

**The English language conquest of Portuguese academic writing: A study of faculty members' language choices**

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**Abstract**

In an attempt to survive in the highly competitive terrain of academic publications, Portuguese humanities and social science professors are increasingly giving up writing their papers in Portuguese, and, instead, they now opt to write in English, today's scientific default language. This paper aims to portray the current panorama of humanities and social sciences publications in Portugal, and focuses on the language choices and the process of academic writing of a group of Portuguese professors in the fields of humanities and social sciences with the aim of illustrating their language preferences, as well as the aspects they take into consideration while writing either in Portuguese or in English. Results of this study indicate that Portuguese humanities and social sciences professors prefer to write in Portuguese, their own language, but for reasons associated with the need to achieve scientific visibility they use the English language when they submit their manuscripts for publication. Results further illustrate participants' major concerns while composing and revising their papers in Portuguese as well as in English.

Keywords: Language dominance, EFL, academic writing, L1 writing, FL writing

**Introduction**

We live in a "geolinguistically changing world" (Swales, 1997, p. 376) where academic writing has become a synonym of writing in English language. Moreover, as a result of a growing globalization phenomenon, English has also assumed a privileged role as the international instrument of communication in most of the professional areas that require social interaction.

Johnson (2009) reflecting on positive and negative factors associated with the rise of English as a dominant world language states that the widespread of English as a *lingua franca* makes it an instrument for success in all areas requiring social mediation, but since it is not equally and universally available to all it also functions as a factor of social inequality for those who do not speak it. The author addresses the issue of the "English language monopoly" in the academic world. She equates English with the "mode of communication for the international elite" (Johnson, 2009, p. 137), but she also

reminds us of Phillipson's (1996, p. 81) words when he says that "scholars working in English are unable to communicate their professional expertise in the mother tongue, and that the (mother) language itself is atrophying in particular areas rather than to continue to develop and adjust."

Academic writing plays a highly relevant role in the lives of scholars around the world. Actually, much of what a higher education professor does is done through written language (academic publishing, lectures and conference papers, networking, peer review, etc.). In Europe, until the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, this written discourse practices used to be performed mainly in the national languages of the authors. Particularly in the field of humanities, and except for the works published by British authors, other European languages were also common practice in academic publications.

In fact, not long ago, European scholars used to value other besides the English academic discourse conventions as well. According to Johns (2003, p. 314), academic writing in continental Europe used to be inspired by German Romanticism, and thus it was "interpretative, hermeneutical and epistemological in nature", and made heavier use of "metaphors and belletrism". This traditional European model is now considered "diametrically opposed" to the favourite Anglo-American academic writing model, which is seen as "problem-based, methodological, concise, and written in an (more) accessible register" (Johns, 2003, p. 314).

Today, because English became the language of science worldwide, every speaker of any other language is destined to renounce his/her own language and adopt English, if s/he wishes to communicate with a larger than her/his own language research community.

With the aim of contributing to a deeper comprehension of the choices taken by non-English authors when publishing their work, this paper portrays the panorama of the publications in the humanities and social sciences in Portugal, and examines the language choices and the process of academic writing of a group of Portuguese humanities and social sciences professors with the aim of illustrating their language preferences, as well as the aspects they take into consideration while composing either in Portuguese or in English.

### **Context of the study: The current panorama of Portuguese scientific publications**

Our language is the mediator of our cultural experiences, social codes and values, and through our language we express our identity but also our views of the world (UNESCO, 2009).

For reasons associated with more than eight centuries of identity construction, the Portuguese language has always been used as the privileged medium of scientific communication at least until the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The prevailing choice of the Portuguese language in the case of Portuguese publications in the areas of arts, humanities and social sciences has been associated with the fact that these research fields have relied mainly on localized input. That is, research results traditionally aimed primarily at the Portuguese language research community and, as such, they were mainly intended to be shared among research peers. As it happened in other European research communities, which maintained their own language (e.g., Spanish, French and German), the Portuguese arts, humanities and social sciences research communities have been able to resist English language domination for quite a long time.

Today, the research panorama has changed completely in Portugal for reasons associated with the need to achieve visibility in a globalized world of science where English language rules. A visit to the Arts & Humanities Citation Index (AHCI) and to the Social Science Citation Index (SSCI) list of scientific journals shows that today there are only a few Portuguese language journals included in these indexes, whether in Portugal or Brazil. In fact, in a list of more than 1,700 arts and humanities journals only 15 accept Portuguese language manuscripts, and in a list of more than 2,400 social sciences journals only 20 accept manuscripts in the Portuguese language. Among the possible reasons for the existence of such a small number of Portuguese language scientific journals is certainly the growing dominance of English as the language of research publications in the whole world.

The growing dominance of English as a scientific lingua franca, particularly helped by the rise of the intellectual hegemony of the USA right after the fall of the Berlin wall, has contributed to diminishing the impact of scientific publications written in Portuguese in the areas of arts, humanities and social sciences in Portugal as well as in Brazil (Cabral, 2007).

An analysis of the scientific publications in the English language signed by Portuguese authors (designated as Portuguese publications from now on) included in the data bases of the web of science (PORDATA- 2015) — Science Citation Index-Expanded (SCI), Social Science Citation Index (SSCI), Arts & Humanities Citation Index (AHCI), Conference Proceedings Citation Index-Science (CPCI-S), Conference Proceedings Citation Index- Social Science & Humanities (CPCI-SSH) – reveals that the total number of Portuguese scientific productions has grown enormously since the last decades of the 20th century: from 307.0 in 1981 to 17.565 in 2013.

An examination of the available data (SCImago Journal & Country Rank [SJR], 2015) on Portuguese publications in the areas of arts, humanities and social sciences in the time period between 1996 and 2013 shows that the number of publications signed by Portuguese authors in these areas has grown ten times more since the last decade of the 21st century: from 217 in 1996 to 2225 in 2013 (Figure 1). An examination of the international rankings of scientific publications in the Western European countries indicates that Portugal is located at position 15 in the ranking of the 28 European countries considered by the SJR ranks.

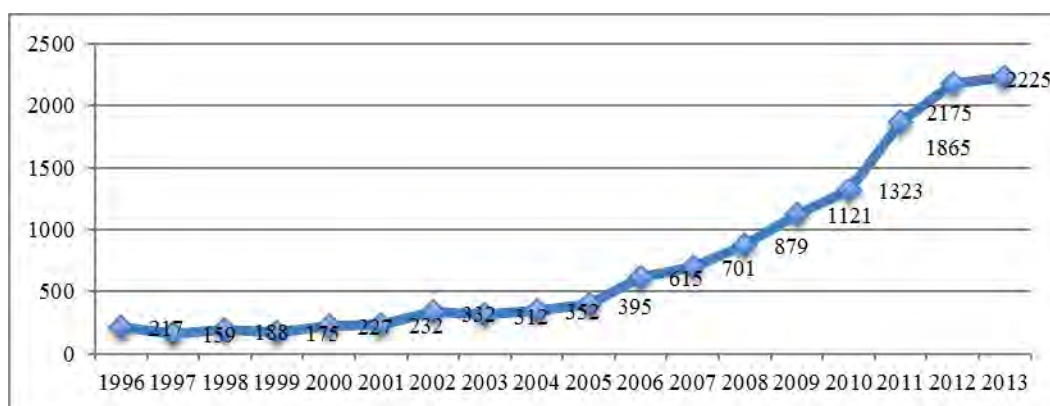


Figure 1. Portuguese Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences publications (1996 to 2013)

When we compare the volume of publications in the fields of arts, humanities and social sciences in Western European countries and in Portugal, data indicate that Portuguese publications in 2013 represent 3.4% of the global western European publications in these fields (PORDATA, 2015; European Union, 2015). This percentage represents a considerable increase when compared to the 1.7% of Portuguese publications in the same fields in 1996 (Figure 2).

