A critical analysis of *English* language as power resource expressed in EFL teachers' discourse in an Orkut forum

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Abstract: The worldwide significant increase in the number of *English* speakers has raised interest in the investigation of this phenomenon. *English* is considered, in many cultures, a gatekeeper for privileged social positions. In this paper, we explore aspects of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), Critical Language Awareness (CLA) and Structuration Theory as an attempt to describe and explain the relations between power and *English* language in EFL teachers' discourse materialized in posts in a community discussion forum at the website Orkut. In the first moment of the analysis, we explore the textual level through an investigation of the transitivity system, and we establish teachers' views of power in the *English* language instantiated in the post entitled 'What does *English* mean for you? Just language?'. In order to understand the possible impact of these views on teaching, we rely on CLA, as the teachers' personal understandings of language have the potential to impact significantly in pedagogical practice. We also employ Structuration Theory to develop issues related to how power can be exercised through *English* language.

Key words: Orkut, *English* language, power, SFL, CLA, Structuration Theory

1. Introduction

The teaching of *English* as a second/foreign language has attracted researchers' interest in the social elements which may influence the use of a language. This is an interest we share in our investigation of the power relations involving the *English* language in a discussion entitled "what does *English* mean for you?" by *English* teachers in an online forum.

The global spread of the teaching of *English* as a foreign language is related to its status as a facilitator of international communication, as well as its functioning as a gatekeeper to most prestigious positions in society. Accordingly, Pennycook has argued that "with *English* taking up such an important position in many educational systems around the world, it has become one of the most powerful means of inclusion into or exclusion from further education, employment or social positions" (81). The author also highlights the barrier established by the great incidence of materials published in *English*, which, in turn, demands from prospective students a high degree of proficiency in the language.

Regarding international communication, the Internet, which easily allows the transfer of intellectual capital across the world, epitomizes the need of *English* as an international language, as the greatest part of websites and internet traffic have elected *English* as their *lingua franca* (Graddol). Therefore, individuals' inclusion in the digital world and, consequently, their access to the flow of information which is available in this virtual environment, will be directly related to their competence in using *English* as a tool.

Nonetheless there are other issues which should be considered about the importance conferred to *English* as an international language. Pennycook alerts to the apparent common sense among professionals involved in English Language Teaching (ELT) that "the spread of English is natural, neutral and beneficial" (3), which disregards its potential as an imperialistic tool serving the interests of dominant classes. Although the spread of *English* as an international language had its origin due to the military power of *its* speakers, it has become increasingly connected to the economical power, which will directly influence cultural values (Graddol). Hence, new interests have emerged, transforming *English* into a commodity which will grant access to power.

In order to unveil issues relating *English* and power materialized in EFL teachers' discourse in an online forum, we are going to develop an analysis which will cover the

textual and social dimensions. For the textual dimension, evidence from the lexicogrammatical choices are discussed under the light of Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics (henceforth SFL), while the social dimension is explored based on a two-fold theoretical rationale: Fairclough's Critical Language Awareness (henceforth CLA) and Giddens's Structuration Theory.

2. Context of investigation

Considering the direct connection between *English* and technology and, hence, the new means of communication which may originate from this tool of the information society, new possibilities of interactions occurring on the internet, as online forums, are worth investigating. Therefore, we explore how *English* and power are related in the discussion forum of an ELT community in the relationship website Orkut, which has reached, according to Wikipaedia more than 40.42 million members this year; being, thus a large-scale means of text distribution and production and ideology spreading.

Orkut, besides allowing its users to collect friends, also enables the creation of virtual communities where discussions can be conducted by members. These communities, which are created by the users, aim at gathering people with similar interests in a myriad of areas. Based on our object of investigation, we elected an EFL teachers community, which, besides being the longest in existence¹ is the one with the highest membership rate². We found of particular interest a topic entitled "What does English mean for you?" and analyzed posts of seventeen teachers³.

¹ Since May 22, 2004 ² 9,326 members on April 18, 2007

³ The texts which were analyzed are the ones posted until Jan 8 2007, when the data was collected.

