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**SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS FROM ENGLISH RP AND
GA LINGUISTIC IDEOLOGIES IN CHILEAN CULTURAL
SETTINGS: A CONTRAST BETWEEN MONOLINGUAL
SPANISH CHILEAN SPEAKERS FROM THREE
DIFFERENT AGE SETS**

**INFORME FINAL DE SEMINARIO DE GRADO PARA OPTAR AL GRADO DE
LICENCIADO EN LENGUA Y LITERATURA INGLESAS**

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Santiago, Chile

Enero, 2017

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In the first place, we would like to thank to our teacher, Cristián Lagos, for always pushing us to continue this research. We would like to offer our sincere gratitude to the people who participated in our research and everyone who helped us to achieve this goal. Also, to every teacher and friend that has urged us to go further.

To all my precious beloved ones, who are many, and I'm afraid I would not be able to mention all of them. To those who are already gone and were a support for me in every instance I needed them, especially my grandma Leonora. To those who motivate me to be a better person; my brother Juan Pablo, my boyfriend Camilo and my friends, Jihyun, María Ignacia, Jenisse, Matías, thanks for putting up with me during all this time.

To my parents Gabriela and Fernando, both are a pivotal part of me, and I am really thankful for the great effort they put in the person they have raised. These years of study are in part a tribute for you both and I hope you both know how much you mean to me. Besides, I would like to add those persons who played a parental role in my life, especially, my aunt Soledad.

To my guide teacher, Cristian Lagos, for his critical eye, assertive suggestions, and wisdom in the difficult task of writing this piece of work, which meant a challenge in different aspects, principally in the critic to the program we were currently studying. To my thesis partner, Pamela, thanks for sharing with me this final step in these long 6 years; I really appreciate the effort you put in this work, in view of the circumstances surrounding your life.

Susana Bello R.

To begin with I would like to thank to all my loved ones who have supported me during this challenging year. To my dear friends "Lepus", who even indirectly and from a far have been sending me good vibes all this time. To my friend Susana who became a sister to my mom and the dearest friend to me this year, thanks for the company and confort in our hardest time. To my dear family who has supported me unconditionally this year and has given to me lots of love. To my mom, the strongest but at the same time the most fragile

woman I have ever met, without your love and support things would have been even more difficult to bear. To the other two most important people in my life, who unfortunately are already gone, my dear granny who raised and even though she left us 10 years ago she is still in mind and heart everyday; and to my dad who surprisingly left us this year, you were my best friend, the best dad... just the best in my life, your departing encouraged even more to finish this process, even in those days I just wanted to give up.

To my guide teacher, Cristian Lagos, for guide our investigation and encourage us to develop an investigative eye and at the same time for show us a new side of his life, in which he is not Chocman anymore, but only profe lagos.

Finally to my team tesis, Jenisse aka dude and Susana for all the support and patience in this difficult year, especially to Susana for bear with my all my flaws and moods throughout the year, I wish you the best in your new challenge as a future teacher, somehow I already know you'll do great. I hope we stay in contact through the years as both, colleagues and friends.

Pamela Villaseca C.

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Abstract

This study reveals the results of the Social Representations (Moscovici, 1984) and Linguistic Ideologies (Kroskrity, 2010) behind the most influential and widespread varieties of English in the context of English as a foreign language in Chile: Received Pronunciation -British English- and General American -American English- in monolingual Spanish speakers from a middle-class background. This investigation, inserted in an anthropological perspective, focuses on notions from Hispanic-phone speakers who are not related to academic environments, pursuing thus a similar approach to Folk-Linguistics.

The corpus of this research is composed of personal interviews performed to participants corresponding to three different age sets (adolescent - middle-age adult - mature adult) where the participants provided their opinions about English language and the most prominent varieties of English.

The findings revealed a common perception of English as a working tool and the acknowledgement of English as a global language; besides there was an average preference towards the British English variety, especially in the adult participants, who also depict a more prominent rejection towards American English. In contrast, the younger group presents a more positive appreciation of American English in terms of production; however, they place British English in a superior status.

As a complement, the theories of Symbolic Power by Bourdieu and Discourse and Power coined by Foucault will be considered in this research since these concepts are present in the participants' discourse.

Keywords: linguistic anthropology, social representations, language ideologies, British English, R.P, American English, G.A, folk linguistics

Introduction

One of the most significant current discussion within the field of linguistic anthropology considers the expansion of the English Language as a global language and how this phenomenon affects even those countries in which English does not possess an official status; in other words, the English language does not function as a communicative tool in social contexts or any quotidian situation within the country. In recent times, it has been observed how the importance conceded to the English language in a worldwide perspective, including beliefs related to status and prestige, does not reflect the particular reality of Chilean contexts, since the use of English only benefit to specific segments of the community.

In relation to the previous statement, it has been perceived a disinterest regarding thoughts and beliefs originated in part of the society, particularly related to social actors who do not belong to the academic spectrum. As a consequence, it has been distinguished how the line of research, mostly from the linguistic field of study, principally develop its investigation from and through the academic point of view.

On the grounds that, these social actors who do not belong to the academic atmosphere have been historically disregarded from the investigative world, the present investigation aims to identify and describe the beliefs and opinions generated in social discourse of these groups of people who do not belong to any area of inquiry within the scientific world.

The present investigation is organized as it follows: First of all, the section one presents the study, then the justification of the problem related to the inquiry and the research question in addition to the objectives developed in the research. The next section deals with the theoretical concepts used to carry out the analysis. This section is organised in 3 main subsections: first Linguistic anthropology as a system of perceptions and practices; next, social representations and language ideologies and its applications to English; and lastly, Theories developed in relation to the social spectrum applied to English and its social status. The following section present the results of the investigation and its

analysis in relation to opinions and preferences towards English and the two most known varieties of English; and its contrast through the different age range groups. The subsequent section provides a conclusion of the investigation in addition to a discussion of the final results. Finally, the last section present the limitations and further research related to the present investigation.

Chapter I

Presentation and Justification of the Study

1.1 Presentation and Justification of the problem

The discussion about the status of English as a global language has reached diverse fields of research, from linguistics and other social disciplines such as anthropology, sociology, among others. In the case of Linguistic Anthropology, some studies have focused on English in different perspectives, as Harklau in the investigation of the representations of English learners across educational settings (2000), Schimdt in his work related to ideologies behind English as an official language (2002), following, Milroy and her investigation towards language ideologies about RP and GA (2001), among others.

By introducing and analyzing the current status of the Chilean academic world, it can be said that most universities develop an active production of research in a wide variety of disciplines. In the case of social sciences, such as Anthropology, Sociology, Linguistics, among others, the topic of English has not been a pivotal inquiry, in view of the fact that the English language does not fulfill any communicative purpose in Chilean social contexts.

Nevertheless, English has gained a relevant importance in the country during the last years, being the only foreign language of mandatory instruction stated by the national department of education. This recent relevance has been approached by the academic spheres conducting different pieces of research in relation to the status and the teaching of the English language. These studies are mainly enclosed in Linguistics and Applied Linguistics perspectives, meaning that approaches related to Linguistic Anthropology and other social sciences such as language ideologies and social representations have not been addressed. In this sense, the present study is framed in an innovative approach which contributes to a relative unexplored research field in Chile. Besides, another significant aspect is related to the corpus chosen for the purposes of the investigation. A great majority of the research conducted in the disciplines of Linguistics, Linguistic Anthropology, and Applied Linguistics is focused in written corpus or members of the academy; therefore, the social contexts not associated to academic contexts have been largely disregarded. The present study is framed in a folk linguistics perspective, in order to break the traditional

assumptions, rooted in the disciplines related to linguistics, of overlooking social actors not linked to scholarly environments.

1.2.1 Research Questions

- a. According to Chilean cultural settings, which are the tendencies towards English varieties (RP and GA)?
- b. How are these tendencies portrayed in Chilean social discourse towards both varieties?
- c. To what degree do these tendencies have evolved in different age range groups in relation to both English varieties?
- d. Which are the arguments behind each group preferences towards both English varieties?

1.2.2 General objective

To define the undergoing Chilean preferences in social discourse related to the linguistic ideologies behind the RP and GA English variations in different age sets of monolingual Spanish speakers from a middle class background.

1.2.3 Specific Objectives

- 1) To describe how preferences are illustrated in Chilean social discourse towards both variations: RP and GA
- 2) To compare three different ages range groups, adolescents, middle age adults and mature adults, in order to observe and identify differences in their social representations throughout time behind both English varieties.
- 3) To analyze the historical background where social, political, cultural and economic perspectives are implied behind the three age sets of RP or GA varieties.

1.3 Methodology

1.3.1 Approach, level, and design

Our method will follow an exploratory level, and will follow a qualitative approach in order to collect different perceptions and attitudes towards the two most commonly known varieties of English in social settings in Santiago of Chile. Under the criteria of simultaneous cross-sectional studies, we select three age-rate groups of participants to contrast the information provided by them.

1.3.2 Participants

The participants chosen for this investigation are social actors who do not belong to any academic environment. In this investigation, these participants will be denominated as lay people. The participants were divided into three different age stages of life, adolescents, middle age adults and mature adults. Each group consisted of 6 participants approximately. The general characteristics shared by the three groups were that the participants do not have any formal English training -despite of the instruction received during their period in secondary school- or direct exposure to English-speaking environments; additionally, they belong to a middle socioeconomic background. Taking into account that gender is not a relevant variable for the purposes of the present research; participants from each gender were selected in a balanced fashion in order to restrain biases in the resulting analysis.

The first group, designated as adolescent, was constituted by students from third and fourth secondary grade from semi-private schools, who, according to the national education curriculum, must attend 90 minutes of English lectures per week. The second group, referred to as middle age adult was characterized by adults from 40 to 45 years old that have completed their secondary school; some of them have also completed studies in technical schools. The third group, designated as mature adult, was composed by adults from 55 to 60 years old that at least have completed their secondary school.

1.3.3 Instruments of analysis

Since the study is aimed to recognize and distinguish the social representations behind English accents, semi-structured interviews were employed to gather the necessary data. In order to guide the interviews, the following questions were designed.

- a. What do you think about the English language?
- b. Generally speaking, what do you think about the American English and British English?
- c. Which variety do you prefer? Why?

The first question was meant to perform an introductory role to the inquiry in order to capture the most superficial notions towards English from a general point of view. The second question was intended to enhance the perspective regarding the inquiry by including in the discussion both varieties of English. Taking into account that these participants are designated as lay people, both varieties will be referred as British English in the case of R.P.; and American English in the case of G.A. Finally, the last question was incorporated in order to distinguish the notions and preferences towards both varieties with the purpose of guiding the discussion into a more cultural and social viewpoint.

In addition, after the interviews were concluded, the participants were gathered in groups to watch two videos, collected from YouTube, to induce a focus group session. The videos were one minute long approximately each one and none of them included subtitles or translations of any type. These videos consisted of Christmas messages from the Queen Elizabeth, representing the British variety and the President Obama, symbolizing the American variety. Afterwards, participants were asked about their impressions of each video with the following questions:

- a. What do you think about the way people speak in these videos?
- b. Which one do you prefer?

Participation was voluntary and anonymous. No names are mentioned in the presentation of results for the reason that the names are irrelevant for the purposes of the investigation. The participants were informed about the procedure and the importance of

their participation through a consent form in order to make them feel comfortable about the opinions expressed throughout the interview.

1.3.4 Models of analysis

Interviews were analysed following Kroskrity's "language ideology" theory along with "social representation" theory by Moscovici. Both refer and aim to describe social phenomena; however both ideologies differ in terms of the object of study. Language ideologies explore the ideas and beliefs about language held by a group of people which are actively performed in society. Therefore, language ideologies include the ideas society holds towards language and how these beliefs and ideas relate to the way society uses and acts towards language (Razfar, 3); whereas social representations study psychosocial phenomena in modern societies. It maintains that social psychological phenomena and processes can only be properly understood if they are seen as being embedded in historical, cultural and macro social conditions (Farr, 1996). Both ideologies are pivotal for this investigation since that they are developed in different levels or layers of social analysis. Language ideologies theory intends to be more specific and constrained in order to understand social beliefs behind languages, while social representations theory embraces more factors intertwined in the social abstraction. Therefore, both supported the analytic process.