Among other possible socio-cultural explanations (e.g., a rise of literacy levels and an increase of public awareness of the value of research), this growth can also mean that, as a means of fighting against the silencing of their own research voice, Portuguese researchers are increasingly adopting the English language in the writing of their scientific papers in order to be able to submit them to international journals.

The increase in Portuguese investment in research and development activities (R&D) during last decade may have also contributed to the rising of the Portuguese position in the rankings of Western European scientific publications. From a residual 0.3 % of the country's GDP in 1981, available data on gross domestic expenditure on R&D (Statistics Explained, 2015) show that Portugal has gradually increased investment in R&D to 1.5% in 2013 and, consequently, there has also been an increase in the amount of research pro-

jects financed and in the amount of international publications of the respective research products.

The latest Eurostat reports indicate that in 2013 the 28 EU Member States have spent almost €75 billion on research and development activities, which correspond to an average expenditure of 2.06% of GDP per country (Statistics Explained, 2015). When we compare the investment in R&D made by European countries that are similar to Portugal in terms of the total number of population (Belgium, Greece and Sweden) data show that Portugal has always spent more on R&D than Greece, but much less than Belgium or Sweden. This comparison is even more relevant if we take into consideration the corresponding amount of these countries' annual GDP per capita.

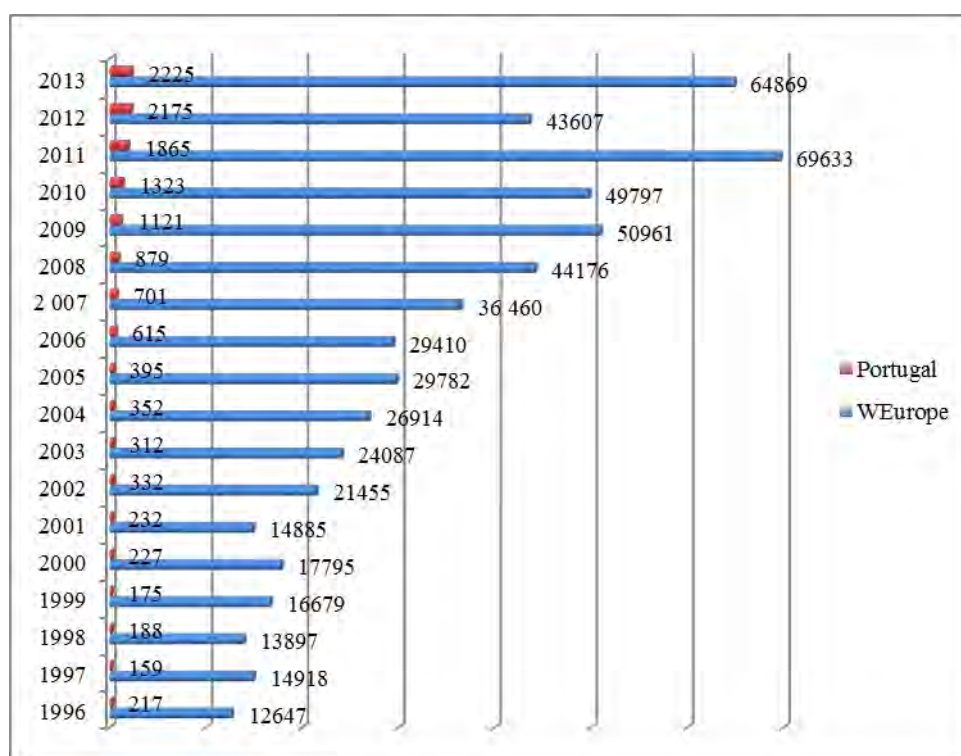


Figure 2. Publications in Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences, Portugal and Western Europe (1996-2013)

The greater national investment in English as a foreign language by richer European countries, as it is the case of Sweden, for example, also leads to the existence of a larger number of researchers with high English language proficiency, and that greater familiarity with the dominant language turns out to be an advantage when these researchers compete with Southern European researchers in their attempts to get their papers published by international journals.

A comparison of the number of scientific publications in Portugal and Greece, countries with similar population numbers and similar GDP per capita and R&D investment, reveals analogous results in terms of the prominence of these two countries' contribution to the different research fields (Figure 3).

Data on current Portuguese scientific publications in the fields of arts, humanities and social sciences demonstrate that the higher contributions for the global volume of Portuguese publications comes from the fields of Education (293), Sociology and Political Science (225), Geography, Planning and Development (206), Arts & Humanities miscellaneous (143), Social Sciences miscellaneous (163) and History (110). The scientific areas with less than 20 publications in 2013 were: Museology (2), Classics (5), Conservation (10), Music (12), Demography (13), Gender Studies (17), Religious Studies (17) and Safety Research (18).

The highest number of scientific publications in 2013 in Greece is also related to the fields of Education (272), followed by Geography and Planning and Development (124), Sociology and Political Sciences (98), and Arts & Humanities miscellaneous (93). As it happens in Portugal, the lowest number of publications is associated with the scientific areas of Classics (5), Conservation (7), Music (8), Demography (10), Gender Studies (15), Religious Studies, and Safety Research (16), Public Administration, and Human Factors and Ergonomic (17).

The same pattern is repeated when we compare data on Belgian and Swedish scientific publications, although the number of publications in these two countries is much higher than in Portugal and Greece (Figure 3).

The major contributions of Belgium and Sweden to the volume of publications in 2013 also come from the fields of Education (Belgium 327, Sweden 487), Arts and Humanities (Belgium 407, Sweden 308), Sociology and Political Science, (Belgium 384, Sweden 452), Geography, Planning and Development (Belgium 368, Sweden 459), and Linguistics and Language (Belgium 353, Sweden 194). Similarly to findings in Portugal and Greece, the fields of Classics, Conservation, Museology and Music are the ones that least contributed to the volume of scientific publications in Belgium and in Sweden.