3. Power representations in teachers discourse - a textual analysis

Halliday's SFL has been used as a textual support in research of power and ideology materialization in discourse. The choices made in a text⁴, thus, reveal the ideological investment which is inherent in any type of interaction (Fairclough, "Critical Language"). These choices are also determined by the functions language perform: the ideational, what is being talked about; the interpersonal, the relationships involved in the interaction; and the textual, the way the message is organized (Eggins, Butt et al, Halliday and Mathiessen).

Although the three metafunctions coexist and occupy an equal status, for the purpose of our analysis, the ideational metafunction will be explored. Aiming at unveiling the representations of *English* language in the teachers' discourse, the transitivity analysis is performed focusing on three aspects: (a) what roles *English* plays in the clauses it is a participant, (b) what attributes and/or values are related to *English*, and (c) what *English* enables people to do.

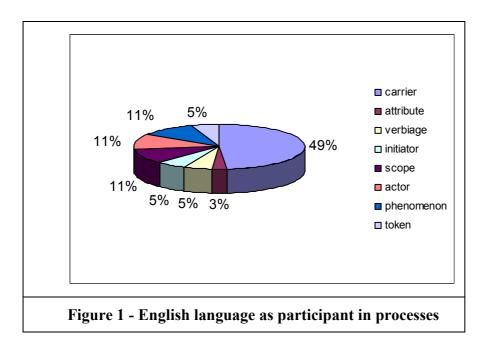
English is... just the love of my life

I had **the key** to the front door of the world

The posts were segmented into clauses which we re selected based on the explicit or indirect participation of *English* (see examples above) and the roles *it* occupied were categorized as shown in figure 1.:

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⁴ Text, from the SFL perspective, is "a piece of language in use" (Butt et al, 2000, p. 3)



The high incidence of relational clauses, where "something is said to 'be' something else" (Halliday and Matthiessen 213), met the expectations originated by the topic title, *What does English mean for you?*. This predominance of relational processes in the corpus justified an examination of what attributes and/or identities are conferred to *English*. The numbers and graphic in figure 1 demonstrate that *English* is given attributes in 49% of the selected while 5% of the considered clauses identified *English* with a value. In attributive processes, an entity can be ascribed with a class or a quality which establishes a criterion for classmembership (Halliday and Mathiessen), for example *just one more way of communication* or a difficult language, while on identifying clauses they are conferred an identity, which makes them unique, as for instance *my friend, my strength*.

The attributes and values conferred to *English* (see table 1) can help us have a picture of how it is conceived in the discourse materialized in the posts. An interpretation of these values, from a social perspective, is discussed in section 4.

Attributes

(just/ not only / a difficult)language

very little (as a language)

only a business

the key to the frontdoor of the world

a conquest

one more way of communication

just like a living and it a key to enter the world of communication

so important as a canvas when you go camping

the reason why I keep my orkut always on

like having access to other treasures

a way of knowing more about other cultures

Values

'my friend,my strength'

(part of / just the love of) my life

Table 1 – Attributes and Values ascribed to English

In other relational processes the teachers ascribe themselves the possession of attributes which they relate to their knowledge of the language, as shown in clause 37; moreover, they characterize themselves in relation to the language as a *native speaker* and as *addicted to it*⁵.

cl. 37		
who	got	the strength to overthrow the barriers of linguistic exclusion.
Possessor	Pr: relational	Possessed

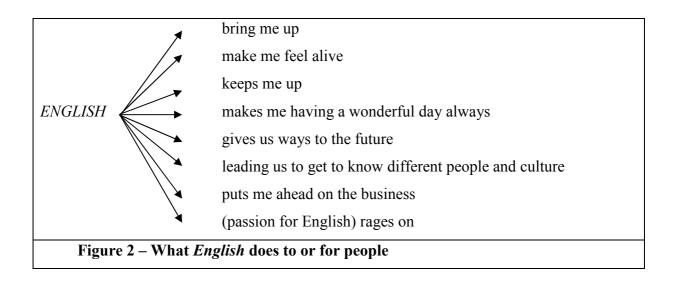
Other roles *English* plays as participant are also worth investigating to avoid that important information is missed or neglected. In the mental clauses where *English* functions as a phenomenon, it is the object of teachers' love:

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⁵ Refer to appendix 1

cl. 51		
I	LOVE	English!
Senser	Pr:	Phenomenon
	mental	

Besides the role *English* occupies as Scope in material clauses as a language *one* teaches, studies, reads books in, can't speak or live without⁶, it is important to highlight the role of *English* as Actor as well as its occurrence as Initiator, the latter being the one which causes people to act. In both cases, teachers express what *English* does to or for them, since they occupy the roles of either Goals, being affected by the action performed by *English*, or Beneficiaries, the ones which benefit from their knowledge of the language.



