

Introduction

Towards the end of the 16th century, English was spoken by a relatively small number of mother tongue speakers, almost all of whom lived within the British Isles (Crystal 30). Now, at the beginning of the 21st century, English is spoken in almost every country around the world and more speak it as a second or foreign language than as their mother tongue (69). This spread of the language came about initially due to migration and colonization. A first diaspora led to English spreading predominantly to North America, Australia and New Zealand through migration of people from the south of England. A second diaspora involved the colonisation of areas of Asia and Africa which led to the development of second-language varieties, often called world Englishes, which are nativized varieties of English which have arisen due to the intranational use of English in multi-lingual situations such as that found in India. Kachru developed a three circle model to illustrate this spread of English with the Inner Circle representing Britain and the countries involved in the first diaspora, the Outer Circle representing the second diaspora and a third, the Expanding Circle, representing countries where English was spoken as a foreign language and which was dependent on standards set by native speakers in the Inner Circle (356).

However, the spread of English did not stop with the end of the era of colonisation, and continued due to the political, military and economic power of those who spoke the language. Many new technical and scientific terms entered the language during the time of the Industrial Revolution, and to learn about these advances, others had to learn English (Crystal 80). English

continued to go from strength to strength as it was adopted as the language of international relations, science and technology, advertising, the cinema and popular music, to name a few (86-122). Crystal regards this post-colonial spread of the language to be the result of English being in the “right place at the right time” (120), others as proof of a deliberate effort to maintain the “linguistic imperialism” of colonial times through an “inequitable allocation of resources to English” by governments (Phillipson 2301). Whilst this is a matter which divides opinion, it is true to say that English in the Expanding Circle now holds a very different position to that originally proposed by Kachru.

Within Europe and other parts of the Expanding Circle, English now functions as a lingua franca amongst people with different language backgrounds, and the process of globalisation has brought English into many people’s everyday lives through cable TV, pop music, advertising, and at work (Seidlhofer, Breiteneder, and Pitzl 3). In countries such as Sweden for example, 89% of those surveyed by the European Commission claimed they could hold a conversation in English (18). Indeed it has been suggested that certain European countries are moving in the direction of the Outer Circle, as English takes on the role of a second rather than a foreign language due to increased intranational use. Graddol includes Belgium, Denmark, The Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland amongst such countries (11) and Berns described the “concentric circles of European Englishes” which features an Expanding/Outer Circle to accommodate such countries (9).

In a process comparable to that in the Outer circle, reports have been made of the nativization process English is undergoing across Europe (Berns; Erling; Jenkins, Modiano, and Seidlhofer) and Graddol suggests that in the future Europeans will desire to express their identities through their own varieties of English, and disregard the norms of Inner Circle English (27). The Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE) aims to produce a corpus of interactions using English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) in the Expanding Circle. Subsequent description of ELF would then allow it “to gain acceptance alongside English as a native language” (Seidlhofer 340). Some scholars however have argued that English used as a lingua

franca, in an effort to negotiate meaning, is “outside the control of academia” (Saraceni 26) and as such cannot be described or codified.

The ever growing number of English speakers in the Expanding Circle has led to increasing interest in the English spoken there, and calls have been made for more research into the spread, development, acquisition and attitudes toward English in the Expanding Circle. For Kachru the study of attitudes towards the language is of key importance: “What draws an increasing number of people in the remote parts of the world to the study of English is the social attitude toward the language” (355). Dörnyei suggests that attitudes towards the L2 and its speakers may be important at the “preactional stage” where motivation is initially generated (84). It therefore appears that attitudes are important in shaping motivation to learn, which in turn promotes the spread of the language. The aim of this study is to contribute to the understanding of attitudes towards English in Portugal, a country about which very little sociolinguistic research has been published.

The Portuguese Situation

Situated within Kachru’s Expanding Circle, Portugal is a small country of approximately 10.6 million in South West Europe where English principally functions as a lingua franca for international communication. In 2006, the Eurobarometer survey revealed that 100% of Portuguese questioned considered Portuguese to be their mother tongue and only 26% claimed to speak English, one of the lowest percentages amongst the 30 European countries surveyed. However, there is evidence that this situation may be changing. Its role in education has been reinforced recently. In 2005, English was introduced into years 3 and 4 of primary school education and since 2008 it has been compulsory for primary schools to offer English as an extra-curricular activity in all 4 years of primary education. In years 5 and 6 the study of a foreign language is compulsory with English, French or German being offered, followed by compulsory study of a second foreign language in years 7, 8 and 9. Since Portugal subscribed to the Bologna Process in 1999, English has also assumed a more important position in higher

education, as Portuguese universities, like other European universities, compete in the market for international students (Coleman 1).