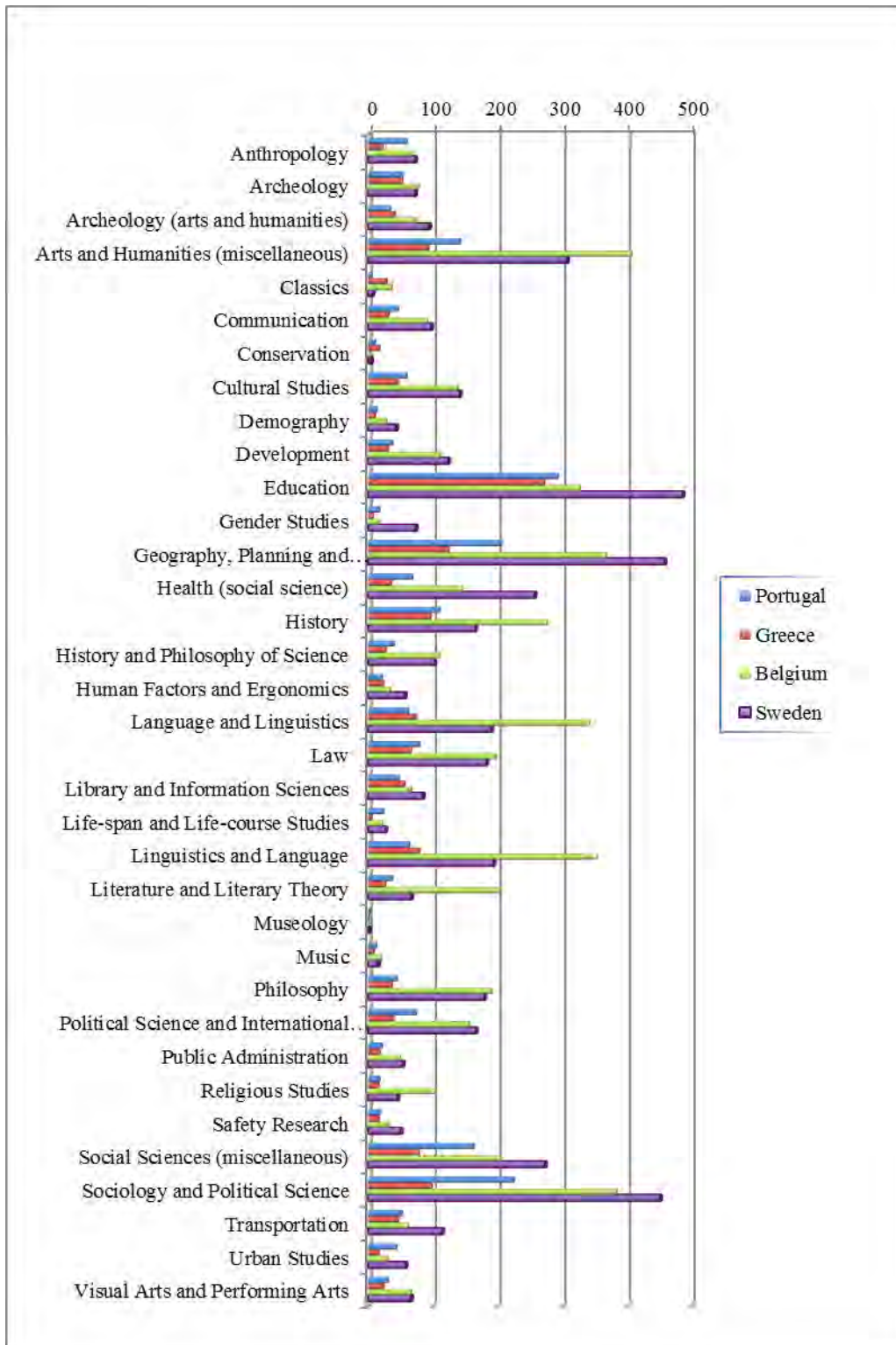


Figure 3. Humanities and Social Sciences publications in Portugal, Greece, Belgium and Sweden

### **Writing academic texts in a foreign language**

Departing from a conception of literacy as situated social practice (Bronckart, 1996; Baynham, 1995; Johns, 1997; Swales, 2002), writing in this study is seen as a process of constructing meaning through a recreation of reality that implies a reorganization of what the writer thinks, knows or feels when expressing his/her own cultural identity within a particular genre. Furthermore, the act of writing is also seen as complex process of discourse building in which language mediates the individual as well as his/her own discourse community social and cultural background (Matsuda, 2001; Wertsch, 1991).

As Jubhari (2009, p. 68) says every academic community “is characterized by the discourse practices performed by members of that academic community”. That being so, research communities all over the world have developed different discourse traditions manifested in the way they write with the aim of sharing theories or research findings with their own discourse communities. That is, besides the different methodological approaches commonly rooted in the specific research paradigms shared by different fields of study, there are also differences associated with the particular discourse strategies commonly used by speakers of a particular language community (Dudley-Evans, 2000).

Although academic writing, in abstract terms, can be defined as a process of composing a text using a formal voice and the appropriate style with the goal of sharing theories or research evidences with the research communities organized within particular fields of study, the truth is that the apparently simple act of composing a text having these goals in mind can become a difficult task for many scholars around the world, particularly when the text is to be written in a foreign language.

Like in other situations in life, choosing a language other than one's first language to communicate research content has contradictory consequences for the ones forced to make such decision. Being a non-native English speaker, either you submit to the English academic dominance and hope to get published in a journal listed on a citation index, and thus improve your chances in the academic tribe you think you belong to, or you write in your own language and remain a “local” member of a remote language research community, ignored by the majority. Being a non-native English speaker you may lose either way: if you choose to write in English your paper has great chances of being rejected, and even if it is eventually accepted for publication by an international journal, independently of the value of your ideas and research findings, there is only a remote chance that your paper will be considered a good example of the prevalent academic genre, because of your different rhetoric and language choices; if you choose to write in your default language you can only publish in a local research journal, and independently of the value of your ideas and research findings, your paper will never be considered as relevant as an international publication, even by your own local academic community. Underlying the Portuguese researchers' choice of the language in



which to write, there is the certainty that “Anglophone contexts are often more valued as objects and sites of research than research coming from periphery areas” (Curry & Lillis, 2007, p. 6).

As a matter of fact, writing a paper in English is a challenge that becomes even greater when English is not the language you normally use to communicate (e.g., Belcher, 2007; Flowerdew, 2001; Gosden, 2003; Siguan, 2001). Although many non-English speaking researchers do it everyday, out of choice or out of necessity, choosing to write in English instead of writing in one’s first language may raise the awareness of language dominance issues. Since professional journals can only accept the best manuscripts, non-native speakers of English are aware that “the general increase in research production is leading to high journal rejection rates, currently reaching 80-95% in the arts and humanities, which in turn means increasing pressure on manuscripts that betray evidence of non-standard English” (Swales (2002, p. 103).

The act of composing “is seen as the result of a complex reviewing process, involving the detection and possible diagnosis of a problem in the text” (Kollberg & Eklundh, 2002, p. 89). Some researchers have claimed that there are similarities between the composing process in first language (L1) and in second or foreign language (L2/FL) in terms of writing strategies and composing decisions (e.g., Hirose, 2006; van Weijen et al., 2009; Zamel, 1983), and that transfer of writing knowledge takes place in both directions, from L1 to L2/FL and from L2/FL to L1 (e.g., Kang, 2005; Koboyashi & Rinnert, 2008). Other researchers have claimed that irrespective of the existence of similarities in the mental procedures used by L1 and L2/FL writers in the process of planning and composing texts, writing in a language that is not our own requires more attention to surface linguistic features and organizational aspects, and to the specificities of the social and cultural factors that shape the target language academic genres (e.g., Baynham, 1995, Grabe & Kaplan, 1996; Spack, 1988; Stevenson, Schoonen, & Gloopper, 2006; Tribble, 1996).

Indeed, writing academic papers in EL is a heavy burden (Swales, 2002) for non-native speakers of English, and this burden becomes even greater when the author is not highly proficient in English, the language s/he intends to use. Researchers have defended that there is a relationship between L2 proficiency and L2 text quality (e.g., Beare & Bourdages, 2007; López-Urdaneta, 2011; Manchon & de Larios, 2007; Sasaki & Hirose, 1996; Sasaki, 2002; ) and that there are similarities in the L1 and L2 writing processes of proficient L2 speakers, since they adopt similar rhetorical patterns (e.g., Uysal, 2008), as well as similar strategies while planning, composing and revising their texts either in L1 or in L2 (e.g., Kliber, 2010; Matsumoto, 1995, Zainuddin & Moore, 2003). Other researchers have, however, pointed to differences between L1 and L2 composing activities, namely, in the process of goal setting and content generation (e.g., De Larios, Manchon, & Murphy, 2006; van Weijen, et al., 2009), in the amount of text planning (e.g., Manchon & de Larios, 2007); Silva, 1993 and in revising procedures (e.g., Casey,

2006). More recently, Wang (2012) reviewed published literature focusing on the differences in L1 and L2 academic writing, and in her conclusions she argues that there are “differences between academic writing in L1 and L2 in various aspects ...: in the level of lexicon, ... in the level of sentence, and ... in the level of passage” (Wang, 2012, p. 640).