Finally, we want to comment on what *English* enables people to do, which in the text is related to a manner of making money (clause 54), thus obtaining financial success as illustrated in clause as well as interaction using the new forms of communication which the internet made available (clause 64).

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⁶ For constraints related to the size of this paper, we could not exemplify all the comments, please refer to the APPENDIX 2, clauses 11, 19, 35, 45, 46, 47, 53 and 62.

cl. 54			
I	earn	money	with this
			language,
Actor	Pr:	Scope	Circumstance of
	material		manner: means

cl. 65	5	
and	used to	average 4 hours << voice chatting on the net with people from all over
	spend	the world.>>
	Pr:	Scope/embedded clause
	material	

So far we have used the transitivity analysis to unveil issues regarding the interrelationship of power and *English*. In the next section we interpret the findings under the light of CLA and Structuration Theory.

4. Critical Language Awareness and Structuration Theory

People interact in social practices which are determined by and at the same time determine social structure and role prescriptions (Meurer "Role prescription"; "Integrando", Giddens "Central problems"). While role prescriptions are "the privileges or rights and duties or responsibilities associated with specific social identities" (Meurer "Role prescriptions" 87) and, thus, determined by the social position and individual holds, structure is established by the rules these individuals follow and the resources they posses to either perpetuate and reinforce these rules, or to challenge and change them. However, for new practices and conventions to be developed, it is essential that consciousness is developed first (Fairclough, "Critical Language").

Moreover, individuals interact in social contexts where they share a certain level of 'mutual knowledge' (Giddens, "The Constitution"). The concepts about *English* expressed in the posts reveal that teachers share the consciousness of the power one is granted by his/her proficiency in the language. Different individuals may present different interests (Giddens,

"The Constitution") such as access to knowledge, culture, leisure and financial success.

However different these interests may be, the resource applied in their pursuance is the same:

English, which can be considered both an authoritative resource meaning the knowledge some individuals have in detriment of others who do not have it, and as an allocative resource because it generates power and control over people.

The common sense in the forum that *English* is more than a way of communication is a global ideology which is "immediately related to the distribution of power" (Giddens, "The Constitution" 120). In other words, the widespread presence of *English* and, consequently, its transformation into a primordial good, which propagates its use thorough the creation of new sources of information in this language, can be considered an example of how structure is reinforced by social practices.

Regarding the social practice of speaking a variety of *English* related to correctness and prestige, any unconventional use may cause "strong reactions from other speakers" (Giddens and Pierson 77) in the form of coercion, as, for instance, the questioning of the existence of the term *mistakening* in an informal discussion where the main focus was not grammatical correction. Likewise, the declared *love* and *addiction* to *English* can be understood as effects of societal forms related to the production and reproduction of structure in people's actions, as the choices one makes in order to convey feelings for the language are shaped by discourse conventions which are part of the socio-historical context. These conventions usually frame the dominant views about the counterfeit relations between participants of any type of discourse (Clark and Ivanic, 1992), thus, their understanding can bring light into the contribution of discourse to social action, as for example regarding ideological views and unfolding bias or power relations. (Fairclough, "Critical Language"; Leal)

The claim that "social forces may be as powerful as actual physical coercion" (Giddens and Pierson 87), is noticeable in the status given to *English* and in the constraints it may

impose on the ones which do not speak it. These constraints seem to be apparent for the teachers who have ascribed to English such attributes as having access to other treasures, a key to enter the world of communication and business, a way of knowing more about other cultures and the key to the frontdoor of the world, which indicates a clear notion of English as a tool for international communication, and as a gatekeeper to most prestigious positions in society. At the same time teachers have referred to it as a difficult language and a conquest, highlighting that even though learning English may be demanding, it is for them so important as a canvas when you go camping. One of the teachers even reported feeling like a free liver who got the strength to overthrow the barriers of linguistic exclusion. As a speaker of a minority language, this teacher was linguistically excluded from access to various sources of culture and international communication that in his community are granted to those who speak foreign languages. Thus, speaking English has entitled him a fuller citizenship.