As a complement, the theories of Symbolic Power by Bourdieu and Social Discourse by Foucault will enrich our analysis in view of their social analysis principal scope.

Chapter II

Theoretical Framework

2.1 State of Art

The studies under the scope of language ideologies concerning the English language are from different perspectives. Most studies regarding language ideologies are based on English status, its standard variety and the most recognized varieties: the British English and American English (Milroy, 2000; Lippi -Green, 1997; Razfar, 2012; Irvine & Gal, 2000; Kroskrity's, 2000). Narrowing this approach to the Chilean academic context, the studies under the field of language ideologies towards the English language are very scarce, in view of the fact that most investigations are concerned with native languages, specifically Mapudungún (Lagos, 2011; Lagos y Espinoza 2013, Lagos, Rojas y Espinoza 2013) with the addition of the approach of Social Representations. Furthermore, a minor percentage of studies are concerned with the scenario of the Chilean Spanish language and the addition of neighbor Spanish varieties to Chilean social contexts as a result of immigration (Rojas, 2014).

As it is pointed before, the studies related to the English language and language ideologies are uncommon in the national academia, where the focus is essentially based on perceptions from an academic universe (Pérez de Arce, 2014; Aceituno et al, 2014; Olguín & Vega, 2014). In account of the previous circumstance, the current study will propose a focus based on the scope of Folk Linguistics and the methods of investigation introduced by this approach. In this sense, studies of the English language status in Chile as a foreign language in relation to the perceptions generated by social actors who are not part of the academia are inexistent. This investigation is intended to contribute to the research fields of Linguistic Anthropology, language ideologies and folk linguistics.

2.2 Theoretical Aspects

2.2.1 Linguistic Anthropology as a system of perceptions and practices

a. The construction of the concept of culture

An important concept studied within the field of anthropology, even through the development of theories related to the concept, and has been the notion of culture. From a cognitive to a more social perspective, the definition of culture has been of great interest in this field of study, mostly since is it inherent to the human nature. In the case of Geertz, this notion has been defined from a semiotic point of view. In accordance with the previous words added to Max Webber's assumptions, humans are involved in a "web of significance" being culture itself one of those webs in humans lives (Geertz, 1973). Taking into account this semiotic viewpoint, the analysis of culture is developed through an interpretative process just as pursuing meaning of things rather than an experimental discipline in which the formulation of truths are the goal, such as in the quest of a law (Geertz, 1973).

Contrary to the semiotic construction of a definition of culture, Geertz criticizes previous anthropological theories that have defined the concept; the author addressed the notion from a cognitive perspective. According to some schools of thoughts named as; ethno-science, componential analysis or cognitive anthropology, it is maintained that culture is constructed through structures in the mind of individuals and communities which conduct their actions (Geertz, 1973) In fact, it is included a definition by the American anthropologist Ward Goodenough, who says: "culture [is located] in the minds and hearts of men." Therefore, there is a systematic and individualistic method of analysis and composition of culture from this field of study.

Following Geertz position and contrasting with this cognitive perspective, he states that culture actually is constructed in a social sphere and that it is more than as a mental phenomenon. As a matter of fact, later on, the individual aspect that used to define the

concept is refused again by remarks in which a cultural system cannot be determined from individuals' perspectives (Boggs, 2004). Here again, Geertz delimit culture as a "public act" just as meaning (1973). Regarding this notion, the author connects the construction of meaning as a collective feature which belongs to a group. In this sense, Geertz points out the fact that some actions such as winking and its specific purpose and function are particularly understood by a specific group of people (1973). Respecting the previous idea, Geertz confirms its distance from the notions of an abstract and psychological construction of culture by the views of culture as signs and symbols expressed by people in a certain context; consequently it is manifest through people's action in a public circle (1973). At the same time, Geertz determines that culture it is not an entity whereby something can be attributed such as social events and circumstances, behaviors or social processes; culture itself is a context in which these phenomena can be described (1973). As a consequence, to study or observed culture, it is not necessary to witness unusual human behavior or events, as it were usually studied. Hence, the author propose to attend any quotidian action and common behavior to comprehend the particular culture of a community or village, without reducing said community only to an specific distinctive feature (Geertz, 1973).

b. Linguistic Anthropology

The interdisciplinary research field denominated as Linguistic Anthropology finds its main investigation domain in the language nature as a social tool and a cultural practice (Duranti, 1997). In view of this, the present research field bases its inquiries in the understanding of language not only as a model of cognition but also as a cultural practice which conjectures and builds world visions and realities. According to Duranti in his book "Linguistic Anthropology, a reader", the present inter-discipline is defined as "the study of language as a cultural resource and speech as a cultural practice" (1997).

The main purpose of this research field focuses in following existent methods from other disciplines -specifically anthropology and linguistics- in order to provide an overall understanding of the numerous properties of language as a collection of cultural practices. The participants chosen for the studies labeled in this research field are principally

members of a community who recognize themselves as social actors and members of a particular speech community, in other words, they identify themselves with the community where they belong to. These communities are typically organized in base of particular varieties of social organizations and supported by a network of moral values, beliefs and expectations about the world which makes these communities distinctive from others.

In order to define and set the present investigation in the frame of Linguistic Anthropology, it is necessary to scrutinize in the different theories of culture with more explicit or more implicit perspectives towards language in concordance with the discussion carried by Duranti in his book "Linguistic Anthropology". In this case, the approaches described by Duranti as "Culture of Communication" and "Culture as a system of practices" will be further examined.

According to Duranti, to say that culture is communication means to see it as a system of signs. This is based on the work of the structuralist anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss, who described that cultures express deeply held cognitive predispositions to categorize the world in terms of binary positions (Lévi-Strauss, 1978; Duranti, 1997). Basically, this approach proposes that culture is a representation of the world, by objectifying reality in different cultural performances. Following this perspective, social and cultural products can be attributed to the human ability of establishing symbolic relationships among individuals, groups, or species as a way of appropriation of nature. In this sense, "to believe that culture is communication also means that a people's theory of the world must be communicated in order to be lived" (Duranti, 1997).

In the second approach "Culture as a system of practices", Duranti discusses that this approach finds its grounds in the intellectual movement known as post-structuralism, where the interest is based on diachrony and historicity. The search for societies with primitive forms of organization was replaced by a widespread recognition of the fluidity of cultures, their inherently contaminated nature (Duranti, 1997). Social theorists, in a post-structuralist perspective, have emphasized the importance of language not as an autonomous system, but as a system that is actively defined by sociopolitical processes, including bureaucratic

institutions such as schools. Some of these scholars are Bourdieu and Foucault, which respective theories and approaches will be discussed further in the present theoretical framework. Following with Duranti's description of this approach, he comments that the reflections emerged from this approach are important since that they link individual acts to larger frames of reference, including the notion of community, a concept that has been a pivotal concern for disciplines such as sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology.

c. Folk Linguistics

The present investigation pretends to collect the generalized opinions of lay people towards English and the two most known varieties. In view of this, this study follows a perspective described as Folk Linguistics. Following the second edition of the book "Folk Linguistics", written by Nancy Niedzielski and Dennis Preston, the interest in Folk Linguistics as a research field begins with the presentation of Hoeningwald in the Sociolinguistics conference developed during the year 1964 in the University of California. Hoeningwald's presentation, titled "A proposal for the study of Folk Linguistics" is intended to set the studies enclosed in a Folk Linguistics perspective in a focus which includes what happens in language as well as the reactions generated by people towards the different situations of language, and also in how people produce what is happening in language, that is to say, the discourse produced by people about language.

The authors of the book "Folk Linguistics" refers to this field of study as an study about "Stankos", a concept developed and employed by the family of Leonard Bloomfield to classify the descriptions of linguistic beliefs produced by people apart from science. Niedzielski and Preston explain that Bloomfield and various linguists hold until today a generalized disinterest towards the opinions generated by no linguists about language. As opposed to this tradition, in this book the authors discuss and justify the importance of folk linguistics with different arguments. In first place, the authors focus the folk beliefs in cultural ethnographies. An example of ethno-botany is proposed, a field of study where the cultural beliefs behind the naming, relationship and uses of plants are pursued. According to the authors, the scientific field of Ethno-linguistics should do the same, however, the contrast between folk and scientific linguistics will be more complex than the one existent

between many other ethno-sciences and their academic partners, particularly in a nonhomogeneous, post-modern society. In accordance with Ethno-botany, if it is believed (and reported) that a certain plant is good for settling the stomach, it would be odd to find it seldom used for that purpose. Following this, the role of language and its attendant beliefs ought to be set in the larger framework of the culture under investigation, since that a contrast between belief and use in language is not an uncommon state of affairs (Niedzielski & Preston, 2003). For this reason, the authors point out that this mismatch requires greater subtlety in combining a study of ethno-linguistics with a study of language in use.

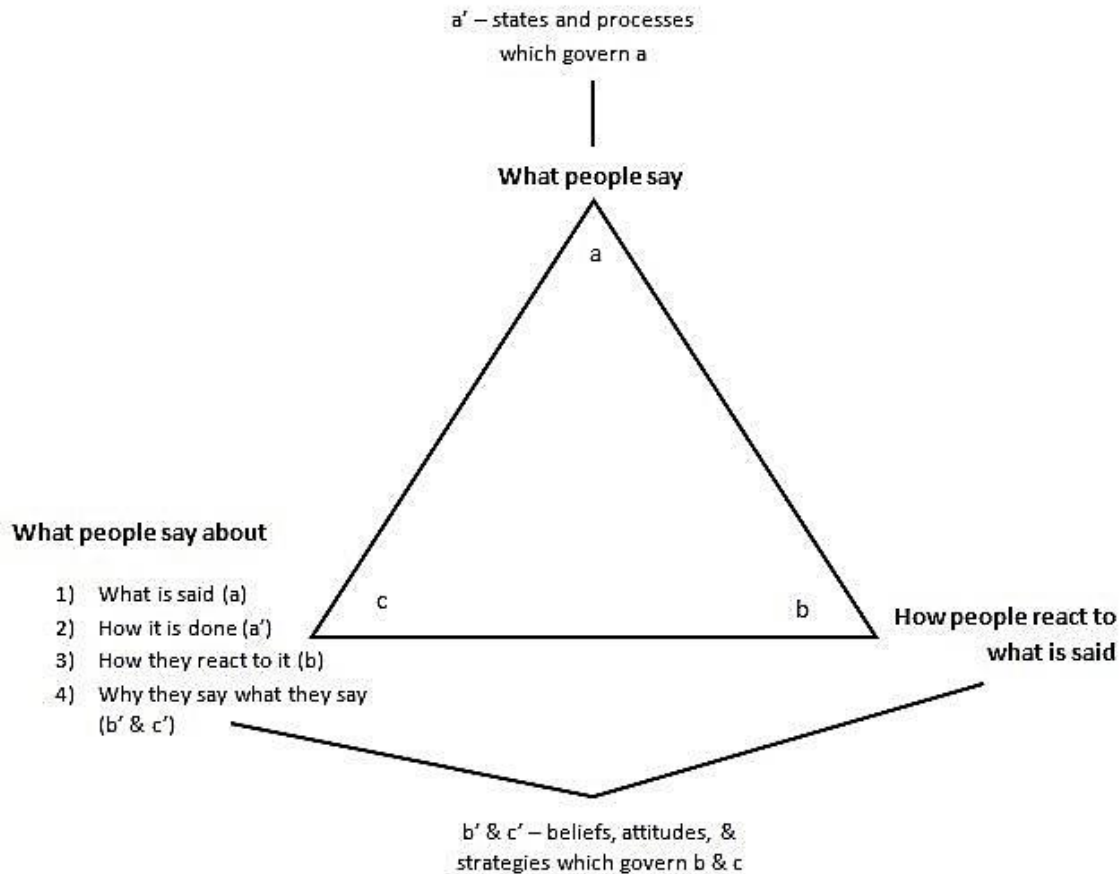
Furthermore, the authors articulate that folk linguistic beliefs may help determine the shape of language itself. It would be unusual to discover that what lay people believe about language has nothing to do with linguistic change. In addition, the authors assert their personal notion about the study of folk behavior as dynamic as well as static. Their notion is based on their observation of the routes the folk follow in thinking through problems about language as well as the contents of their prepackaged items and structures of belief (Niedzielski & Preston, 2003).