A review of research studies, as well as of textbooks and recommendation booklets published on the topic of academic writing indicates that authors and institutions usually dedicate attention to aspects that advanced writers should take into consideration while composing and revising their texts in L1 or in L2/FL (e.g., Becker, 2007; Connor, 1988; Grabe & Kaplan, 1996; Peironcely, 2008; Raimes, 1985; Ritter, 2005; Swales, 2002; Swales & Feak, 2006; Tang, 2012; Tribble, 1996; University of Essex, 2012; University of Bristol 2012, 2014; University of Wisconsin, 2014).

## **Method**

This paper examines the academic publications signed by Portuguese university professors in the fields of humanities and social sciences. With the aim of comprehending underlying language choices and text writing procedures used by a particular research community, the design of this descriptive study is informed by ideographic research principles and adopts mainly qualitative methods and procedures in the collection and the treatment of data. However, whenever appropriate, quantitative procedures were also used in order to illustrate trends of the participants' views and opinions on inquired topics. The study was guided by the following research questions:

1. In what language do Portuguese professors in the humanities and social sciences prefer to publish their work?
2. What do they think are the obstacles to the growth of Portuguese language research publications?
3. What criteria do they take into account while in the process of writing their research papers?

## ***Participants***

An email invitation was sent to the professional email addresses of 100 humanities and social sciences faculty members at the state universities of the Algarve, Aveiro, Évora, Lisboa, Minho, and Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro. Participants of this study are the 52 Portuguese university professors who voluntarily responded to at least 8 of the 10 questions of a questionnaire. The selected sample includes 23 male and 29 female university professors. The largest sub-group of respondents are male professors (43,47%) in the age range ‘more than 50 years old’ (Table I).

Table 1. *Participants' age and gender characterization*

	less than 30 yrs old	30 - 40 yrs old	41 - 50 yrs old	more than 50 yrs old	N = 52
–	3.44%	17.24%	37.93%	41.37%	55.76%
Feminine	1	5	11	12	29
Masculine	0	3	9	10	23

The majority of respondents are professors of Education, Psychology and Social Sciences (55.76%). Languages, Literature and Culture professors constitute the second largest sub-group in the sample (34.61%), and History, Archaeology and Philosophy professors constitute the smallest sub-group of respondents (9.61%).

### ***Research instruments***

A survey was built with the purpose of collecting data from the participants. The questionnaire was built using Survey Monkey, an online survey provider (<https://www.surveymonkey.com>). The final version of the questionnaire included the revisions suggested by three university professors, who evaluated draft samples of the survey questions.

The survey questionnaire included 10 questions: three multiple choice and four rank order questions, which aimed at the characterization of the participants, their language preference when writing scientific papers, and the characterization of their own writing process. The questionnaire also included three open ended questions, which aimed at the identification of the criteria participants take into consideration while composing, revising and editing scientific papers in Portuguese and in English, and at their identification of the three most relevant obstacles to the growth of Portuguese language scientific publications.

### ***Procedures***

The Survey Monkey website was used to collect all data online. Quantitative data, collected and organized by the Survey Monkey website tools, were then retrieved and treated with the help of an Excel matrix. Analysis of data collected through the multiple choice questions consisted of the computation of the total choice frequencies for each item and the corresponding percentages. Data collected with rank order questions were examined in order to determine the respondents' preference for each item. The first item chosen by respondents (ranked as #1) was attributed three points, the second item chosen (ranked as #2) was attributed two points, and the last item chosen (ranked as #3) was attributed one point. After the computation of the mean of the total

points attributed to each item, the largest average obtained corresponds to the most preferred choice by the respondents.

Qualitative data were treated with a thematic analysis technique. Text coding procedures were developed as follows: the respondents' answers were transcribed and systematically read in search for the emergence of relevant common themes representing the communality of the participants' voice on the topics of inquiry.

Similar thematic units found were grouped under corresponding discourse indicators, which were then grouped under categories labelled accordingly to the topics of inquiry (Anderson, 2007). Themes emerging from the participants' answers on the topics of inquiry were organized using a category matrix (Table 2).

Table 2. *Obstacles to the growth of Portuguese language scientific Publications*

Categories	Discourse indicators
Public attitude & Local institutional policy	Low value of Portuguese Language
	Pressure for international publication
	Low research funding
Local journals publication policy	Time of editorial procedures
	Few Portuguese indexed journals
	Low impact of Pl journals
	Limited scientific impact of publications
External threats	Small size of research communities
	English language dominance
	Globalization trends

The coding of text units and the corresponding labelling process were subject to a process of intercoder agreement performed by three independent judges (average percent agreement 83.3%). Text units were then counted in order to identify the number of occurrences associated with each of the discourse indicators, within the different categories. The text units associated with the different discourse indicators were then displayed in graphic representations in order to better illustrate the frequency of their occurrence in the respondents' texts.

## Results and discussion

Language choice is one of the first decisions Portuguese researchers make when they intend to publish their work. Language choice is a relevant factor when we think about the visibility of our findings, but it is also a factor when we think of our own institutional evaluation. Universities value publications in indexed journals, but in Portugal there are only a few indexed journals in a

narrow range of scientific areas. Consequently, Portuguese researchers tend to write in English in order to be able to submit their papers to foreign language journals. This decision is, however, somehow difficult: on one hand most of us feel that by writing in English we are submitting ourselves to the Anglo-American language dominance, on the other hand, the need of belonging to an international research community feeds our institutional survival and, to remain institutionally alive, we are forced to write in English.

***In what language do Portuguese professors in the humanities and social sciences prefer to publish their work?***

When asked in what language they prefer to write when they decide to submit their research papers to publication, 67.30% of the Portuguese humanities and social sciences university professors inquired stated that they almost always write in the Portuguese language (PL), while 15.4% of the respondents indicated that they always write in PL. Eight respondents (15.4%) rarely choose Portuguese when writing for publication, and one respondent (1.9 %) never writes in Portuguese (Figure 4).

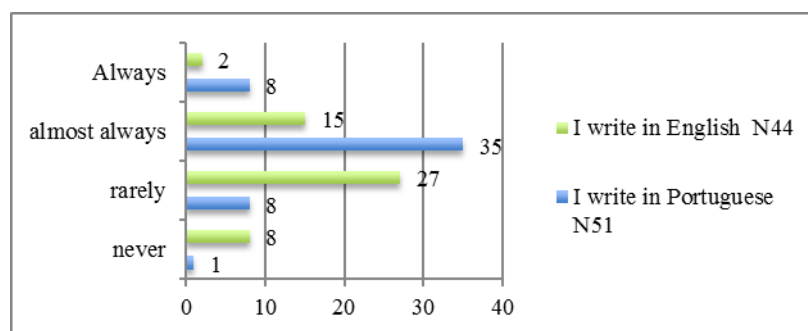


Figure 4. Participants' language preference when writing academic papers

Among the respondents, there are 34% who stated they almost always write in English, and 61.3% who said that they rarely choose English. Eight respondents (18.18%) said they never choose English, and two respondents (4.5%) indicated that they always choose English when writing their academic papers. These findings show that, for the respondents, Portuguese is still the language most frequently chosen when they decide to publish their work.

If we take into consideration that the age of the majority of the respondents is more than 50 years old, these findings might also tell us that senior Portuguese scholars, who were educated in a time when the language mostly valued in the higher education system was not the English language, naturally prefer to publish in Portuguese.

***What do participants think are the obstacles to the growth of Portuguese language research publications?***

Based on the insight that Portuguese scholars would value publishing in their language more than any other, and having in mind the relatively low number of Portuguese research publications in international indexed journals, one of the 3 open-ended questions of the questionnaire inquired about obstacles to the growth of PL publications. Respondents were required to indicate three main aspects that they considered to be obstacles to the increase of the number of PL publications worldwide.