The teachers whose discourse was analyzed expressed a level of awareness of not only the widespread presence of *English* in the world, but also its power in establishing values and enabling or constraining actions. Concerning the role of *English* in ELT, Fairclough's CLA proposes a three-fold approach which relates language to the analysis of its form, process and socio-historical context. The elements presented by Structuration Theory are an alternative to the interpretations on social issues conveyed in the discourse which is materialized in language use.

5. Final remarks

The present research dealt with a particular group of teachers in a very peculiar context and the results obtained cannot be generalized. Neither can these teachers' practice be investigated, since we only have access to what they discursively construct in their posts.

However, online forums are types of media which have been reaching and possibly influencing a large number of people.

Critical language studies criticize "main-stream language study for taking conventions and practices at face value, as objects to be described, in a way which obscures their political and ideological investment" (Fairclough, "Critical Language" 7). It is important that teachers, along with their students, have a space for discussion of *why* they are learning a language. We, therefore, do not intend to criticize the teaching of *English*, or its positioning as an essential tool for individuals who want to have access to the *information society*. Conversely, our concern lays in what is hidden behind discourse and the practices which reinforce its use influencing not only communication itself, but also the whole societal organization (Giddens and Pierson).

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Appendix I

What does English mean for you? Just languague?

	What does English mean for you?Just languague?
	Showing 1-10 of 12 first < previous next > last
V	1/5/2006 11:36 AM What does English mean for you?Just languague? ley folks,i'll cherish your understanding of what English means for you!
	1/5/2006 11:48 AM ne more way of communication!!
V T fi it d	1/5/2006 11:59 AM Vell, that's for sure! he main meaning of what i said is hidden behind communication!i know it may be the rst answer that comes up on our mind when we talk about language!But if you say, 's just one more way of communication you're saying it's just a language!And by oing so,you're mistakening my meaning!i respect you anyway but if you don't mind eread and you'll get my drift!!
n	1/5/2006 1:43 PM ny life ly life!! I'm simply addicted to English! Can't live without it!
h tl b	1/5/2006 4:08 PM ley Marcel! hat's exactly how i feel about English!it's not only a language but something that rings me up and make me feel alive!I'd be nothing without it!!in short,English is my fe too!!
	1/6/2006 2:13 AM nglish means a canvas to men u know y Fernando, dont u ?!
	1/6/2006 5:29 AM diffecult language for me G cant speak it
:· e	1/7/2006 2:33 PM -D nglish is just the love of my life what keeps me up and makes me having a nonderful day always
H	1/7/2006 5:17 PM ley srinanda! Vell, Did you mean that English is so important as a canvas when you go amping?wether you did so!i got you!
	1/7/2006 8:34 PM I fell like a free liver who got the strength to overthrow the barriers of linguistic xclusion.
Kate	11/8/2006 4:08 AM English is not only the language we live on
	It's also the reason why I keep my orkut always turned on 🐸
Robert	11/8/2006 12:45 PM mistakening Is 'mistakening' a neologism? Or a kind of non-standard English? I've never seen it as a verb, like 'misundestanding'. Could you explain, please?
	and, as for what English means to me, it is a conquest, knowing how to express