Finally, the authors illustrate that the studies enclosed in the research field of Folk Linguistics have as a main characteristic the interest in social actors who do not belong to the professional group of study of language. Therefore in this area the concept of Folk refers to those social actors who are not trained in the scientific field of investigation. In this sense, the concept of Folk is not referring to those individuals categorized as rustic, ignorant, not educated, minorities, marginalized or from poor socioeconomic backgrounds. This last remark serves to clarify the generalized beliefs towards the object of study of this sub discipline (Preston, 2006).

The next figure is an attempt developed by the authors of the book “Folk Linguistics” in order to portray the relation of the approach to Folk Linguistics and other approaches to the study of language. This figure is based on the three areas of concern Hoenigswald

described. 1) What goes on, 2) how people react to what goes on, and 3) what people say about all this.

Figure 1: The place of Folk Linguistics in the general study of language.



The authors explain that they have added primes (') for the explanatory backgrounds to these three areas, and a few explanations in relation to the whole figure. In the case of the present study, the focus will be in a & a' and b' & c'. Following the same line with the authors, it is not the intent to simply collect folk opinions about language. The focus of the approach developed by Niedzielski and Preston, “our study seeks to know the organizing principles behind belief (...)” (Niedzielski & Preston, 2003). The procedural developed by Folk Linguistics is an attempt to demonstrate the fact that by collecting data from a variety of contexts leads to an enriched understanding of language.

2.2.2 Social Representations, Language ideologies and its application to English

a. Social Representations

In the research field of social psychology, the approach of social representations was primarily introduced by Moscovici in his investigation “Psychoanalysis, its image and its public” in 1961. The approach proposed by Moscovici and later developed by different scholars has been acquired and adapted to different social research fields, such as psychology, sociology, anthropology, among others. For the purposes of the present investigation, this approach will benefit the further analysis and interpretation of the corpus, since that this approach is positioned in the studies of the common sense and the quotidianity, and it is valued as a useful explanation in the studies related to social constructions of reality (Mora, 2002).

According to Mora (2002) in his work about social representations, this approach is defined as the study centered in the knowledge of common sense, which has as main objective to communicate, be updated and feel part of the social background, and it is originated in the exchange of communication inside the social group. It is a form of knowledge through which individuals position themselves according to what they know. In this sense, social representations are defined as double faced, since that, it is possible to attribute a sense to any figure and to attribute to any sense a figure. Following with further definitions, Farr in his work dedicated to social representations considers that social representations perform a double function, which is to familiarize the uncanny and to make the invisible perceptible, in view of that the unusual and unknown are threatening to the social construction when there is no category to be classified.

Following the organization proposed in Mora’s work, the conditions of emergence, the dimensions and the dynamics of social representations are discussed in detail. A brief account of social representations will be given for the purposes of this research, following the same organization.

According to Moscovici, social representations in particular social settings emerge considering that they are determined by the conditions in which they are perceived and

constituted, having as a common denominator the fact that social representations emerge in moments of crisis and conflict. Taking into account the work of investigation performed by Moscovici, he inferred three main conditions of emergence: the dispersion of information, the focalization of the subject as an individual and as collective, and the pressure of the inference of the object socially defined. In the case of the dispersion of information, it is described that the information managed by a social group is never enough and is usually disorganized, meaning that there is never enough information about a relevant social object. The following condition is described as focalization, which is settled, according to Banchs and Herzlich in Mora's essay, as the terms of implication or social attraction in concordance with the particular interests in the individuals subordinated to groups of possessions; therefore, the focalization will always be diverse and almost exclusive. In Moscovici's words, an individual or collectivism are focalized in consequence of the implications in the social interactions as facts which affect judgments and opinions. Finally, the last condition of emergence is defined as the inference pressure, meaning that there is a social pressure which demands opinions, positions and reactions to the focalized events by the public interest. According to Banchs (1984), the social group requires determined knowledge about different events or social objects, producing a continuing increase of relevance of these issues in the social group. The main objective is to grant the permanence in the social setting; in other words, the individual must be able to keep a conversation about a relevant social object or event by generating quick inferences, concerning opinions, and a developed discourse. Mora concludes that with the movement of these three conditions of emergence, the nature and the cognitive organization of the representation will be determined, meaning that its structuration as a cognitive scheme, its existence and structuration grade.

Following with Mora's work, the dimensions of a social representation are defined in order to facilitate their analysis in empirical terms. The first dimension is described as the information, which considers the organization and the sum of knowledge a social group manages about a social event, fact or phenomenon. These judgments depict the aspect in terms of quantity and quality of the social object with a stereotyped character which is usually transmitted without explicit support. On account of this, this dimension guides to the data and explanations about the reality formed by individuals in their quotidian

relations. Secondly, the dimension of the representation field refers to the representation's organization of the content in a hierarchical fashion, which fluctuates according to the different social groups and even inside of one social group. This dimension permits to visualize the character of the content, the qualitative and imaginative properties, in a field that integrates the information in a new level of organization in relation to its immediate sources. The last dimension is related to the attitude of the social groups towards the object of the social representation. This attitude can show a positive or negative orientation, therefore, it is considered as the most apparent factual and conductional component of a representation. According to Moscovici, as a consequence of this dimension, individuals tend to take position first and collect information only in function of the position taken in first place (Mora, 2002).

Subsequently, the investigation of Moscovici distinguishes two basic processes which clarify how the society transforms knowledge in collective representation and how this collective representation itself modifies society as an abstract construction; objectivation and anchorage. These processes refer to the elaboration and operation of a social representation, depicting the interdependence between the cognitive and the social conditions. The former refers to the selection and di-contextualization of the elements to the point that a figurative nucleus is created and instantly naturalized. In other words, the abstract as a sum of di-contextualized elements should turn into a roughly consistent image where the metaphorical aspects of the social group help to a clear identification; and thus constitute a schematized and theoretical building. Following, the process of anchorage is related to the reference frame of the collective; it is a useful instrument to interpret the reality and react to it. According to Moscovici, the process of anchorage designs the insertion of a science, ideology, theory, among others, in the hierarchy of values and in the social operations. In other words, it is through the process of anchorage where society exchange the social object for a disposal instrument, and thus this object is positioned in a preference scale in the existent social relations. In a more synthetic manner, Moscovici clarifies both processes by defining the objectivation as the way in which the scientific elements are articulated in a social reality and the anchorage as the way in which these scientific elements are visible in the social models and how they are expressed.

b. Language ideologies

Language ideology is a relative new area of study within linguistics anthropology, in which notions of power as part of the social context are involve in the accumulation of socio-political meaning behind a language (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). In this manner, it can be said that Language Ideologies (LI) are a link between social manifestations and how those manifestations influence the different ways to express something. Before this new perspective related to language was included in this area of study, there were few investigations related to “thoughts about language” by the same speakers (Kroskrity, 2005). In fact early studies related to LI, from a sociolinguistic field of study, were based on experimental designs and support on the structure of language rather than in communicative aspects or the connection between those communicative aspects and the thoughts of speakers in relation the former. It was Silverstein who introduced the topic into a more anthropological issue introducing notions of beliefs related to language (Razfar & Rumenapp, 2012).

As a matter of fact the definition of LI by Silverstein became a classical description of the notion within the field of study, about concept he said: “any sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure or use” (1979), this definition has framed the boundaries of the field of Language Ideology. Besides, this explanation has an explicit nature and has become the roots of this concept in addition to other concepts directly associated to it such awareness, multiplicity, positionality (Razfar & Rumenapp, 2012). Thus far, ideology was approached only from a political-economic point of view as the influential aspects in human’s lives, but since a linguistic anthropology perspective was included in the spectrum of study, the construction or appearances of ideologies are due to any cultural composition and practises, including the results of factor of power over all those aspects (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005).

Nevertheless again, even though the definition stated by Silverstein opens a broader aspect to study language ideologies, it still emphasizes the linguistic aspect of the area of study, specifically the awareness shown by speakers rationalizing language usage, taking into account even the structure and use of certain language (Kroskrity, 2005).

Consequently, Irvine proposed a perspective based on a more sociocultural position by saying that LI is “the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships” (1989: 255) Then, the author includes that these relationships are bound together with moral and political interests functioning as factors of these relationships. Moreover, it is emphasize that this cultural system is a “mediating factor” that may rationalize sociolinguistic differences (Irvine, 1989).

When authors refer to the morals and beliefs regarding a language, these are feelings about a language used in a social context, such as beliefs of relations between superiority/inferiority of a language or variety, the adequacy of language within the communicative system, besides feelings about how a language is acquired and the contact provoked by multilingual societies or the proper forms of use in a language (Kroskrity, 2005) In this sense, it has been demonstrated how LI has shaped and influenced even structural aspects of a language and also the different uses of an specific language.

In relation to what has been previously mentioned about Language Ideologies, the statuses of languages or the variety of a language is an interesting approach developed within this field of study. In fact other concepts, coming from neighbour lines of investigations have been associated with this approach; these concepts are linguistic prestige coined by Weinreich, and other similar notions such as attitudes and stigmatization. All these approaches had the purpose of generate the subsistence or the disappearance of a language or a variety (Razfar & Rumenapp, 2012; Woolard, 1992).

Following with these notions, it can be said that approaches such as the status of a language are represented by ideas of power an identity. Through these notions the hegemony of a language or a variety usually presents an attitude of disparity. The status of a language and its different uses are developed consequently through two different perspectives: coercion and consent (Razfar & Rumenapp, 2012).

Most of those inequalities and the origination of status in a language/variety take place in most cases when a determined dominant Language Ideology is forced over a subordinate community or group of people with a ‘substandard’ version of the dominant

language (Razfar & Rumenapp, 2012). This type of event occurs principally against the will of said community.

These types of processes have been carried out meanwhile influential nations have colonized different regions in the world, therefore, more than an imposition of a language or variety, there is a political and possibly a cultural domination over that country. Hence, the dominant figure relies on coercive actions to impose and administrate their power and culture over the colonised region. It is important to mention that, there are cases in which communities decide particularly to adopt a dominant language to obtain special benefits (Razfar & Rumenapp, 2012).

Considering the concept of LI in a further perspective, taking into account its significance, authors have attempted to identify and describe it. These attempts have considered two central definitions of languages ideologies to develop a thorough description of the concept: as beliefs about language and as a concept to facilitate the study of those beliefs (Kroskrity, 2000; Silverstein, 1979).

According to Kroskrity there are four “layers” of significance to exemplify Language Ideologies. In first place, the author points out that: “LI represent the perception of language and discourse that is constructed in the interest of a specific social or cultural group” (2005, 2010). This notion represents the origins of what a member of certain community believes as a “more pleasant”, “sophisticated” “better” about a language which appear or it is created in the social spectrum. These beliefs help to promote and legitimate a language and its possible uses. Even within seemingly homogenous communities, an elitist entity could arise and promote a specific use of the language according to their decision (Kroskrity, 2005). In relation to the previous idea, the author states that there are two types of ideological analysis: a neutral one, which is focused of shared beliefs; and a critical analysis, which involves political domination.

The second layer states by Kroskrity, reveals that: “LI are profitably conceived as multiple” (2010) The author makes reference to the multiplicity, since he takes into account the several social division within a society, that means, differences in gender, class , age,

and so on. From this point, it can be said that there divergent perspectives related to the possible language ideologies generated within a community.