The major aspects identified by the respondents constitute internal (national) obstacles to the increase of the number of scientific PL publications, which were grouped under the categories of ‘Public attitudes and Institutional policies’ (54 text units), and ‘Local journals publication policies’ (51 text units). External obstacles identified by respondents were grouped under the category ‘External threats’, which includes 26 text units (Figure 5).

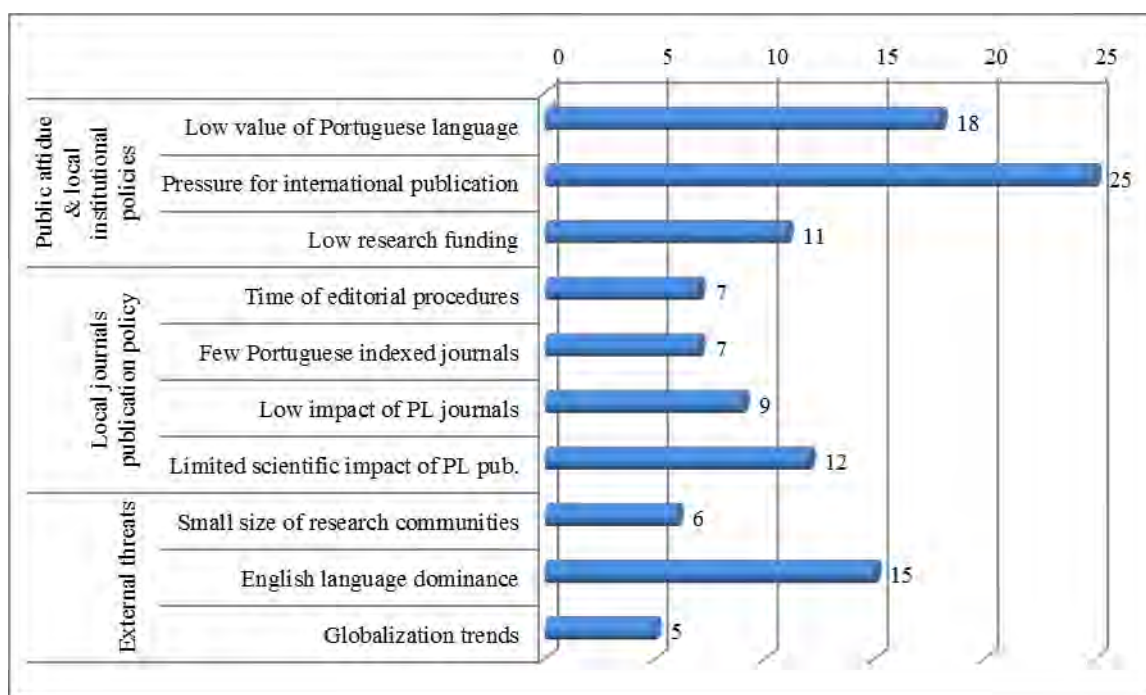


Figure 5. Obstacles to the growth of Portuguese language publication (N52)

The thematic analysis of the respondents’ answers indicates that the majority of the respondents consider that they write in English due to institutional pressure (25 units), as a means of increasing the ranking position of their institution, or as a means of increasing their own classification in academic evaluation (Table 3). Other aspects mentioned as obstacles to the increase of PL publications, under the category of “Public attitudes and institutional poli-

cies”, are the low valorisation of Portuguese by the PL research community, and by the PL academic institutions (18 text units). The low level of relevance attributed to research products written in the PL by research funding institutions (11 text units) was another aspect commonly mentioned by respondents.

Table 3. *Public attitudes and institutional policies as obstacles to the growth of PL publications*

Discourse indicators	Example of Text Units
Pressure for international publication (25 Units)	<p>“<i>a obsessão nacional pela internacionalização (da investigação) associada exclusivamente ao uso do inglês</i>”            (The national obsession for the internationalization of research associated with the exclusive use of the EL)            “<i>Imposição de publicação em revistas com impacte internacional</i>”            (Institutional pressure for publications in international indexed journals)            “<i>(encorajamento institucional à) participação dos investigadores portugueses em redes internacionais</i>”            (Institutional encouragement for Portuguese researchers to join international networks)</p>
Low value of Portuguese Language (18 Units)	<p>“<i>A pouca importância que o "país" atribui à LP e à sua afirmação.</i>”            (The low importance attributed to PL and to PL affirmation by the Portuguese)            “<i>Fraca postura de defesa da escrita em português</i>”            (Weak attitude towards the defence of PL papers)            “<i>Desconhecimento (do português) por parte dos painéis de avaliação</i>”            (The evaluation panels do not speak Portuguese)</p>
Low research funding (11 Units)	<p>“<i>Pouca valorização por parte das instâncias financiadoras</i>”            (Low relevance attributed [to PL publications] by research funding institutions)            “<i>Desvalorização pela FCT</i>”            (PL publications are not valorised by FCT, the national Foundation for Research and Technology)</p>

The second main obstacle to the growth of the number of PL publications considered by the respondents was grouped under the category “Local jour-

nals publication policies” (51 text units), which refers to the number, the quality and the impact of PL journals and of PL research papers (Table 4).

Respondents say that there are only a few indexed PL journals (7 text units), that their editorial procedures are very slow (23 text units), and that PL journals are not valorised by the PL research community, or have a low impact on national as well as on international research communities (9 text units). The awareness of the limited scientific impact of research published in PL (11 text units) was another salient aspect in the respondents’ answers.

Table 4. *Local journals publication policies as obstacles to the growth of PL publications*

Discourse indicators	Example of Text Units
Time of editorial procedures (23 Units)	“ <i>As revistas levam muito tempo a aceitar/rejeitar o artigo</i> ” (PL journals take too long to accept/reject a manuscript)
Few Portuguese indexed journals (7 Units)	“ <i>Escassez de revistas indexadas nas diferentes áreas científica</i> ” (There are few indexed journals in the different scientific fields)
Low impact of PL journals (9 Units)	“ <i>Em alguns domínios, o menor reconhecimento pela própria comunidade científica portuguesa</i> ” (In some scientific areas, PL journals are less recognized by the PL research community). “ <i>Revistas da área sem real impacte na comunidade científica</i> ” (PL journals do not have any impact in my scientific community)
Limited scientific impact of PL papers (11 Units)	“ <i>Impacte científico reduzido das publicações em português (tanto PE, como PB)</i> ” (The low scientific impact of PL publications) “ <i>Limitação na divulgação e exposição da informação publicada</i> ” (Limitations on the spread and on the exposition of published information)

The survey respondents also indicated a different set of reasons as obstacles to the growth of PL publications. Their answers were grouped under the category named ‘External threats’ (26 text units), for they mentioned the existence of international limitations to a greater visibility of PL scientific publications (Table 5).



Table 5. *External obstacles to the growth of PL publications*

Discourse indicators	Example of Text Units
Small size of research communities	<p><i>“Comunidades de investigação pequenas pela preferência dos investigadores por redes internacionais”</i></p> <p>(Small research communities due to the Portuguese researchers’ preference to integrate international research groups)</p>
English language dominance	<p><i>“Hegemonia do mercado em língua inglesa”</i></p> <p>(Hegemony of the EL market)</p> <p><i>“Cultura de submissão”</i></p> <p>(The existence of a national culture of submission)</p>
Globalization trends	<p><i>“Pressão para a internacionalização resultante da globalização”</i></p> <p>(Pressure for the internationalisation due to the globalisation phenomenon)</p>

***What criteria do participants take into account while in the process of writing their research papers?***

Participants were also asked to rank the relevance (1 more relevant /3 points-3 less relevant /1 point) of a set of criteria commonly taken into consideration when one has to choose in which language to write academic papers: membership of international scientific groups; impact of research findings, and authorial visibility in their scientific communities. The calculation of the global average value attributed to each item shows that the whole group of participants attributed the highest value (2.12 points) to “impact of research findings”, an average of 2.08 points to authorial “visibility in the scientific community”, and an average of 1.80 points to “membership of an international scientific group”.