⁷ Teacher names were changed to maintain their privacy

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	yourself in another language is like having access to other treasures!
Jennifer	11/28/2006 5:23 PM English In my opinian English is just like a living and it a key to enter the world of communication and bussiness, it give us ways to the future leading us to get to know different people and culture.
Fabio	12/16/2006 12:07 PM English, my life! It flows in my blood just like oxygen!i couldn't live without it!I LOVE English!
Yara	12/16/2006 7:28 PM It is part of my lifeand a way of knowing more about other cultures.
Mary	12/17/2006 7:06 AM I love English and everything linked to it. I earn money with this language, that 's why I love it so much.
Rose	12/17/2006 9:48 AM English is a part of my life, 'my friend, my strength'.
Nelson	12/17/2006 9:11 PM only a buisness
Ubbi	12/28/2006 9:55 AM I love english and I earn morney teaching :-)
Richard	Idon't know how old you are but I guess I was quite like you when I was younger (than now, 38). I started studying English as a false beginner when I was 18. two and a half years later I was teaching and still am. Just to put you in the picture, I read 63 books in English in a little bit more than 2 years and used to spend average 4 hours voice chatting on the net with people from all over the world. I used to think I had the key to the front door of the world and soon I'd hit the jack pot. Well, to make a long story short, now I teach 25 hours of English a week as an odd evening job, make some nice money but that's all. What I mean is, professionaly speaking, English alone means very little. You have to go for something else to match your passion for the language. Otherwise you'll probably work as a teacher for some people who barely speaks English, had the money and the balls to invest in an English school, is making a lot o money, traveling abroad every year while you stay home unemployed and broke every summer vacation.
	Thank God I have my own business on Fiberglass, to keep me up, which I love more than teaching. By the way, English puts me ahead on this business 'cause I can pick many first world brains on this subject. Anywaysmy passion for English rages on!
Andrew	1/8/2007 3:34 PM English and Portuguese Well- I am a native speaker of English and I teach it to immigrants from Brazil here where I live. I guess I like Portuguese because Brazil is a neat country!

Appendix II – Transitivity Analysis

cl. 1			1												
What	de	oes	English Carrier					mean Pr: relational					for you? Circumstance of		
Attribute			Carrier					angle: viewpo							
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cl. 4			1												
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Elliptical Carrier		Pr: rel	ational					Attr	ił	oute					
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cl.6		36	iyei			Г1.	verbar				verblage				
it		's				iust	t one m	ore w	va	v of con	nmunicatio	n			
Carrier		Pı	relation:	nal			ribute			<u> </u>					
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you			saying												
Sayer		Pı	:: verbal												
cl. 8		's								1	just a lan	01100	ral		
Carrier			: relatio	nal							Attribute		uage!		
cl. 9		11	. Telatic	niai							Aunoute				
^IT					^IS						My life!!				
Elliptical Token					Pr: relati	ional					Value				
cl. 10															
I'			m								ed to Engl	ish!			
Carrier			Pr: re	latio	tional Attribute				oute	ute					
cl. 11 <i></i>			Can't	live				without it!							
Actor								Circumstance of accompaniment							
cl. 12			11.11	atern	Circumstance of accompaniment						ment				
it	's			not	ot only a language										
Carrier	Pr: re	lational		Attı	ribute										
cl. 13								T . ·					1		
but		thing th	at					brings			m		up		
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Actor]	Pr:			Goal			mate	eı	rial		A	ttribute		
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cl. 17		1													
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English is so important as a canvas when you go camping?													
Carrier Pr: relational Attribute													
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cl. 32	nstance	e of angle	-		Car	rier	Pr: relatio	naı		Attribute			
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Actor					mater	ial	Benefic	iary			Sco		
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Actor		Pr: mater	ial				ation place					f comparison	
cl. 35										2.1.24111514			
i				dn't liv			without i						
Actor			Pr:	nateria	1		Circumst	ance	of accomp	animent			
cl. 36			1.0	/IT					F 1' 1	<u> </u>			
I			LO						English				
Senser	<u>I</u>		Pr:	mental					Phenom	enon			
It	is		na	rt of m	v life		and a way	of kn	nowing m	ore about of	her cu	ıltures	
Carrie		: relation		ttribute	, -	-	Attribute	- 1 INI	<u>5</u>				
cl. 38			1										