In addition to its role in education, English is used in broadcasting, popular music, the cinema, the press and advertising. The majority of cable TV programmes are transmitted in English and in the cinema all English language films are shown with Portuguese subtitles, except those for young children, which are dubbed into Portuguese. On a day picked at random (26 July, 2010), 65% of films being shown in Lisbon cinemas were in English, and 23% in Portuguese. In common with other European countries, English is used in product advertisements in Portugal (Gerritsen et al.). Analysis of code-mixed advertisements in women's glossy magazines (Cosmopolitan, Happy, Maxima and Vogue) for August/September 2010 revealed that an average of 64% of advertisements used English, either in sentential, phrasal or lexical substitutions (Martin 385). 79% of Portuguese parents questioned in the European Commission Eurobarometer 243 survey stated it was important for their children to learn English "to improve their job prospects" (45) and indeed 46% of jobs advertised in *O Expresso*, a quality broadsheet weekly newspaper on 30 July, 2011 either asked specifically for knowledge of English, or were written entirely in English.

Methodology

Respondents

An opportunity sample of 200 Portuguese university students in total was surveyed using a group administered questionnaire. Participants can be divided into 4 groups of 50 students. These were:

- Active learners studying translation in the urban area of Lisbon (Group A).
- Active learners studying tourism in the city of Santarém (Group B).
- Non-learners studying architecture and urban planning in Lisbon (Group C).
- Non-learners studying psychology and management degree courses in the regional cities of Santarém and Leiria (Group D).

University students were chosen as the sample for investigation as this group is likely to become the middle class professionals of the future, a group who are identified as being fundamentally important in the spread of English (Graddol 27). The study focuses on both students in the urban area of Lisbon with a population of approximately 1 million, and those in the smaller, more rural cities of Santarem and Leiria (located approximately 65 km and 130km north of Lisbon respectively) with populations of 28,760 and 42,745 respectively. The study also includes active and non-learners of the language. This decision to compare those who study in an urban environment and those who do not was taken as it is believed that the middle classes in urban areas are more open to new speech habits, whereas more rural areas are thought to be “linguistically conservative” (Graddol 27). The decision to include both those who do and do not study English was taken as students who had chosen to study on courses involving the language could be more positively biased towards it and consequently have more positive attitudes.

Reference has been made previously to the relationship between attitudes, motivation and language spread. Gardner & Lambert suggested that motivation to learn a second language had an instrumental and integrative orientation, henceforth referred to as instrumentality and integrativeness. Instrumentality has been related to “a desire (...) for pragmatic gains” and a desire for “status, achievement, personal success (...)”. Integrativeness has been described as “a psychological and emotional identification with the L2 community” (Dörnyei and Csizér 453). An attempt was made in this study to determine to what extent these facets of motivation were predominant amongst the sample. The age profile of respondents in each of the four groups can be seen in Figure 1 below. Results are expressed as the percentage of students with ages between 18-30, 31 and 45 and those older than 45, where the total number of students per group is 50. Group A exhibits the youngest age profile with 96% of respondents being between 18 and 30 years old. This diminishes to 84% for Group B, 65% for Group C and 50% for Group D.

Figure 1. Percentages (%) of students per group classified according to age.

Total Number =200

Group	18-30 age group	31-45 age group	45+ age group
A	96	4	0
B	84	16	0
C	65	30	5
D	50	42	8

Questionnaire Procedure and Analysis

An 18-item questionnaire was designed based on similar questionnaires used in previous studies (Baker; Friedrich; Preisler). The questionnaire was translated into Portuguese, attitude statements ordered randomly to reduce acquiescence bias and a 5 point Likert scale used to analyse attitude statements, with a score of 5 corresponding to strong agreement. A final section asked for information on age, nationality and whether their university course involved the study of English. The questionnaire was administered anonymously in class and students took approximately 10-15 minutes to complete it. Means and standard deviations were then calculated for attitude statements. It should be noted that results obtained are representative of the sample involved and not the population as a whole.