In the third place, it is declare that: “member may display varying degrees of awareness of local Language Ideologies” (Kroskrity, 2005; 2010). In this case, the author points out that speakers of a language or a specific variety are not always aware of the uses og language in a spoken speech. In relation to this and following Rampton words (1995: 307) the author, establishes a connection of LI and the consciousness of the speaker of a language. At the same, it is included the notion of context as mediator of the awareness of a speaker as well (Kroskrity, 2010). Contrasting with the previous words, according to Silverstein, awareness is a product of linguistic phenomena in which speakers are usually able to recognize (1981). Nonetheless, Kroskrity once again refutes this idea by stating that in many indigenous languages most of the times, there is no real conscious, therefore, awareness of the language. In fact, once a change is produced in the language just then the speakers become conscious of their own language (2000, 2010)

As a four and final point the author proclaim that: “members’ language ideologies mediate between social structures and forms of talk” (Kroskrity, 2010) In this point, the author emphasize the fact that personal experience creates a bridge between the socio cultural aspect and the linguistic resources implemented by the user of a language to create its own “ideological” experience. Here, the consciousness of that said user plays a pivotal role, since due to that conscious, the speaker is able to create and produce its own ideologies which at the same time are practically a reflect of its socio cultural background.

In relation to Languages Ideologies related to the English language processes such as standardization, where a language or a variety of it is promoted and legitimized under political and economic interests. This type of process is generally commanded by hegemonic groups that imposed their norms providing benefits to certain portion of the whole group. Consequently, a standard variety becomes the idealised version of a language. Such is the case of Standard English, which became “standard” not due to its properties and effectiveness per se, but due to political and economic influences from upper classes. In fact, these processes are grounded to specific groups of people which established the uses

and structures concerning the language imposed. On the other hand, language ideologies have found other reality where indigenous groups have resist the influences from dominant institutions, developing in the same way preferences and feeling towards languages. In this sense the speakers of threaten language become aware of the dangerous situation and propagate campaigns to preserve their language (Kroskrity, 2000)

c. Standard Language and its implication in English varieties

Whenever scholars try to define what a standard language means or its connotations, many opinions emerge. Some linguists point out that by standard they are referring to a non-accented or an abstracted version of a language. In relation to these assumptions, Milroy suggests that a standard language should be understood as a mental idea and not something from a reality, which is usually uniform and invariable , besides, it is considered as an unmarked variety in comparison with other varieties (2001).

At the same time, Milroy suggests to provide a definition to standardization since both concepts are directly related, in accordance with this concept the author says that “consists of the imposition of uniformity upon a class of objects” (2001). In this sense, it is sensible to return to Kroskrity’s ideas presented in notions about Language Ideologies, in relation to this he declares that standardization is a consequence of LI imposed by hegemonic social groups and that these groups usually impose a specific variety of a language (2001). Both authors highlight the fact that it is an impose version of the language which become the standard version of the said language.

Historically, these standard versions have been considered as with the ‘highest prestige variety’ which surprisingly does not coincide with the notion of uniformity proposed in the previous definition. At the same time, what transforms a variety in the prestige version of the language does not belong to the actual prestige of the variety; in fact, the prestige is acquired through the prestige obtained by who is using that variety. Therefore, the prestige is conceded by speakers (Milroy, 2001). Prestige is consequently, intrinsic to human beings, especially to those influential social groups within a society.

Taking into account the factors that revolve in turn of standard and standardization, it seems finally that its occurrence has to do only with socio-political factors rather than linguistic features that could constitute a standard language or variety. In this sense, the notion of “the standard language myth” coined by Lippi-Green (2012) seems to be very reasonable. Therefore, the emergence of an standard version of a language, belong in the imagery of the social group who, due to political and social interests, imposes a variety pretending to propose a uniform and objective variety of a language.

In relation to the previous concepts and its relation with certain languages, it seems to be a crucial relationship in the process to establish the standard variety. This is the case of the English language, where most of its speakers believe in the conception of a standardized version of their own language, affecting the way in which they value that variety, also the supposedly non standard varieties and how according to those differences speakers are constantly shaping their forms of talk. It is said that English language just as French or Spanish are under a standardized language culture, since speakers from these language revolt their choices of words, pronunciation and so on, based on the standard variety of their respective language (Milroy, 2001).

The standard variety of the U.K, called Received Pronunciation (R.P.), which for the purpose of this investigation will paradoxically be called ‘the British variety’. When referring to say paradoxical, it is due to the elitist and distinctive status of this standard variety. In fact, within the U.K. it is acknowledge as the “Oxford English”, “BBC English” and even “the Queen’s English” (Milroy, 2001) In fact, according to Wells this variety is what everybody recognise in the most prestige radio and television announcers (1982).

This variety could be considered as the best representative of an standard variety, taking into account that what people from the U.K. admit to have a clear mental image of what the R.P. means to them, even if they are not acquainted with the real name of the variety –RP- or if they have not clear notion of which is really that variety (Wells, 1982).

One of the boundaries or patterns to delimitate what is RP what is not, resides mainly in socio-economic backgrounds, therefore, and taking into account, it is called “the Queen’s English” its whole purpose, structure and uses are relates to social status (Milroy, 2001).

Contrary to the aristocratic origins of the standard variety of the U.K., the American standard variety, called 'network American', General American (G.A.) and mainstream United States English (Muse), this variety does not have its origins related to any prestigious social group, but associated to certain geographic region of the country, specifically the Northern Midwest (Milroy, 2001).

Many speakers from the U.S have called their standard language as a non accent version of English, mainly due to the image provided by American linguists conceding to the variety the 'mainstream' attributes. Therefore, it seems to them –even without the formal knowledge- that this is a more neutral variety of English. However, just as any other standard variety of English and any language, this variety still stigmatizes dialects within the country. In fact, a way in which the distinction was created was based on racial attributes. Nowadays in the U.S, it considered the standard variety to all the dialects spoken in the northern regions of the country, leaving aside any dialect spoken by Afro American speakers (Milroy, 2001). Once again, it is emphasized the notion of uniformity from the perspective of certain social groups that assigned the 'correct' features to the standard variety.

What both standard varieties agree on is on the fact that in both cases, linguists from the respective countries have considered well educated social groups, the formal speech and that both, written and spoken language function in the same manner (Lippi-Green, 2012; Milroy, 2001).

In this manner, it can be said that both varieties actually respond to the same pattern of what is described in the process of standardization and a standard language itself. It is conclude that, all linguistic assumptions are ignored at the moment in which a prestigious social group decides to impose a variety of a language in a certain place.

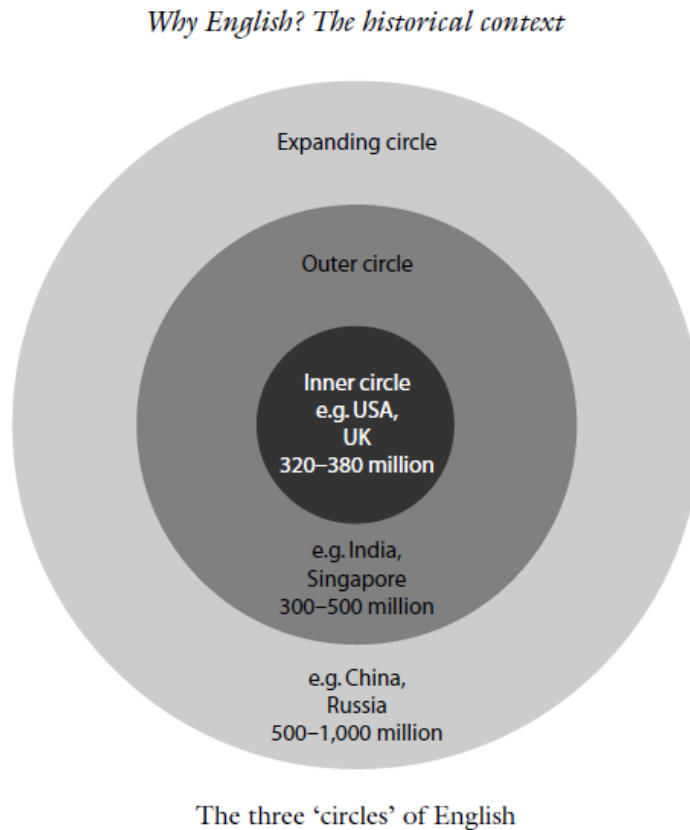
d. English as a global language

In view of the present investigation, it is required to explore in the subject of English as a global language. According to Crystal and the second edition of his book “English as a Global Language”, for a language to reach such status, it needs to develop a special role that is recognized in every country or a great majority of the world. However, the facet of special role has different readings (Crystal, 2003). Following Crystal’s definitions, the role of a global language is depicted as a mother tongue, a second language, and a foreign language. The latter describes the current situation of the Chilean social settings, since that, a global language, in order to be recognized as such, can be made a priority in a country’s foreign-language teaching, even though the target language has no official status. “English is now the language most widely taught as a foreign language, in over 100 countries” (Crystal, 2003).

Crystal discusses that the present-day world status of English is primarily the result of two factors: the expansion of British colonial power, which peaked towards the end of the nineteenth century, and the emergence of the United States as the leading economic power of the twentieth century (Crystal, 2003). The latter factor has greatly influenced the position of English during the last decades until today, in view of the fact that the USA has nearly 70% of all English mother-tongue speakers in the world, excluding creole varieties in this rate. “Such dominance, with its political/economic underpinnings, currently gives America a controlling interest in the way the language is likely to develop” (Crystal, 2003). The situation of English as a global language has been illustrated by the linguist Braj Kachru in three concentric circles, which represent different ways in which the English language has been acquired and is currently used. The next chart developed in Crystal’s book is portrayed as a partial model of the spread of English as a global language, it does not necessarily portray an accurate account of the reality for all the countries in the world.

The next figure portrays the concentric circles developed by Braj Kachru:

Figure 2: The three ‘circles’ of English.



Crystal interprets the previous chart in the following manner:

- *The inner circle* refers to the traditional bases of English, where it is the primary language: it includes the USA, UK, Ireland, Canada, Australia and New Zealand.
- *The outer or extended circle* involves the earlier phases of the spread of English in non-native settings, where the language has become part of a country’s chief institutions, and plays an important ‘second language’ role in a multilingual setting: it includes Singapore, India, Malawi and over fifty other territories.
- *The expanding or extending circle* involves those nations which recognize the importance of English as an international language, though they do not have a history of colonization by members of the inner circle, nor have they given English any special

administrative status. It includes China, Japan, Greece, Poland and (as the name of this circle suggests) a steadily increasing number of other states. In these areas, English is taught as a foreign language. (The term ‘expanding’ reflects its origins in the 1980s: today, with English recognized virtually everywhere, a tense change to expanded circle would better reflect the contemporary scene.) (Crystal, 2003)

The last circle is the one in which Chile is placed. According to educational policies, English is taught as a foreign language in view of the fact that English is not spoken in real communicative contexts. The national department of education justifies the teaching of English as a global communicative necessity with further applications in the current industries of media and technology (Mineduc 2012a, p. 220). Following Crystal, one of the reasons why a language can be favored as the taught foreign language in a country responds to “the desire for commercial, cultural or technological contact” (Crystal, 2003), clarifying in this view the teaching of English in Chile.