I love							English and everything linked to it.							
Senser		Pr: n	Pr: mental					Phenomenon						
cl.39														
I earn												is language,		
Actor Pr: material							Scope Circumstance of					f manı	ner: means	
cl. 40	1		Т		1				:1		1	1.		
that's w			I		love		1		it			nuch.	C	
Circums	stance of reas	son	Sense	er	Pr: m	enta	ll.		Phenomenon				ince of	
cl. 41											mai	nner: d	egree	
English		is					a part o	of m	vy lifa		'mx	friend	my	
English		15					a part c	<i>)</i> 1 11	ly IIIE,			ngth'.	i,iiiy	
Carrier /	Token	Pr: rela	tional				Attribu	ıtρ			Val			
cl. 42	TORCH	11.1014	tionai				7111100	ite			v ai	uc		
^ENGL	ISH		/	^IS						only a b	uisness			
Carrier]	Pr: rela	ational					Attribut				
cl. 43														
I		lo	ve				englis	h			and			
Senser		Pr	: menta	ıl			pheno	mei	non					
cl. 44														
I			rn				morne	•				ching		
Actor		Pr	: materi	ial			Scope	;			Pr:	materi	al	
cl. 45		1	D 1: 1		1	C 1	1 .				1		10	
I	started stud		English				e begini		,			en I wa		
Actor	Pr: materia	ll	Scope		Circi	umsi	tance of	t m	anner: role				ince of	
												location: time/ embedded clause		
cl. 46											emi	beadec	ciause	
	a half years	later			T	was teaching			was teaching		and	still	am.	
	stance of loca		Α		Actor				Pr: material		and	Still	Pr: material	
cl. 47	stance of loca	ition, tim	<u> </u>		Actor				11. Illateriai				11. material	
	ut you in the	picture,	I		read				63 books in English			in a	little bit more	
1	J	1 ,								C		than	2 years	
Circums	stance of reas	son:	Acto	or Pr: material			Scope					Circ	umstance of	
purpose											exte	nt: duration		
cl. 48														
and	used to spe				hours < <voice all="" chatting="" from="" net="" on="" over="" people="" the="" with="" world.="">></voice>									
	Pr: materia	ıl	Scop	oe/emb	edded c	laus	e							
cl. 49	-44:		41.	4							141	1. C		
voice ch	atting		on th	the net							wit	1	people from	
													all over the world.	
Pr:			Ciro	umatar	tance of location: place						ver	201	Receiver	
cl.50			Circ	umstai	ance of location: place						Ver	Jai	Receiver	
I		used to	think		[[] had t	the k	cev to t	he f	ront door of th	e world a	nd soon	I'd hi	t the iack	
					pot.]]		,						· J	
Senser		Pr: mer	ıtal		Phenom	neno	n/proje	cte	d clause					
cl. 51							F- J							
I		had					the key	to to	the front door	of the wo	rld			
Possesso	or	Pr: rela	tional p	ossess	ive		Possess	sed						
cl. 52														
and soon									I	'd hit		jack p	ot	
Circumstance of loca					ion: time	e			Actor	Pr: material	Goa	al		
1.52														
cl. 53						tan	ach		25 harra af	English	00.07	dd ar-	aning ich	
Well, to make a long now story short,					I teach				25 hours of	as an odd evening job.				
Story SH	υιί,	Cirou	nstance	e of	Actor	Dr	: materi	ia1	a week,		Cirour	Circumstance of manner:		
			nstance on: time		ACIOI	11.	. matel	ıaı	Scope	Scope Circumstan			e or manner.	
cl. 54		iocaile	۱۱. ۱۱۱۱۱ <u>۲</u>	-		1					1010			
make								SO	me nice money	7				
									: : :=== - j					

Pr: material	sc	scope										
cl. 55					-							
What I mean is, professionaly speaking,.							glish al	one		means	very little	
		Circumstance	of mai	nner: mean	ıs	Car	rier			Pr:	Attribute	
										relational		
cl.56												
who		rely				eaks				English,.		
Sayer	Ci	rcumstance of m	nanner	: quality	Pr	: verl	bal			Verbiage		
cl. 57	1											
Thank God	I		have	е,		y owr bergl	n busin ass	ess on		to keep me	up,	
	Po	ssessor	Pr· ı	elational		ssess			Circumstance of		ce of	
		5505501	1	10	1 03303504				reason: purpose			
cl. 58	<u> </u>		l							reason. par	505 0	
which	I		love	;		more than teaching						
Phenomenon	Se	nser	Pr: 1	nental		Circumstance of manner					comparison	
cl. 59	•		•								•	
By the way,	En	English puts			me				ahead on this business			
	Ac	etor	Pr: 1	naterial		Goal				Attribute		
cl. 60												
Anyways	my	y passion for En	glish			rages			rages or	on!		
	Ac	etor							Pr: mate	erial		
cl. 61												
Well- I am								a nat	ive speak	er of English	1	
Carrier Pr: relational								Attri	bute			
cl. 62				· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·								
and I		teach	it			immigrants from Brazil here where I live.						
Actor		Pr: material	Sco	pe	Recipie	ecipient						