The item ‘impact of research findings’ was the first choice item for 34.61%, and the second choice to 44.23% of the respondents. The item “visibility in the scientific community” was the first choice for 38.46%, and the second choice for 30.76% of the respondents. The item “membership of an international scientific group” was the first, as well as the second choice for the smallest number of respondents (26.92%) (Figure 6).

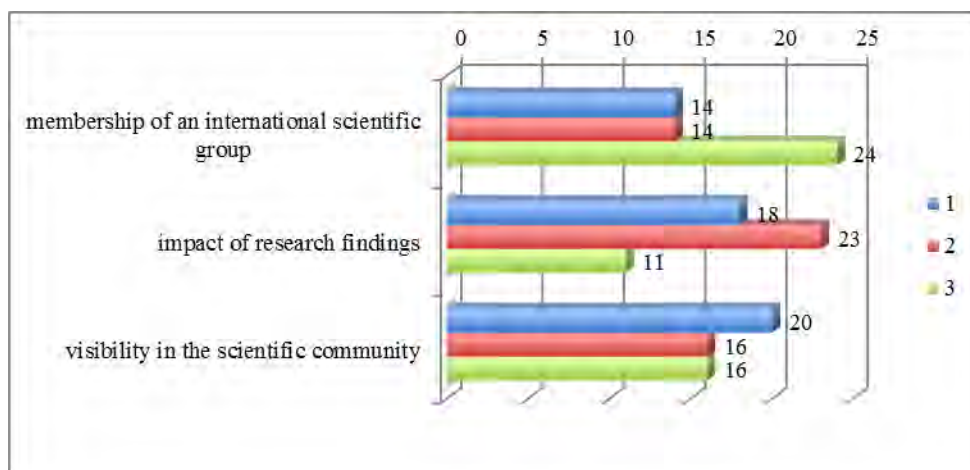


Figure 6. Rank order of criteria considered in the academic writing process

These findings indicate that the majority of the faculty professors interviewed value the impact of their research findings and authorial visibility in their scientific communities more than the membership of international scientific groups when they decide to submit their papers for publication. The importance attributed to visibility of published research explains why 80% of the respondents stated that they often write their academic papers in English, even though membership in international research groups is not their first concern when they choose a language to write in.

Results further indicate that Portuguese professors in the fields of humanities and social sciences are aware of the impact limitations of the PL journals when they have to decide to which journals they submit their academic papers. However, because they value their own language more than they value English, they also feel that Portuguese institutions could do more in terms of PL research funding.

In fact, a higher investment in PL research policies would encourage the constitution of larger Portuguese research networks, which would, in turn, increase the number of publications of PL research products. If Portuguese humanities and social sciences researcher communities had a stronger will, higher power and more financial resources to publish their own research products, PL journals would certainly increase their position in the international citation indexes. The visibility of PL publications would not be reduced if they were aimed at the global PL research audience, which is now much larger than it was a few decades ago.

*Choices taken while composing academic texts*

In order to identify the kind of choices participants take while writing their academic papers, this study focused on their writing process and inquired about the criteria taken into account while composing their own academic texts in EL and in PL.

The survey inquired participants about their own writing process while writing in PL and in EL, and asked them to rank (as #1, #2 or #3) the importance they attributed to: a) writing style, tone and voice, b) global text organization and sentence structure, and c) scientific content relevance, while composing in each of the languages considered. Results show that the participants attribute similar relevance to these aspects while writing in Portuguese, as well as in English (Figure 7).

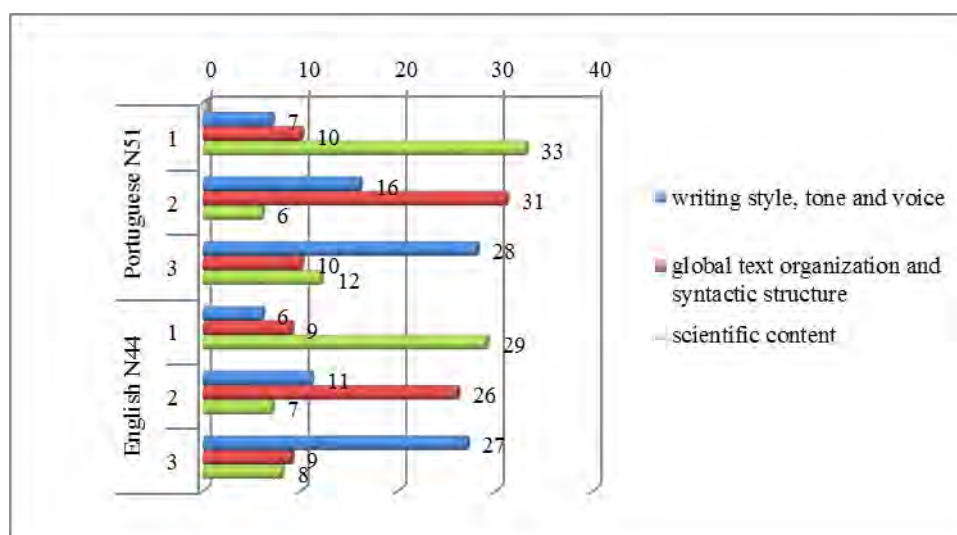


Figure 7. Ranking of aspects considered in the writing process in Portuguese and in English

Results on the importance attributed to these items in the PL writing process reveal that the item ‘relevance of scientific content’ was ranked as the most important aspect considered by 64.7% of the 51 respondents to the question (mean value 2.4). The item “global text organization and sentence structure” was considered the second most important aspect by 60.78% of the respondents (mean value 2.0), while the item ‘writing style, tone and voice’ was ranked as the least important aspect by 54.9% of the respondents, with a mean value of 1.6 points.

Results on the importance attributed to the same items in the EL writing process by the participants revealed that, like in the case of writing in PL, the item “relevance of scientific content” was ranked as the most important aspect considered by 65.9% of the 44 respondents to the question, with a mean

value of 2.5 points. Similarly to results related to the writing process in PL, in the case of EL writing, the item “global text organization and sentence structure” was also considered the second most important aspect (mean value 2.0) by 59.9% of the respondents, and the item “writing style, tone and voice” was ranked as the least important aspect by 61.3% of the respondents, with a mean value of 1.5 points.

These results are consistent with findings on writing procedures adopted by expert writers (Almargot & Chanquoy, 2001; Misak, Marusic, & Marusic, 2005). Participants in this study, say that, irrespectively of the language they choose to write in (Portuguese or English), their first concern is always with the scientific content of their paper. The second major concern of the participants is with the global planning, the organization and the syntactic structure of their texts. Only afterwards do they pay attention to other linguistic aspects, namely writing style, tone and voice.

Assuming that when writing on a computer, writers perform constant revisions while composing their texts, the survey asked participants to indicate which recommendations aiming at the improvement of the quality of their texts they usually take into consideration while in the process of composing and revising their papers. The recommendations presented to the participants’ consideration were: avoid frills, rhetorical figures and qualifiers, avoid subjective discourse/expression of personal feelings, focus on your audience, use simple sentences and active voice, and respect the canonical structure of the scientific text. A total of 51 participants indicated the aspects considered in the course of their writing activity in Portuguese, and a total of 44 participants indicated the recommendations they take into consideration while writing in English.