Results and Discussion

Results for attitude statements expressed as mean and standard deviation can be seen in Figure 2. All groups strongly agree that English is a language worth learning, that they would like to speak English fluently and accurately, that they would like their children to speak English, that English is important for higher education and that they feel they have a better chance of getting a good job, and making themselves understood abroad if they speak English. In addition all groups agreed that they liked speaking and hearing English. All agreed that the presence of English is a natural consequence of globalisation and low scores for questions m, n, and o, revealed that they do not agree that their Portuguese identity, language or culture are threatened by the presence of English. Most groups strongly agreed with the practice of using

Figure 2. Attitudes towards English by group, with the mean (m), the standard deviation (s.d.), and the number of students on which the means are based (N).

Total sample= 200 Attitudes	A (N=50)		B (N=50)		C (N= 50)		D (N= 50)	
	m	s.d.	m	s.d.	m	s.d.	m	s.d.
a) English is a language worth learning.	4.9	0.2	4.9	0.3	4.9	0.3	4.9	0.3
b) I like speaking English.	4.9	0.4	4.3	0.9	4.4	0.9	4.3	0.8
c) With English, I can make myself better understood abroad.	4.6	0.5	4.5	0.6	4.7	0.4	4.6	0.6
d) The presence of English in Portugal is a natural consequence of globalization.	4.3	0.8	4.2	0.6	4.2	0.7	3.9	0.9
e) I like hearing the English language.	4.8	0.5	4.5	0.7	4.4	0.8	4.5	0.6
f) I would like to speak English fluently and accurately.	4.8	0.4	4.9	0.4	4.8	0.4	4.8	0.4
g) It is not important for me to sound like a native speaker when I speak English.	4.1	1.2	3.3	1.1	3.6	1.0	3.3	1.0
h) I would like my children to speak English.	4.7	0.4	4.8	0.4	4.8	0.5	4.7	0.5
i) I think all English films in the cinema in Portugal should be dubbed into Portuguese.	1.3	0.6	1.9	1.3	1.6	1.0	2.1	1.3
j) I would prefer to watch English language TV programmes which were dubbed into Portuguese.	1.3	0.6	1.7	1.1	1.6	1.1	2.1	1.2
k) English is important for higher education	4.7	0.6	4.5	0.6	4.4	0.8	4.5	0.7
l) I have a better chance of getting a good job if I speak English.	4.6	0.6	4.6	0.5	4.5	0.7	4.5	0.7
m) When using English I do not feel Portuguese any more.	1.5	0.7	1.6	0.8	1.7	0.7	1.8	0.7
n) The presence of English in Portugal is a threat to the Portuguese language.	1.9	0.8	1.7	0.7	1.6	0.7	1.8	0.8
o) The presence of English in Portugal is a threat to Portuguese culture.	1.9	0.9	1.6	0.8	1.4	0.5	1.7	0.7
p) Being able to speak English is a symbol of an educated person.	2.7	1.0	3.2	1.1	2.9	1.1	2.9	1.0
q) Not being able to speak English symbolises a lower class person.	1.9	0.8	1.9	0.7	2.1	1.5	2.1	0.7
r) It is not necessary to speak English well to have a high status in Portuguese society.	3.6	1.0	3.5	0.9	3.5	1.0	3.5	0.9

subtitles in the cinema and on TV, although non-learners in non-urban areas (Group D) were less enthusiastic, perhaps because this is a topic which affects their everyday lives to a greater extent than the other points raised. Most students agreed that it wasn't important to sound like a native speaker and replies to questions p and q revealed that students disagreed that English symbolised an educated individual, or one of a higher class. An important point to note is that, in general, attitudes were very similar amongst all groups, irrespective of whether the students were learners or non-learners, urban or non-urban dweller.

Attitude statements were then clustered according to instrumentality or integrativeness in an attempt to determine which of these was predominant amongst the sample. The 18 attitudes items were initially divided into three clusters, these being Integrativeness/Likeability, Instrumentality/Usefulness, and Attitudes in relation to the Portuguese language and culture. Statements included in the integrativeness cluster were those which seemed to mostly closely reflect an emotional identification with the language and its speakers, and the instrumentality cluster included statements which reflected a desire for pragmatic gains and status. However, analysis of results brought about a further sub-division of the Instrumentality/Usefulness cluster into Instrumentality/Usefulness considering Economic Advantage, and Instrumentality/Usefulness considering Social Recognition and Status. Results were then analysed by comparing means and standard deviations amongst groups for these clusters, and can be seen in Figure 3.