2.2.3 Theories Developed in relation to the social spectrum applied to English and its Social status

a. Bourdieu and the concept of Habitus

Both concepts of The Habitus and Symbolic Power are first coined by the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, in his book “Language and Symbolic Power”. The present book is edited and includes an introduction by John B. Thompson and it was published in 1991. According to the editor’s note, the contemporary intellectual disciplines which are particularly concerned with language and the inextricable link with social life have been illuminating, but they have also suffered from a number of shortcomings since that there is a tendency to think of the social character of language in a rather abstract way (Thompson, 1991). Following the editor’s note, the gap in the scientific fields of sociology and linguistics is portrayed by a lack of accounting the concrete part of the existent perspectives in which linguistic exchanges can express relations of power. The sociologist work carried out by Bourdieu established a critique towards formal and structural linguistics in base of the argument that was previously mentioned: disciplines concerned with language fail to

grasp the specific social and political conditions of language formation and use. In view of this problem, Bourdieu elaborated an approach which aims to be both theoretically informed and sensitive to empirical detail. This approach is a general “theory of practice”, where Bourdieu’s concerns involve language and language use. The existent gap between sociology and linguistic disciplines Bourdieu was intended to observe was concerned with how everyday linguistic exchanges are situated as encounters between agents endowed with socially structured resources and competencies, in such a way that every linguistic interaction, however personal and insignificant it may seem, bears the traces of the social structure that it both expresses and helps to reproduce. (Thompson, 1991)

The development of Bourdieu’s approach breaks from the linguistic tradition of analyzing language exchange as purely internal, in the sense that the disciplines related to language have focused exclusively on the internal constitution of a text or a corpus of texts, and hence linguists have ignored the social-historical conditions of the production and receptions of texts. Following Bourdieu’s perspective, language itself is a social-historical phenomenon, and linguistic exchange is a mundane, practical activity like many others. Opposed to what is proposed by Chomskian theories, Bourdieu interpreted the concept of competence, developed by generativist and cognitive linguistics, as the capacity to produce expressions which are appropriate for particular situations, and not only the capacity of producing grammatical sentences. Thus, the speakers for Bourdieu are able to embed sentences or expressions in practical strategies which have numerous functions and which are tacitly adjusted to the relations of power between speakers and hearers. This is called practical competence, where speakers make themselves heard, believed, obeyed, and so on. Following these dynamics -where those who speak must ensure that they are entitled to speak in particular circumstances, and those who listen must reckon that those who speak are worthy of attention- Thompson introduces the main feature of Bourdieu’s approach related to power, since that “the recognition of the right to speak, and the associated forms of power and authority which are implicit in all communicative situations, are generally ignored by the former traditions of linguistics” (Thompson, 1991).

The Habitus and the market

Following what is exposed in the introduction composed by Thompson, Bourdieu has developed key concepts as a prolific base of his theory of practice. In this book, the concepts coined by Bourdieu are alienated and defined in order to give an organized account of the development of his approach. The theoretical framework composed by Bourdieu is based on his view of the dichotomy of subjectivism and objectivism at the level of epistemology as both inadequate intellectual orientations; nevertheless, Bourdieu discusses that objectivism is less inadequate than the former. According to Thompson, objectivism finds its merit in the break with the immediate experience of the social world and its ability to produce a domain of knowledge of the social world which is not reducible to the practical knowledge possessed by lay actors (Thompson, 1991). Nevertheless, in the perspective of objectivism social practice can be turned into a mere epiphenomenon of the analyst's own constructs, considering that the practical activities of individuals can appear as nothing other than the application of a rule, or the realization of a model or structure, which has been apparently constructed or elucidated by the analyst. Bourdieu's proposal to the previous issue is to take account of the need to break with immediate experience, while at the same time, incorporate the practical character of social life.

In order to develop his approach, Bourdieu employed the concept of the "Habitus", which is described as a set of dispositions that incline individuals to act and react in certain ways depending on the specific social, cultural contexts among others. According to Thompson, these dispositions generate social practices, perceptions, and attitudes which are characterized as quotidian or regular without being consciously co-ordinated or governed by any established rule. The dispositions in Bourdieu's habitus are inculcated, structured, durable, generative and transposable. By claiming dispositions as inculcated complexions, Bourdieu is referring to the gradual process of inculcation in which dispositions are acquired in specific social and cultural contexts, especially during childhood. A second characteristic of the dispositions is that they are also structured, meaning that they reflect the social conditions within which they were acquire; consequently, the existent similarities and differences that represent particular social conditions will be reflected in the habitus, and these reflections may be relatively homogeneous across individuals from similar

backgrounds. These structured dispositions therefore are also durable, since that they are implanted in distinctive social constructions or bodies -as Bourdieu referred to them- on account of the fact that dispositions endure through the life history of individuals, transcending the historical perspective and thus these dispositions are not readily amenable to conscious reflection and modification. Following, the dispositions are generative and transposable in view of that they are capable of generating a multiplicity of practices and perceptions in different fields from which in those they were originally acquired.

In a broader sense, Bourdieu portrays the habitus as a state of the body, meaning that a bodily or corporeal hexis is a certain durable organization of one's body -as a set of assumptions- and of its deployment in the world. It is the site in which history is incorporated, where the practical schemes are produced through the organization of the body as a social configuration; besides, it refers to how the body organizes its sources of practices and perception as a product of history. In a more concrete sense, the habitus "provides individuals with a sense of how to act and respond in the course of their daily lives: It orients their actions and inclinations without strictly determining them. It gives them a 'feel for the game', a sense of what is appropriate in the circumstances and what is not, a practical sense" (Thompson, 1991). This process of production and reproduction of history as an incorporated item which requires constant actualization take place through the articulation of language.

In consequence, the habitus finds its realization when individuals sharing the habitus act in specific ways depending on the social contexts or settings. "Hence particular practices or perceptions should be seen, not as the product of the habitus as such, but as the product of the relation between the habitus, on the one hand, and the specific social contexts or fields within which act, on the other" (Thompson, 1991). The fields of action are commonly denominated as "markets", and, according to Thompson, these markets or fields should be seen as structured spaces of position in which the positions and their interrelations are determined by the distribution of different kinds of resources or capital. It is important to take into account that the concept of capital is not only referring to economic capital in the strict sense, but also to cultural capital, symbolic capital, etc. being one of the most relevant characteristics of the markets since that that the forms in which

capitals are allowed can be converted into others, for example, learning another language apart from the mother tongue, especially if the target language represents powerful countries in terms of economics, can be cashed in for better lucrative jobs.

Grounding these concepts from Bourdieu's theory of practice to the interests of the present investigation, Thompson illustrates this approach to language and linguistic exchange by referring to them as forms of practice; therefore, they can be interpreted as the product of the relation between a linguistic habitus and a linguistic market. "The fact that different groups and classes have different accents, intonations and ways of speaking is a manifestation, at the level of language, of the socially structured character of the habitus" (Thompson, 1991). In concordance with this, there is an essential aspect of the practical competence in the linguistic market regarding value: "on a given linguistic market, some products are valued more highly than others; and part of the practical competence of speakers is to know how, and to be able, to recognize and produce expressions which are highly valued on the markets concerned" (Thompson, 1991). Furthermore, the distribution of linguistic capital is intrinsically linked to other forms of capital, especially economic and cultural capitals. Hence, the differences in value of linguistic capitals are indicators of the social position of the individuals sharing the same habitus. Despite of the fact that the references to the latest concepts previously described are presented in the book "Language and Symbolic Power" mainly as speech modes, the present investigation will propose the perceptions towards the English language as part of the linguistic market, along with other related theories described further in this theoretical framework.

b. Bourdieu and the concept of Symbolic Power

Taking into account the concept of value and the intrinsic relation between the linguistic capital and other capitals -in particular the economic and cultural ones- Bourdieu focused his inquiries in the concrete examination of the ways in which those who are more deprived in terms of economic and cultural capital are able to express themselves in the diverse settings of every day. One of his main conclusions is related to the acceptability of established hierarchies and the subordinate position some individuals occupy in the social space. By taking for granted certain aspects of established hierarchies which include overt

dominant modes of speech, individuals from lower-class backgrounds are accepting the fact that they share a system of evaluation which works against them (Thompson, 1991). This last phenomenon is denominated Symbolic Power, a concept which is referred to an aspect of most forms of power as they are routinely and overtly deployed in practices of social life. According to Bourdieu, power in social settings is seldom exercised in an explicit fashion, but that power is transmuted into a symbolic form, enhancing therefore a kind of legitimacy that it would not otherwise have. This symbolic power is described as an invisible component in social backgrounds, which is misrecognized as such and thereby recognized as legitimate. This last notion infers the fact that the exercise of power through symbolic exchange always rests on a foundation of shared belief (Thompson, 1991). In Thompson words;

The efficacy of symbolic power presupposes certain forms of cognition or belief, in such a way that even those who benefit least from the exercise of power participate, to some extent, in their own subjection. They recognize or tacitly acknowledge the legitimacy of power or of the hierarchical relations of power in which they are embedded; and hence they fail to see that the hierarchy is, after all, an arbitrary social construction which serves the interests of some groups more than others. (Thompson, 1991)

In this sense, it is important to highlight that there is an active complicity in the relations within the social groups, meaning that the dominated individuals accept and express their subjective position since that, according to Bourdieu, for symbolic power to be successful, it needs that those who are subjected to it believe in the legitimacy of power and the legitimacy of those who wield it. In order to understand the concrete forms in which symbolic power is exercised and reproduced in societies, is necessary to observe how institutionalized mechanisms emerge, fix, and inculcate values to products according to different markets. In the case of linguistic markets, the present investigation focuses on the value English and its two variables Received Pronunciation and General American have in the Chilean social configuration.

c. Foucault and the concepts of Language, Discourse and Power

The theories developed by the sociologist Michel Foucault have reached a great influence in social and cultural inquiries. Its field of research is related to the discussion previously discussed about Bourdieu's approach to language and power. For this reason, Foucault's work will be briefly examined to complement the analysis of the present study.

In broad terms, Foucault's work portrays a move within critical traditions since that focus knowledge as a material element in social life, offering thus both radical and epistemological decentering of knowledge and truth (Pitsoe & Letseka, 2013). In articulating the concept of discourse, it has been mainly referred as the speech patterns and usage of language, dialects, and acceptable statements within a community. Following Foucault's thinking, it is through discourse that individuals, as part of particular social groups, are created; and that discourse joins power and knowledge, and its power follows from the social casual acceptance of the reality with which society is represented (Foucault, 1977; Pitsoe & Letseka, 2013).

Considering the concept of power, Foucault exposes that discourse, as a social construct, is created and perpetuated by the institutions of power and means of communication. Foucault holds that the abstract elements inserted in social settings such as truth, morality, and meaning, are created through discourse. Consequently, discourses are about what can be said and thought, but also about who can speak, when, and with what authority. They embody meaning and social representations; and are practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak. Besides, discourses are not about objects, discourse constitutes objects and in the practice of doing so conceal their own invention (Foucault 1972; Pitsoe & Letseka, 2013).

Furthermore, following Foucault's discussion in the essay elaborated by Pitsoe and Letseka, the concepts of discourse, power, culture and language are dialectically interrelated, meaning that they complement one another. Discourses, in turn, are shaped and informed by practices. Discourse and practices then enter into power relations. One does not have more or less power than the other but each equally shapes the other (Foucault, 1977). Discourse can be seen in the everyday practice of humans in society. Therefore,

discourse is not only text but also action. In Foucault words, discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart (Foucault, 1998).

Chapter III

Analysis and Discussion

This chapter is concerned with the analysis of our corpus, together with a discussion of the results obtained. The general objective of the investigation was to define the undergoing Chilean preferences in social discourse related to the linguistic ideologies behind the RP and GA English variations in three different age sets of monolingual Spanish speakers from a middle class background. On this occasion, we have divided this section into a number of categories related to our specific objectives and the data obtained for the corpus, generating two major chapters. The first chapter consists on the examination of general categories in our corpus as a starting point in our analysis; in other words, the analysis will focus on categories which transcended the established limits of our three age sets. Secondly, our analysis concentrates on each age range group and their specific preferences in order to recognize and categorize social representations and language ideologies associated with historic and cultural settings in their discourse. Throughout our analysis, undergoing theories related to discourse analysis and those already outlined in our theoretical framework will be presented in order to support our corpus interpretation.