When writing in Portuguese, the majority of the respondents say that they pay attention to the canonical structure of the scientific text (72.5%) and to focusing on their audience (64.7%) while revising their papers. The recommendation for the avoidance of frills, rhetorical figures and qualifiers, and the recommendation for the preference of simple sentences and active voice while writing in PL are the least frequently considered aspects by the respondents.

Results on the consideration of the same recommendations while revising their papers in English reveals that participants are more worried with the linguistic dimensions of their foreign language texts, and thus pay more attention to the use of simple sentences and active voice (66%) in EL rather than in PL writing (Figure 8). Recommendations for the avoidance of frills, rhetorical figures and qualifiers, of subjective discourse/expression of personal feelings, as well as for respect to the canonical structure of the scientific text are aspects equally considered by 64% of the respondents. Contrarily to results concerning the writing process in PL, focus on the audience was the recommendation less considered by respondents (54.5%) when revising their papers in EL.

Results of this study demonstrate that although respondents rank ab-

stract criteria similarly when they think of the EL and PL writing processes (Figure 7), when asked about specificities of their own EL and PL writing procedures, they say that they pay attention to different aspects while composing and revising their texts in PL and in EL (Figure 8).

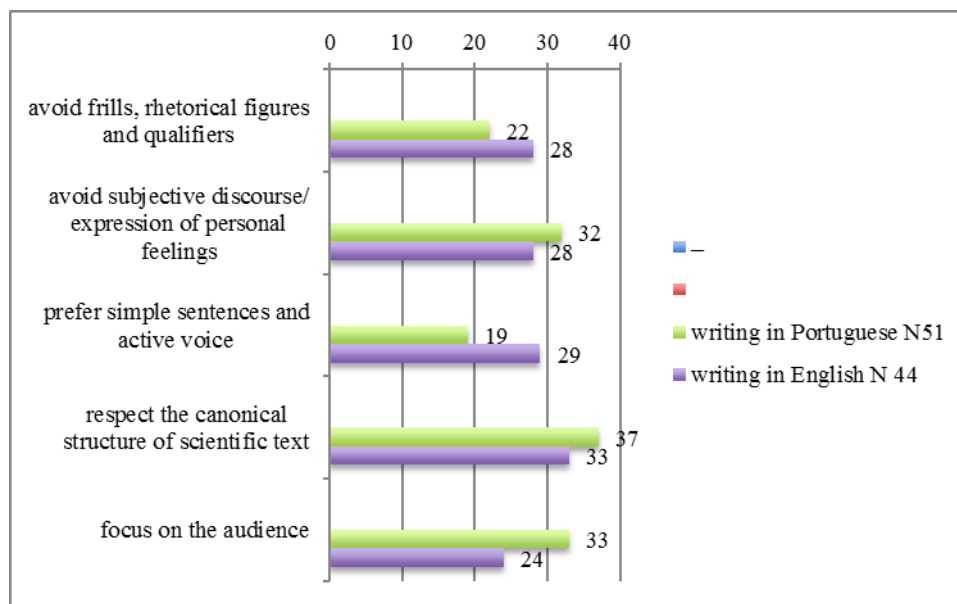


Figure 8. Recommendations considered while writing academic papers

The respondents indicate that they more frequently attend to specificities of academic genres – structural aspects and audience – when writing (composing and revising) in PL rather than in EL. Moreover, the majority of the participants say that while composing and revising their PL texts they do not usually attend to their use of rhetorical devices (frills, qualifiers and rhetorical figures), or to the need to avoid passive voice or complex sentences. Although results do not explicitly support any explanation for the reasons underlying their answers, the fact that the participants are all faculty professors of humanities and social sciences might be an indicator that this is considered to be basic knowledge for any expert research writer. Therefore, these aspects do not constitute their main concern simply because they are writing in a language in which they are highly proficient. The respondents' lesser concern with the use of rhetorical devices, as well as with the choice of more or less complex sentences in active or passive voice, may also be associated with their preference for a Portuguese writing style, which, contrarily to English, is not as strict in terms of the need to avoid a linguistically embellished and convoluted prose style (Holes, 2004).

Contrarily to what they reported in relation to their writing in PL, participants' answers reveal that when writing in EL they pay greater attention to textual aspects, like style and clarity (type of sentence, active voice, frills,

rhetorical figures, qualifiers and subjective language). These results indicate that, when they write in a foreign language, participants are aware of the need to be even more attentive to the linguistic characteristic of their texts.

The participants' lesser concern with the need to consider audience while composing and revising their EL texts is somehow more difficult to interpret. Research has demonstrated that expert writers consider "audience awareness, logical organization and paragraph structure, grammar and mechanics" (Zhu, 2004, p. 37), as key points in academic writing. Furthermore, within the genre theories perspective, "academic language requires readers and writers to be conscious of the expectations for language use that participants in a specific social context have" (Spycher, 2007, p. 241), since academic genres are marked by the particular social views and discourse practices shared by specific research communities. The fact that only 54% of the participants mentioned "focus on the audience" as one of their main concerns while composing and revising their papers in English can only be explained by their lower English writing fluency, which might lead them to pay greater attention to surface linguistic aspects. After all, it is common knowledge amongst the humanities academic community that writing fluency is associated with "cohesiveness and coherence of ideas in the writing, aided by syntactic structures that enable a reader to easily move thorough the text" (Lannin, 2007, p. 4).

One of the open ended questions of the survey required respondents to indicate three words or expressions illustrating the criteria they use while evaluating the final drafts of their manuscripts. Data analyzed included 153 text units (words or expressions) related to the evaluation of their final drafts in PL, and 132 text units related to the evaluation of their final drafts in EL. The text units were grouped under the discourse indicators displayed in Table 6.

The counting of the total text unit occurrences in each of the discourse indicators reveals that respondents pay more attention to audience expectations, to originality and to scientific rigor of the study when they evaluate their final PL drafts. Conversely, when evaluating their final EL drafts, they pay more attention to text clarity, to linguistic correction and to text quality (Figure 9).

Table 6. *Thematic analysis of the respondents concerns while reading their final drafts*

Discourse Indicators	Definition	Example of text units
Audience	Respect for the readers' expectations	" <i>Público alvo</i> " (Target audience)
Clarity	Text conciseness, cohesion and coherence	" <i>Clareza na expressão das ideias</i> " (Clarity in the expression of the ideas)
Editors' norms	Respect for the editors' norms and journal conventions	" <i>Verificar se sigo as normas de publicação indicadas</i> " (Check editors' instructions for publication)
Ethics	Ethical principles in the research process; social relevance	" <i>Respeito pelos princípios éticos</i> " (Respect for ethical principles)
Linguistic correction	Spelling, sentence structure	" <i>Correcção grammatical</i> " (Grammar correction)
Methodological coherence	Coherence, consistency and validity of methodological procedures	" <i>Coerência e consistência metodológica</i> " (Methodological consistency and coherence)
Pertinence	Relevance and impact of findings	" <i>Interesse e impacto das conclusões</i> " (Interest and impact of the findings)
Originality of the study	The research approach, theory, method, data or findings	" <i>Originalidade científica</i> " (Originality of the study)
Scientific rigor of the study	The planning and the development of the study	" <i>Rigor científico dos conceitos</i> " (Conceptual rigor)
Text quality	Text readability and language adequacy	" <i>Qualidade da escrita (sintaxe e vocabulário)</i> " (Quality of the manuscript -syntax and vocabulary)

