pelo CEP. Comprometo-me a utilizar o material e os dados obtidos nesta pesquisa exclusivamente para as finalidades previstas neste documento, conforme o consentimento dado pelo participante.

Declaro que assinei 2 vias deste termo, ficando com 1 via em meu poder.

_____

Camila Quevedo Oppelt
Responsável pela Pesquisa

APPENDIX B – CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS

TERMO DE CONSENTIMENTO LIVRE E ESCLARECIDO

Chamo-me Camila Quevedo Oppelt e sou doutoranda do Programa de Linguística Aplicada da Unisinos. Você está sendo convidada(o) a participar da pesquisa "Questões culturais e identitárias nas percepções de alunos estrangeiros aprendendo português no Brasil", sob orientação da professora Marília dos Santos Lima. O objetivo deste estudo, para o qual conto com a sua colaboração, é compreender o processo de (re)construção identitária e cultural de alunas(os) estrangeiras(os) enquanto aprendem o português brasileiro.

Sua participação nesta pesquisa consistirá em (i) uma entrevista individual; (ii) gravações de algumas aulas regulares de português em vídeo e áudio; (iii) seus registros pessoais em forma de diário; e (iv) encontros em grupo gravados em vídeo e áudio. Conto com sua contribuição pelo período de 40 (quarenta) semanas. As informações obtidas através dessa pesquisa serão confidenciais e asseguro o sigilo absoluto de sua participação, pois não serão divulgados nomes ou informações que possam identificar as(os) participantes envolvidas(os) e/ou os locais da pesquisa. Comprometo-me a utilizar o material e os dados obtidos exclusivamente para fins de pesquisa.

A sua participação não é obrigatória. A qualquer momento você pode desistir de participar e retirar seu consentimento. Sua recusa não trará nenhum prejuízo em sua relação com a pesquisadora ou com a instituição. Dentre os benefícios relacionados com a sua participação estão: potencializar o desenvolvimento de suas habilidades em língua portuguesa, participar de momentos de interação na língua alvo e, especialmente, contribuir com a possibilidade de auxiliar no processo de (re)construção identitária e cultural de futuras(os) alunas(os) estrangeiras(os). Os riscos relacionados com sua participação podem incluir eventual fatiga, enfado físico e psicológico que buscamos amenizar com o design apropriado das atividades propostas (atividades que não envolvam esforço físico ou que possam lhe causar desconforto emocional). Você ficará com uma via deste Termo de Consentimento Livre e Esclarecido e a pesquisadora com outra via, podendo tirar suas dúvidas sobre o projeto e sua participação, agora ou a qualquer momento com a responsável pela pesquisa, Camila Quevedo Oppelt, através do e-mail camila.q.oppelt@gmail.com.

Pelotas, _____/_____/_____ _____

Assinatura do Participante da Pesquisa

Nome: .....

_____

Camila Quevedo Oppelt

Pesquisadora

APPENDIX C – INTERVIEW 1 QUESTIONS

1. Como ficaste sabendo do curso de PPE?
2. Já sabias alguma coisa do português antes de começar as aulas?
3. Quais as habilidades (escuta, fala, leitura, escrita) são desenvolvidas?
4. Quais atividades achas que mais te ajudam a aprender a língua?
5. Como o curso poderia ser melhorado?
6. Digamos que eu queira saber mais de ti e te perguntasse sobre a tua identidade cultural. Como tu te descreves?
7. Me conta sobre o teu primeiro contato com a língua.
8. Me conta quando e onde usas o português.
9. Como as pessoas te tratam quando tentar falar português?
10. Quando ou onde te sentes mais confortável pra usar a língua?
11. Algumas pessoas dizem que o Brasil trata bem os estrangeiros. Concordas com essa afirmação?
12. Examine os cursos e classifique-os de 1 a 3, começando (1) pelo que tu achas que seria mais útil/vantajoso pra estrangeiros que não falam português como língua materna.

> *( ) CURSO A. Neste curso, a maior parte do tempo será gasta aprendendo gramática, pronúncia e vocabulário. Haverá um pouco de conversa livre e trabalho de leitura de artigos de jornal. Os alunos trabalharão principalmente a partir de livros didáticos e livros de exercícios gramaticais.*

> *( ) CURSO B. Neste curso, a maior parte do tempo será gasto aprendendo português ao estudar sobre a sociedade brasileira: o sistema de saúde, o sistema escolar, a moradia, o transporte, o trabalho. Os alunos trabalharão principalmente com material destinado a estrangeiros recém chegados no Brasil.*

( ) CURSO C. Neste curso, a maior parte do tempo será gasta aprendendo sobre oportunidades de emprego no Brasil: como ler anúncios, como preencher formulários, como se preparar para entrevistas de emprego. Os alunos trabalharão com classificados e participarão de dramatizações.

13. Como esperas melhorar teu português?

14. Como te vês em 6 meses?

15. Qual a vantagem de aprenderes português?