3.1 Preferences towards English and both varieties in Chilean lay people

3.1.1 English as a working tool

According to the observation of the results obtained, there was a common agreement in all of the participants, who depicted the importance of English in our country as mainly a working tool. This phenomenon can be interpreted with theories related to the fields of cognitive anthropology, which are further discussed by Duranti in his textbook “Linguistic Anthropology”. He proposes a concept related to beliefs which are held by specific societies, defining it as “Propositional knowledge”. According to Duranti, propositional knowledge refers to beliefs that can be represented by propositions such “as *cats and dogs are pets, smoking is bad for your health*” (Duranti, 1997). In this case, the proposition of English as a working tool can be interpreted as a common belief spread in different Chilean social settings. Following with Duranti’s definitions, it is pointed out that propositional knowledge is the “know-how” type of information that must often be inferred from

observing how people carry on their daily tasks and engages in problem-solving (Duranti, 1997). In this perspective, it can be interpreted that past and current social settings generated this belief in view of a necessity to solve the problem with the inexistent use of English as a tool of communication; therefore, English is granted with the function of a working tool, implying mostly economic fields, in order to justify the importance of English as an international language or global language. However, the belief of English as a working tool needs more attention in order to be understood, as Duranti pointed out, the perspective of propositional knowledge may be somehow over simplistic to define social cognition:

We find out that cognition is “distributed – stretched over, not divided – among mind, body, activity and culturally organized settings (which include other actors).” To say that cultural knowledge is *socially distributed* means to recognize that (i) the individual is not always the end point of the acquisition process, and (ii) not everyone has access to the same information or uses the same techniques for achieving certain goals. (Duranti, 1997)

Consequently, to interpret the proposition “English functions as a working tool” is necessary to acknowledge that cultural knowledge is far more complex than a set of propositions. According to Wallace, what characterizes people who share the same culture is not uniformity but “their capacity for mutual prediction” (Duranti, 1997). This refers to the present phenomenon of all of our participants conferring the same function to the English language; nevertheless, this fact does not imply that all of our participants think the same, but that they manage a certain degree of internal conflict with different points of view where their representations can co-exist.

In general, our participants expressed that the presence of the English language in Chile is concerned with economy, business, engineering and travelling, emphasising its role within professional environments which are not part of their personal social backgrounds; in other words, the participants chosen for this study are not professionals, consequently they tend to treat English with certain degrees of distance, arguing that the English language confer status and prestige to those who manage it inside the percentage of the population which professional backgrounds, and more specifically, related to the business

area. In particular with the age range groups delineated for this investigation, the older group pointed out that English essentially is important only for those who are surrounded by the language, treating English with a higher degree of distance than the other two groups. In the case of the middle adult group, the degree of distance is shortened, since that the participants consider the belief of English as a working tool as part of their near social settings in view of the fact that they are somehow surrounded by English in their respective workplaces. However, they still confer the responsibility of learning the language to those who are professionals, considering that they did not attend university. Finally, in the case of the younger group, the references to the English language are even closer, since that most of the younger participants acknowledge the importance of learning English for their respective future in the labour market, yet the process of learning the language –apart from what is already taught in secondary programs- is avoided in their present quotidianity and postponed to their future professional programs.

3.1.2 English as a global language

The conception of English as a global or international language was mentioned by all the participants in different manners, which vary mostly in their degrees of explicitness; that is to say, not all of them explicitly uttered opinions such as “English is a global language” but it was evident the recognition of English as a global language through their discourse. This conception can be attributed to mainly two social concerns, one is related to the formal settings of education in the country and the other has to do with mainly cultural prospects. Both matters are intrinsically connected in view of the discussions and reasons behind the proposition of English as a global language. Taking into account the formal settings of education, English is the only language taught in Chile as a foreign language since approximately the 1980s. According to Crystal in his book “English as a global language”, there is great variation in the reasons for choosing a particular language as a favoured foreign language: they include historical tradition, political expediency, and the desire for commercial, cultural or technological contact (2003). Following this, it can be deduced that English is incorporated in the national curriculum of education in view of the economic supremacy leaded by English-speaking countries which are principally The United States and England. The participants put special emphasis on how learning the

English language may help to stay connected with the latest technologies developed in different fields, since that, according to Crystal “A language has traditionally become an international language for one chief reason: the power of its people – especially their political and military power”, however, “it may take a militarily powerful nation to establish a language, but it takes an economically powerful one to maintain and expand it” (2003). In concordance with this, some of the participants have pointed out how the country may be in an economic disadvantage in view of the fact that the impact of the English supremacy is not as direct as to generate the necessity to use the English language in real speaking contexts as an alternative of the Spanish language.

In addition to this, the theory of Symbolic Power coined by Bourdieu describes how the power of a civilization takes symbolic forms through which this power is implemented, where one of the most illustrative examples is language; but it can also be inferred how technology, science and cultural aspects depict the power of specific civilizations. In the case of the participants, some of them argued that travelling would be easier if they knew English since that “everybody in the world knows English - todos hablan inglés”. In view of the previous point of discussion, it can be deduced that the participants chosen for this investigation acknowledge the importance of English as a global language, concerning that is formally taught in schools, and the presence of the language mostly in cultural and technology aspects. According to Crystal “There is the closest of links between language dominance and economic, technological, and cultural power” (2003).

3.1.3 Received Pronunciation variety

As it was previously mentioned, there is a strong recognition towards the economic supremacy and cultural influence from England and United States and their impact in the world. Concerning the British variety, most of the participant acknowledged the fact that England, thus the variety spoken there, has a superior status in comparison to the American variety in terms of formality. This superiority was demonstrated through different notions that were conceded to the variety such as the “original language” depicting a language ideology towards this variety in terms of historical hegemony and conceding a superior hierarchy in contrast with the American variety. Consequently, due to that historical

domination, participants granted the variety a classical and antique attribute. Besides, due to the antiqueness attributed to the Received Pronunciation English, there is a general conception in which this variety has a much more elaborated type of English in comparison with the American English variety.

a. R.P as a formal variety

Reiterating what has been said about the hierarchical relationship between both varieties, there are two main features which were mentioned by most of the participants referring to the British English. According to the statements presented by the participants, this variety suggests a more formal register in comparison to the American variety. Taking into account that most participants do not really have knowledge of the English language, it is inferred that their opinions towards this variety are founded in symbolic references, specifically, historical events associated with the country in which this variety is spoken. Therefore, the perceptions towards this English variety are established through theories such as social representations, in which the unfamiliar becomes familiar by adding the historical aspect to the notion of the variety. In this sense, participants transform an unknown topic into a matter directly related to their own world (Mora, 2002). In the same line of argumentation, some participants made allusion to selected social groups, specifically the nobility within the British society to explain the formality and status of the variety; and also including features such as a more sophisticated and distinctive variety of English. In virtue of the emergence of the notion of nobility among a nation -included in the contribution to this variety- it was also made a parallel comparison with Spanish language, the one spoken by the participants. In this case, both British English and Peninsular Spanish are argued to be the original versions of both languages, therefore the solemn variety of each language. This connection emphasises the fact that participants resort to familiar contexts in which they are able to develop their arguments towards the inquiry.

The perceptions and opinions towards the British English variety, especially the allusion to nobility, can be related to the general denomination and status conferred to the British variety. Regarding participants' responses, which included not only references towards royalty but also assigned to prestigious social groups within England, it is evident

to connect the fact that this variety has been called as “the Queen’s English”, additionally to its socially prestige marked name “Oxford English” (Milroy, 2001). Taking into consideration that this variety is strongly associated to superior social class, there are diverse opinions towards this fact. On the one hand, some participants, mostly the older ones, depict a positive preference towards the status of this variety; these opinions vary as the other age range groups are considered into the discussion. In this sense, some younger participants state that this variety seems to be unfamiliar and remote to their own context in comparison with the American variety.

b. R.P as a more comprehensible variety

Following a similar proposition to the previous point, some participants conferred to this variety a more comprehensible status contrasting it with the American English variety. Most participants acknowledged the fact that the British variety has a clearer pronunciation which seems to be more accessible to their ears. Just as in the previous idea, even though, the participants do not really understand the language, they tend to find similarities in their own context; therefore, they establish familiarity with the theme through what seems to be quotidian practices to them. In this particular case, participants compared the Chilean Spanish variety with the Peruvian variety. Responses alluded to the use of full sounds, less contractions and that it is generally spoken in a slower pace, consequently a more understandable variety, according to their perception of a more comprehensible variety. The features provided by the participants surprisingly coincide with the description of the Peruvian variety that some participants commented on. The comparison between their own variety with a neighbour variety, which used to be the closest Spanish colonial administrative district to Chile, portrays the continuous approbation towards varieties of a language that historically have belonged to a superior and more prestigious variety in contrast with other less prestigious varieties. Regarding this notion, once again, the fact that the British variety was recognised by scholars as the standard variety of English used in England, conferred its position and status, even in foreign regions.

3.1.4 General American Variety

As it is pointed before, the social representations behind English are mostly connected to the economic dominance of England and the United States which enhanced an overall distribution of their culture throughout the world. Taking into account the historic perspective, the American variety has been spread more recently than British English, therefore comparisons between both varieties are commonly addressed by our participants. These comparisons are projected in a hierarchical fashion where the British variety appears in most of the cases in a superior status. The respective language ideologies for both varieties are then considered since that the understanding of these language ideologies are embedded in our participants' discourse in a very concealed manner. According to Milroy, (2001) American English does not involve accent. Popular perceptions regarding American English are essentially the avoidance of particular socially marked grammatical and lexical forms, where the principal referent of avoidance is African American English. In consequence, the boundaries of American English are less constrained.

a. G.A as an informal variety

A great majority of our participants agreed on this conception where the projection of American English is settled in a lower position in comparison with British English. One of the reasons behind this general representation has to do with the historic relationship of colonizer and colonized country between England and the U.S, therefore the variety representing the colonizer country symbolises the formal aspects which are subsequently deviated in the colonized country as a result of the contact with native civilizations. As it was mentioned before, some of our participants established a parallel connection between our historic background as a colonized country by Spain, determining the variety of Spanish language from Spain as the formal one. Another argument related to the previous discussion has to do with the image of royalty the British Empire has been exhibiting until our days. The image of aristocracy embraces supremacy, distinction, good manners, and formality, among others. An image the U.S never had as a colonized country which after independence chose a democratic system to administrate the country. Finally, the cultural dimension is also addressed by our participants, who justify their opinion about American English with movies and music, explaining how the language portrayed in American

movies is full of different collocations and idioms, a phenomenon which does not occur in movies from the British English cultural market.

b. G.A as a less comprehensible variety

General American was determined as a less comprehensive variety by almost all our participants in comparison with British English. Following the previous section, most of our participants argued that American English appeared to be less intelligible according to what they were able to perceive in movies and music in general. Besides, some of our participants who watched the videos corresponding to both varieties, made comparisons regarding public figures in politics, pointing out the elegance the queen Elizabeth has while speaking, which is lacking in Obama's discourse.

Following, the next figures illustrate a summary of the first part of the analysis concerning the first objective of the present investigation.

Figure 3: General preferences which transcend the delineated age ranges.

participants	English	General American	Received Pronunciation
Great majority	-Working tool -Global language	-Informal -Less comprehensive	-Formal -More comprehensive

Figure 4: General preferences according to each age range group.

Group	English	British English (RP)	American English (GA)
Mature adult	Global / working tool	Original – elaborated	Mediocre – disorganized - unpolished
Middle adult	Global / working tool	Fancy - harmonious	Functional – popular
Adolescent	Global language	Traditional - enchanting	Familiar – didactic

3.2 Arguments behind the three age sets in relation to RP and GA in terms of social and cultural aspects

As it is pointed before, this category will refer to the specific age ranges delineated for the purposes of this investigation. All groups were asked three questions related to our general categories: English language, Received Pronunciation or British English and General American or American English. In this chapter, the analysis will be composed by the two last objectives delineated for the present investigation, which consist on the comparison of the three different age groups and including the theories previously defined in the theoretical framework.