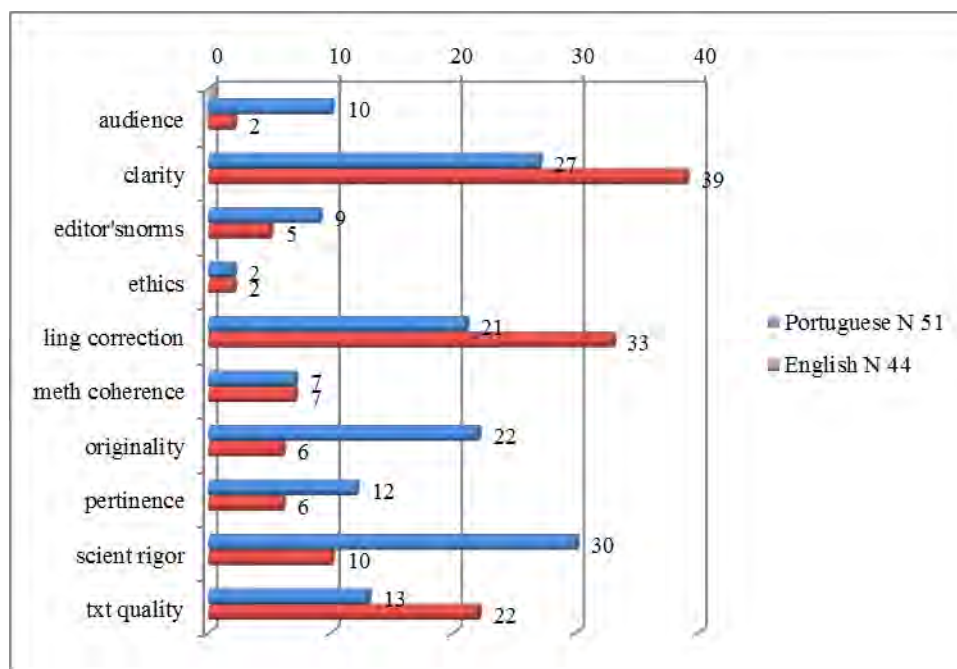


Figure 9. N. of occurrences of the criteria used for the evaluation of PL & EL final drafts

These findings reinforce the tendency evidenced by the results of the analyses of the criteria respondents usually consider while composing and revising their manuscripts in PL as well as in EL. The comparison of the revising procedures in EL and in PL reveals that respondents are much more attentive to surface linguistic features while writing in English than in Portuguese. Conversely, the revising procedures adopted by respondents, while writing in Portuguese, focus mainly in the scientific quality of their papers and in their readers' expectations.

When asked about the three issues they most frequently consider while reading the final drafts of their manuscripts, respondents consistently indicated that they pay greater attention to scientific issues (originality and pertinence of results) in their PL texts than they do in their EL texts. Contrarily, the final evaluation of their EL writings is more strongly guided by the consideration of language surface issues (clarity, linguistic correction and text quality).

### Conclusions and Implications

Portuguese humanities and social sciences researchers, like most non-English speakers in the world of science, have been increasingly encouraged to publish in English if they wish their findings to achieve any scientific visibility. Although they prefer to write in Portuguese, participants of this study revealed that they are aware of the limitations of this choice and, therefore, tend



to write in English in order to try to be published by one of the international indexed journals.

This decision not only implies a certain degree of submission to English as the dominant language in the academic world, but it may also have negative implications for the quality of the published manuscripts. Indeed, since “academic writing is culturally bound” (Jubhari, 2009, p. 69), and since textual dimensions such as voice and style are social and culturally influenced (Stapleton, 2002), unless the authors have a high command of the “core” English language codes and academic prose conventions, their writings will be influenced by their previous writing experiences in their own language, and therefore will reflect different and currently less valued than the Anglo-American ways or organizing ideas, evidence and arguments (Jubhari, 2009).

The results of this study show that Portuguese professors in the humanities and social sciences are much more concerned with academic genre aspects and scientific issues when they write in Portuguese and, on the contrary, are much more concerned with surface language issues when writing in English. Furthermore, results also show that respondents use holistic procedures more frequently when revising their PL texts, and that they use atomistic procedures more frequently when revising their EL texts (Warner, 2006).

In the light of these results, we may conclude that the scholars inquired in this study are (naturally) proficient writers in Portuguese, and as such they make use of all the strategies that mature and experienced writers use when composing their L1 texts (De Larios, Murphy & Marin, 2002). Conversely, the composing and revision strategies they use while writing in English are similar to the ones used by less proficient writers (Wang, 2012). Since they are highly familiarized with academic genres in both languages, these findings seem to be associated with their lower proficiency in English, the foreign language they choose to write their academic texts.

In fact, being Portuguese native speakers with some level of command of the English as a foreign language, the respondents are naturally more proficient in Portuguese than they are in English. Consequently, their choice to write in English might be detrimental to the quality of their texts, since they are not able to express themselves as freely and fluently as they would if they wrote in their own language. That is, their lower fluency in English might cause them problems in retrieving appropriate and accurate information in the foreign language (Shoonen et al., 2002; Smith, 1994), and that might require them to be more focused in superficial text dimensions (word retrieval and sentence building).

Researchers have argued that only high proficiency in the foreign language gives the ‘linguistic sophistication’ that allows FL writers to “deal with issues about the readership and the discourse community in any depth” (Dudley-Evans, 2000, p. 10).

The findings of this study may also raise the question of whether Portuguese universities should include mandatory English for Academic Writing subjects in all graduate courses, with the aim of enhancing the students’ abil-

ity to compose academic papers in conformity with the Anglo-American academic discourse conventions. Until now, only a few Portuguese universities have included such a subject in some graduate curricula, and although the issue has long been subject to debate among Portuguese scholars, the fact is that this curricular change has not been consensual. Indeed, many of us will argue that if you have to publish in English it is better to learn do try to do it respecting the English academic discourse rules. Yet, for another large group of Portuguese scholars, since Portuguese is among the top six languages in the world, and it is spoken by 3.08% of the world's population, we should struggle to publish in Portuguese and, while doing so, we are contributing to maintain language and cultural diversity in all areas of social interaction in Europe, including academic publications.

Ours is said to be a globalized world, and as such, ideally, one would expect "the enterprise of academic research (..) to capitalize on contributions from scholars all over the world" (Curry & Lillis, 2007, p. 6). Nevertheless, like the authors argue, we are aware that it is difficult to overcome the language barriers that obstruct the world circulation of academic research (Curry & Lillis, 2007). Since English is the language that now rules in the academic world, for the time being, we seem to have no other choice than to write in English. We are aware that the English dominance in the academic world is associated with political and economic issues. That is, we are conscious that the power of a language comes from the economic, the technological and the cultural power of the people who uses it, for like Crystal (2003) reminds us:

Language has no independent existence, living in some sort of mythical space apart from the people who speak it. Language exists only in the brains and mouths and ears and hands and eyes of its users. When they succeed, on the international stage, their language succeeds. When they fail, their language fails. (Crystal, 2003, p. 7)

In Portugal, we are very much aware of the ups and downs of our country on the history of power. Five centuries ago, Portuguese was imposed by military and political power as the language of all the Portuguese colonies in different continents (Africa, Asia, South America). Although Portuguese is still the language spoken by millions of people, the gradual loss of the Portuguese political and economical power in the world scenario has gradually weakened its international status. Currently, Portuguese is not a language widely chosen for communication in politics, economy, technology or science, nevertheless, it still remains the communication medium used by a rather large community of nations across different continents who are proud to have it as its national or official language.

We are conscious of our limited influence due to our decreasing economy and our diminished political influence in today's Europe and in the world, but still, we are not yet ready to give up fighting for the international visibility of our language. An increase in the volume of academic publica-

tions in Portuguese would certainly be a contribution for this greater visibility, for as Adms, Matu, and Ongarira (2012), say “the moment one lets a language to diminish, one automatically loses a certain part of one’s culture, prestige and integrity” (Adams, Matu, & Ongarira, 2012, p. 99).

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### Notes on Contributors

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