Figure 3. Results for Attitude Clusters in groups, expressed as mean and standard deviation

Attitudes	A		B		C		D	
	m	s.d	m	s.d	m	s.d	m	s.d
Integrativeness/Likeability (Items b, d, e & f)	4.7	0.3	4.5	0.3	4.4	0.3	4.4	0.4
Instrumentality/Usefulness considering economic advantage (Items a, c, h, k & l)	4.7	0.1	4.7	0.2	4.7	0.2	4.6	0.2
Instrumentality/Usefulness considering social recognition and status (Items p, q, & r)	2.7	0.8	2.9	0.8	2.8	0.7	2.8	0.7
In relation to Portuguese language and culture (Items g, i, j, m, n, & o)	1.8	0.6	1.9	0.6	1.9	0.8	2.1	0.6

Figure 3 makes even more obvious the similarity of results across groups, and shows how positive attitudes are towards the language (Integrativeness/Likeability), and the economic advantages it can bring (Instrumentality/Usefulness considering economic advantage). All groups were united in thinking that English in general did not confer social recognition or status on speakers. One possible reason for this could be that the presence of English is now so routine amongst university students that at least some command of the language is seen as being the norm, and this would confirm Grin's claim that English is "on the way to becoming an unremarkable skill" (Erling, "Local Identities" 121). Low scores for attitudes in relation to Portuguese language and culture signify that all groups were united in their belief that English was not a threat to the Portuguese identity, language or culture, and indeed preferred English over Portuguese on TV and in the cinema.

When comparing results of this study with results from previous studies it can be seen that although attitudes seem particularly positive here, similar trends have been reported in other countries in the Expanding Circle. Preisler on a study of attitudes towards English amongst a random sample of the Danish adult population found that Danes similarly perceived English to be a natural consequence of globalisation and that it posed little threat to Danish language and culture (247). Freidrich on studies on the attitudes of students in Brazil found that these respondents were much more likely to associate speaking English with increased job opportunities than with status or intelligence (220) and in an unpublished study on Portugal, Cavalheiro found that 90% of university students questioned found the presence of English useful because it improved English proficiency and was culturally enriching (92). Truchot considers that attitudes towards the spread of English vary according to the size of the country, with smaller countries considering English more positively due to the 'limited reach of the national language', which may well be the case in Portugal (149).

Conclusion

Attitudes towards the various aspects of English investigated in this study are generally positive amongst all groups, with non-learners attitudes being as positive as those of active learners, a

finding in direct contrast with previous studies (El-Dash and Busnardo; Dörnyei and Csizér). There was also little difference between those in an urban and those in a non-urban setting. Students here expressed positive integrativeness to learn English, while feeling no cultural or linguistic threat. This would contradict the idea of English as a killer language (Phillipson) eliminating linguistic diversity. These results support the situation described by Berns, de Bot, and Hasebrink who suggest that local languages continue to represent local identities and cultures, with English adding other identities which complement those in the first language (118). Although it is true that English is present in the day to day lives of many Portuguese through music, television and the internet, skills employed are mostly receptive, that is listening and reading, rather than the productive skills of speaking or writing. This somewhat passive exposure to the language could also result in such positive attitudes, as the language is less intrusive than in other countries where speaking and writing skills are employed more frequently. The fact that all groups disagreed with the idea that knowledge of English was a symbol of class, status or education supports the idea that English is spreading and becoming more commonplace.

Although it may be true that certain countries in the Expanding Circle are moving in the direction of the Outer circle, it would appear that Portugal, for the moment, remains within the Expanding Circle, with English being regarded as a foreign language and speakers largely looking towards Inner Circle countries to set the norms although this may not be true for pronunciation, as those surveyed here were largely ambiguous when asked if they wanted to sound like a native speaker. Results suggest that the spread of English in Portugal will accelerate in the future. Positive attitudes, plus the recent introduction of English into primary school education leading to greater learning opportunities, will result in further spread of the language. Increased opportunities for contact through media products could lead to the functionality of the language expanding, with more and more Portuguese using English in their professional and private lives, which in turn could lead to more positive attitudes to cultural values, promote integrativeness, motivation to learn and subsequent spread. To better

understand this phenomenon it is suggested that a full sociolinguistic profile be undertaken, examining the range and depth of functional uses of the language throughout the country .

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