3.2.1 Mature Adult group

In general, this group can be distinguished in view of the perceptions towards both varieties. In the case of British English, the participants evaluated it with positive arguments while American English is negatively devalued in comparison to the British standard variety.

a. English as a global language

When participants from this group were asked about English in general, they generated an explicit link to economic and political supremacy regarding England and the US, conferring this inherent power to the English language in a symbolic manner, as it is described by Bourdieu in his approach. Besides, the theory of symbolic power arises when some participants compared the teaching of English as a foreign language with the teaching of French in Chile, in view of the fact that they learned French in their period of secondary school. The teaching of French was removed from the national curriculum of education during the military coup in the 1980's, and according to the perceptions of our participants, the French language was not taught anymore in Chile, as a consequence of economic and political issues where France lost its importance in global businesses. Following the historical references, the participants explained that since the World War II, France was reduced by England and the United States.

Furthermore, one of the participants gave a brief explanation which depicts Bourdieu's theory about economic power and language as its symbolic representation by

making explicit reference to historical events. According to Bourdieu's approach: "The efficacy of symbolic power presupposes certain forms of cognition or belief in such a way that even those who benefit least from the exercise of power participate, to some extent, in their own subjection" (Thompson, 1991). Specifically, the participant referred to the cold war eventually won by the US and how its victory meant the spread of the American English variety in the world, mostly in economic fields; however, the participant discussed if the contrary would have happened by arguing that if The Soviet Union had won, we would be learning Russian, and that Russian would be the global language for business. In this view, the participant is transferring the power to a different country, recognizing that language is a representation and reproduction of power. According to Bourdieu and Foucault, power institutions legitimate their power through language and discourse.

In this sense, this group in general supports their arguments in historical events of great relevance, to the extent of introducing periods of crisis which influenced the ways societies frame and represent realities towards foreign languages.

b. British English variety

Previously in the brief introduction to this age range group, it is mentioned how this group in particular presents an evident inclination towards the British English variety. Taking into account the theories which discuss the similar practices of language and society, the task of analysis and interpretation becomes a complex elaboration in terms of limitations in the corresponding theories. In view of this, the analysis is organized with a first observation of the most particular aspects to consequently introduce the most general aspects of the results obtained.

In order to generate a thorough analysis, it is considered necessary to firstly link the language ideology prompted in this specific age group concerning the Spanish language. Taking into account the historical background shared among the continent of America as a colonized territory by European countries, the participants illustrate the consequences of this historical process in the official language spoken by the great majority of the population in the country -and in the rest of the countries of the continent- by considering

the language of the colonizer country –in this case, Spain- as the standard language. For instance, the language ideology behind the perception of a standard language as the language acquired through the process of colonization is reflected and transferred to similar historical events and processes in other territories. For this reason, the participants of this group produce a generalized assumption about the British English variety as the “original language”. This notion is directly related to the theory of practice developed by Bourdieu, specifically the concept of “Symbolic Power” and in addition Foucault’s approach, on account of the fact that the European domination caused by the process of colonization is reproduced through the participants’ speech, illustrating a frame of reality in the social configuration by establishing hierarchies where the language of the colonizer is considered as the standard variety and therefore, the original variety.

In the interest of specifying an analysis capable of enclosing the collected corpus with respect to the preference towards the British English variety in this age range group, the theory under the social psychology discipline, “Social Representations” developed in first place by Moscovici introduces the notion of different social groups as “universes of opinion”, which are analysed in three dimensions defined by this approach. The first dimension makes reference to the information or the amount of pieces of information managed by a group with respect to a social event, phenomenon or object (Mora, 2002). In particular, this group acknowledges and takes for granted the information about the process of colonization as a historical event, formulating a space of reality around the British English variety in base of judgments which responds to a stereotyped social nature transmitted without any explicit support. According to Mora, (2002), this dimension automatically leads to the richness of arguments and explanations about the reality produced by individuals in their quotidian practices, which are, in the case of Chilean social settings towards this specific issue, the process of colonization developed in the country.

Consequently, the universe of opinion corresponding to this age range group employs the common historical background to generate assumptions in relation to the corresponding varieties of the colonizer countries. In this case, regarding the noticeable preference for the British variety, the dimension of attitude plays a pivotal role, since that, as Mora points out

in his discussion about social representations, it is exposed that individuals represent themselves with a position and an opinion uniquely after they had taken a position rather than inform themselves about the subject in first place. As a result of this, the preference towards the British variety is justified with arguments based on historical events which are not apparently dominated with further expertise in the inquiry, since that the arguments provided by the participants are considered part of the general knowledge in the quotidian social structure of the participants.

Other important aspect enclosed in the generated assumptions to justify the British English preference is related to the opinions towards the typical pronunciation of the former variety. Appreciations such as “I understand it better - lo entiendo más” concerning the British variety, are explained with the interpretation previously performed about the historical background. In view of the fact that the variety of British English is settled in a superior rate as a result of the colonization process, it is therefore evident that the impact of this variety is placed in an antecedent period where the American English variety did not have the relevance it currently maintains. It is necessary to mention once more that the participants do not dominate the English language and do not possess the competence to understand oral productions in English. This circumstance became evident when during the interviews, the videos were shown and the majority of the participants revealed that they were not able to understand the speech of any of the characters. For this main reason the attitude dimension defined by Moscovici in the approach of social representations is manifested with regard to the preferences exposed and how these are illustrated with arguments in function to justify the previous acquired position, without considerations or critical opinions in concordance with their abilities.

By way of explanation, the arguments related to a better understanding of the British English variety in terms of pronunciation result in a contradictory circumstance since that the participants recognize their inexistent expertise in the oral productions of both varieties. In order to clarify the analysis so far, it is of significant importance to highlight some of the appreciations uttered by the participants towards the pronunciation of the British variety, where opinions such as “it is the queen’s language - es el lenguaje de la reina”, “is fancier -

es más pituco”, and “it is a clearer and more comprehensible language - es más claro, lo entiendo más” were generated. These latter reactions are apparent representations of the language ideologies behind the languages of the European countries, where the power symbolized by these countries during the historic process of colonization is transferred to aesthetic evaluations of the oral productions of the language, which is the more recognizable feature by no speakers of the English language.

In view of the previous interpretation, Moscovici defines this dynamic of social representations in two different processes of schematization: objectivation and anchorage. The process of objectivation mobilizes the science and theory to the domain of the being; in this case in particular, the language ideology generated by the processes of colonization; and the anchorage delimits the science to the domain of the making, specifically in this group where the participants agree on a comparison of similar historical events. The objectivation displays how the elements of science are articulated in a social reality, while the process of anchorage makes visible the manner in which these scientific elements contribute to the modality and expression of social relations (Mora, 2002). On account of this, it can be interpreted that the positive appreciation towards the phonetic features of the British variety are entitled to the materialization of the anchorage process.

In summary, the analysis related to the British variety is divided in two generalized opinions: the first one develops the image of the Spanish and English language in base of the processes of colonization carried out by the European countries, and in virtue of this, the second argument is generated on behalf of the perceptions of the British variety in a superior status in terms of pronunciation and accent, with utterances such as “clearer variety”, and “more comprehensible variety”.

c. American English variety

Considering what was previously mentioned in the brief introduction of this age range group, it is observed a negative inclination towards the American English variety as opposed to the positive preference attributed to the British English variety. In this opportunity, the analysis is organized in a similar fashion in comparison to the structure previously performed in the analysis; nevertheless, in view of the negative tendency

observed in this variety, the work of interpretation is elaborated in a contrastive pattern with the former variety.

The articulation with the respective language ideology shared by this group in relation to the Spanish varieties spoken in colonized territories, especially with the Chilean Spanish variety, becomes essential since that the participants developed comparisons between the learned languages as a consequence of the colonization processes. In the particular case of the participants, the spoken variety denominated Chilean Spanish is typically devalued in comparison to the ideal language, represented by the Spanish variety from Spain. The patent devaluation of the spoken variety by the participants is a deep-rooted perception found in the conventions of the Chilean society in general; it is not a particular feature of the mature adult group. Nevertheless, this feature becomes more visible in this group considering that historical events play an important role as factors to support the production of judgements regarding the spoken variety. For this reason, it is precise to resort to the term of “Symbolic Power” to generate a contrastive approach between the existent abstractions between the relations of colonizer country and standard language with colonized territory and acquired language, where the acquired language and its modifications from the standard language is positioned in a lower range in a hierarchical configuration based on the economic and political supremacy implemented by the colonizer. Returning to the specific case of Chilean Spanish and its devaluation supported by its own speakers, this phenomenon can be delineated articulating an association with the status of the Chilean territory with respect to the power controlled by the colonizer country. It is considered general knowledge that the territory denominated as Chile during the process of colonization was significantly distant from the viceroyalties where the Spanish supremacy was mainly concentrated. As a consequence, the relevance of the Chilean territory in economic terms was not sufficient for the colonizers to settle in the territory and produce a substantial environment of contact which stimulated significant influences in the social and cultural practices at the level of countries such as Peru and Colombia, both important viceroyalties of the Spanish colonizers. This concludes in the fact that the Spanish varieties spoken in the countries mentioned as past viceroyalties had a greater contact and influence with the language symbolized as the economic, political and cultural supremacy in those former times; therefore, the Spanish varieties produced in those

countries have a prevailing resemblance to the standard language established in the colonized regions.

The previous brief accounts of historical events –which are considered general knowledge in the Chilean society- help to elucidate the enclosed judgments towards the Spanish variety spoken by the participants; likewise, it is the background in which the participants –and the society in general- create and connect the relation between the standard language represented by the colonizer country and the acquired language in the colonized territory, developing in base of this relation a reality commonly comprehended about the Chilean Spanish. The perceptions towards both English varieties are based on a transference of the previous reality to the construction of assumptions between the British English variety and the American English variety; where the status of the latter is evidently conveyed as an acquired language, and thus is compared to the status of the Chilean Spanish language; “the American English would be like the Chilean Spanish.... Is a variety created by the colonization, so how do Chileans speak? Very bad, so something similar may happen to the American English - por lo tanto el norteamericano vendría siendo como el chileno... es una variación que se provoca por la colonización. Entonces cómo hablamos los chilenos? Re mal po, así que debe pasar algo re parecido con el inglés gringo”. Following this perspective, the language ideology behind the Chilean Spanish variety is directly related to the similar past historical event in discussion: the process of colonization in the territory of The United States.

Articulating what was previously discussed to the area of social representations, the information provided by the participants regarding the American variety is intrinsically related to the organization of assumptions built by the Chilean society and this particular age range group towards the Chilean Spanish variety. In view of this, the attitude of the participants from this age range regarding the American English variety has generated a similar collection of judgments to what the participants determine about their own Spanish variety, in view of what was proposed in the previous analysis of the British variety; individuals inserted in a social model tend to place themselves in specific positions and consequently inform themselves and represent something in function of the previous position taken. In this case, the previous acquired attitude towards the Chilean Spanish

variety is transferred to the American variety with the following arguments “the American English is a bad version, poor and dirty - el norteamericano es una mala versión, más flaute y sucia”, “the American English is like a substitute of British English - el inglés yankee es como un sucedáneo del británico”, “the American English is a spoiled English, is like vulgar, it is not well pronounced - el yankee encuentro que es un inglés charlatán, es como flaute, no es bien pronunciado”.

The process of objectivation defined by Moscovici becomes more patent in this variety, where the selection and de-contextualization of the elements cause the construction of a figurative nucleus which is rapidly naturalized. Specifically, the abstraction as a sum of de-contextualized elements should be translated to a consistent image, in which the metaphorical aspects help to identify it with more clarity (Mora, 2002). For example, in the case of this age range group, some metaphorical aspects about the American English are produced with utterances such as “vulgar, spoiled, substitute”. These valuations can be considered part of the anchorage process, where the naturalized judgments about the American English variety are considered part of the generalized inference of colonized territories. Therefore, the colonization processes are considered a reference point in the collective fiction and are employed to interpret the reality and its reaction to it.

In pursuance of finishing the analysis of this age range group, it is necessary to focus on the dimension “representation field” from Moscovici’s theory, for the reason that this dimension is intended to convey the content organization of the representation in a hierarchical fashion. It permits to visualize the character of the content, the qualitative or imaginative properties, in a field which integrates information in a new level of organization related to its immediate sources (Mora, 2002). In this specific age range group, a hierarchy is recognized, where the European languages are provided with a higher status and prestige, while the languages spoken in the continent of America are de-valuated as corrupted varieties from the European languages. Furthermore, according to Herzlich in the written work developed by Mora (2002), it is described the consideration of ideological factors in the construction of the representation field; and as it is previously mentioned, this age range reproduces the linguistic ideologies behind the Spanish and English varieties

spoken in the colonized territory in relation to the symbolic power embodied by the European countries during the colonization.

Following, the next figure illustrate the preferences of this age range group in detail.

Figure 5: Preferences of the mature adult group towards English and its two varieties, British and American English.

Mature Adult Group		
<i>English</i>	<i>British English Variety</i>	<i>American English Variety</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -working tool -universal language 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -original language -more complete language -sophisticated -antique -comprehensible -formal -fancier (pituco) -more peaceable -pleasant -more advanced -easier pronunciation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -vulgar -dirty -alternative (sucedaneo) -less comprehensive -spoiled (charlatán) -poor pronunciation -obscene (flaite) -disorganized

3.2.2 Middle Adult Group

Regarding middle age adult group, there is an apparent equal preference towards both varieties, without specific inclination towards one or the other. In relation to that, contrary to what the mature adult group manifested, this group demonstrates not only negative opinions but also positive assumptions pointing to both varieties in a similar manner. Moreover, there is a clear distinction in respect to both varieties in terms of gender. On one side, women preferred the British variety conferring to the variety its great cultural influence in the world; and on the other hand men favoured the American English arguing

that this variety has had a great economic impact in the last century. In both cases, each sub group reveals dissimilar reason concerning their final choice.

a. English as a global language

In relation to the value bestowed to the English language, and in agreement to opinions from the preceding group, participants establish an evident relation between the political and economic supremacy from countries in which English is the mother tongue and the evident expansion of that language in the world. In that respect, participants emphasise the economic impact from the UK and the U.S, their role in business, and how from nations -even those which do not have English as their first language- relate their transactions and activities in English. In some way, this connection can be related to historical processes in which economy took the relevance that politics used to dominate until the 20th century in a country, in fact the use of dollars bring immediately the idea of the language and country of origin of said currency (Crystal, 2003)

Due to the connection established between the widespread growth use and power of the language, participants argue that even in countries where English is not the official language or it is not massively spoken, certain knowledge of the latter could be enough to endure a period in a foreign country. Consequently, these assumptions and preferences may be related to the myth of the notion of an standard language, which becomes standard in virtue of external factors to structural elements of a language that are imposed to a society (Milroy, 2001) Hence, even though this is not a phenomenon related to their mother tongue per se, participants resort to their close reality to explain their opinions about a language in which they are not really acquainted, therefore, linguistic ideologies can be found subtly hidden and even expressed in a foreign language, and just as in processes of standardization, the non-linguistic factors play a crucial role to outline the status of a language over the other (Kroskrity, 2001).

Taking into consideration the previous idea of standardization, in which small dominant groups in a country promote and impose an image of a certain variety of a language, this process provokes a reflection of interests of a particular group that

historically becomes the reflection of opinions of a whole community in terms of a language or its varieties. In the same manner, different successful historical events may simultaneously, enhance the supremacy of a country or a group and may shape the recognition towards the language spoken by that group. Therefore, more than an ideology, this process generates a social representation towards different perceptions of a variety or language. Due to the transcendence of these historical events throughout time, people may not realize about the subtle influence from these influential groups in their own preferences along the process. As it is pointed out before, this is a clear manifestation of symbolic power, since that the participants “recognize or tacitly acknowledge the legitimacy of power or of the hierarchical relations of power in which they are embedded”, however, “they fail to see that the hierarchy is, after all, an arbitrary social construction which serves the interests of some groups more than others” (Thompson, 1991).

In the same manner, as participants resort to their mother tongue to provide their opinions about this foreign language, there are issues concerning the economy of their country that are contrasted with the U.K and the U.S, such as the fact that English would allow Chile to become a developed country just as these two countries are portrayed. In this case, a participant directly related the success of a country to language spoken, thus they proclaim that this would be a sensible solution to Chile’s economic stagnation. This indicate that to notice any progress in the country, the knowledge of English have to be spread through all the inhabitants, consequently, this could bring success to the nation. In this matter, some participants have a clear opinion towards this situation arguing that: “in economic terms you realized we are an undeveloped country, since our business are not that big, there is no English in here...when this country becomes a developed country we will have to know English”. In this sense, the participants compose a direct relation between a successful economy and the possible urgency to learn English as a tool to reach that success. Following the notion of success, participants declare that in spite of the fluency or knowledge of the language, certain ability in the language could provide better opportunities in pursuing a career or a better position in a job, not only in the country but in any region of the world. Hence, English is portrayed as a working tool and a key to success.

Another aspect emphasised by the participants is related not only to the economic spectrum of the countries associated with the English language in this investigation, but also the fact that cultural aspects, especially the film and the music industry, have configured their preferences and opinions in relation to both varieties. Participants recognize that it is through these expressions of art, that most of them had had their first approach to the language, and it is through these representations that participants find a different argument to choose a variety of English. Precisely as it has been mentioned through this analysis and just as scholars have remarked, there is a connection between the dominance and status of a language and the economic and cultural influence of country from which that language proceeds (Crystal, 2003).

b. British English variety

As it was mentioned at the beginning of the analysis of this group, the preferences related to both varieties seem to be clearly polarised by a gender factor. In the case of preferences towards the British variety, there is an evident predilection to this variety by women, in contrast with the rejection towards this variety portrayed by men.

At the moment to express their opinions, women depict a more traditional argument for their choice. These participants make great reference to cultural aspects that have influenced their perception. There are constant references to prominent artists and movies with British participation that shaped their opinions on this variety. It seems interesting how -even though they have almost any knowledge about English- they expose some linguistic factors, specifically related to phonetics, by evaluating the intonation and use of certain sounds in the British speech that, according to them, are not present in the American variety. Participants highlight the fact that this variety has a better pronunciation and that to their personal perception; it appears as more comprehensible, in contrast with the American accent. In this sense, as it was performed in the previous analysis of the mature adult age range, the dimensions of attitude and information delineated in the scope of social representations play an important role in the interpretation of the last phenomenon. The female participants manage certain information about the British variety, which diffusion

can be attributed to media in general. According to this information, the participants evaluate this variety placing it in a superior status, following the argument of the British variety as one of better quality in terms of pronunciation.

Besides, women portray this variety as more romantic in comparison to the American one. Nevertheless, these associations still have their roots in the cultural factor mentioned above, since once they explain the reasons to confer this romantic aspect to the British accent they recall famous actors and movies in which the genre of the film has to do with romance, ignoring the linguistic factors that could have developed the original argument. As it was mentioned before, in this group a particular aspect of a country or the language has shaped a fictitious perception of a variety, which has been drawn in the process of the development of a certain language. According to Crystal, the possibility for a language to become as accessible as English, relies on the strength of their speakers (2003). In this sense, these participants confer these romantic and idealized perceptions to the language due to the film industry behind, and specifically the leading figures who personify those stories. In this same line of argumentation, it can be said that the film industry in England has created a market niche in which this romantic perspective is portrayed, and just as the spread of a standard language process, the influence seems to be subtle, but nonetheless, it constructs this idealization in women's opinions. Consequently, it is depicted how an idealization and influence produce an image or translate the real situation of that specific variety, that means, the British variety or RP actually belongs to a very closed niche (Milroy, 2001), which is not really spoken by the majority of those actors and actresses that these participants allude to. Therefore, just as their personal beliefs concerning this variety, there is an adaptation to the actual situation of this variety, in which speakers who use this variety are associated mainly by nobility, especially the Queen and a few prestigious figures.

Since in this group the notion of a good pronunciation drives mostly their preferences, it also appears the comparison between the Chilean and Peruvian variety of Spanish. Here again, the participants transfer their own experience, that means, the exposition to their mother tongue and the variety of the neighbor country, to the situation between the British and the American variety. Thus, once again beliefs present in their

mother tongue are translated to the foreign language reproducing their opinions as a social representation of the English language, reflecting in this sense, their opinions as Chilean Spanish speakers. The process of anchorage therefore takes place, where the social object of English as a foreign language is exchanged for a disposal instrument, which is found in romantic films, specifically in actors. In view of this, the social object is positioned in a preference scale in the social configuration (Mora, 2002).

Reiterating the previous ideas, the values provided to the quality of pronunciation of this variety, can be connected with the process by which the establishment of RP as the variety used in formal institutions and official media, in addition to be the variety used by the monarch, confer to this group an importance to the role of politics and culture over the economic aspect conveyed in the Anglo-Saxon world. In this sense, it can be understood that women are more appealed by the prestige of traditions and cultural aspects rather than economic matters.

On the contrary, and using the same argument that this is the variety used by the Queen, men expressed how far could they be acquainted with this type of English, by arguing that this variety seems to be more snobbish and less natural than a type of English they would be interesting to learn. They even argue that this variety seems to be more robotic than a normal language. In this case, the notion of nobility provokes the complete opposite reaction to what women find attractive in an accent. Male participants even emphasize the fact that since this variety is used by the Queen, it must be used by a small portion of people, they called a *localista* variety which is a variety confined to a specific region in the country in consequence, and it does not appear to be appealing to them as it seems to be to women participants.

c. American English variety

Concerning the variety from the U.S. there is a clear tendency of engagement from male participants whose preferences are strictly directed to economic success and domination in market. In general men, emphasize the superior status of The United States, arguing as well, that there is a functional aspect of this variety that seems to be more

appealing to them at the moment of learning a variety, since it is the most widely used. Besides, men acknowledge the fact the U.S is the leading country in the economic spectrum nowadays. Moreover, male participant emphasize the film industry from the U.S, mentioning again that it is more interesting and the type of production fulfill their expectation concerning of what the content of the movie should be. On the other hand, at the moment to speak about the British variety, these participant retort to the deterioration of the variety, that it is only spoken by few people in the world and it seems to be directed only to an elite.

The participants from this group acknowledge the fact that the U.S has grown and expand their business in the world, as a matter of fact some of them even conclude that whenever they need to travel in the world, the knowledge of this variety would bring them better possibilities mostly in economic terms, since the American industry has spread its horizons to different regions in the world. In this case, once again, participants resort to external justifications to support their preferences and bestow to the language the status that the country has portrayed through its economic development and transcendence in the world. In this manner, taking into account that these participants do not have knowledge of the language, it is through different factor, possibly more familiar topics to them to complement their statements. Here, Crystal points out what these participants depict in their discourse saying that: a language does not become a global language because of its intrinsic structural properties [...] none of them can ensure a world spread (2001).

In this regard, during this last century the American variety or the American influence has affected the predisposition of certain groups within a community which sees in this type of influence certain patterns that would be pleasing to their own reality. Through the impact provoked in the participants, it seems clear to see how the expansion of one nation over dozens of others stimulate to certain part of the population to follow certain manner developed by those who have this successful image.

In relation to the value concede to English in general just as it was evidenced in the mature adult group, male participants manifest an evident relation concerning the political

and economic supremacy of the language, and grant to this success the reasons to expansion and massive use of the language. Through these reasons the participants declare that due to its dominant presence in the world, the American variety of English would clearly guarantee better opportunities in jobs and pursuing a career. Another aspect highlighted by these participants is their connection with the film industry originated in the U.S. According to the male participants, the Hollywood industry portrays the image of a successful man in which they reflect themselves and depict their aspirations. Contrasting with the British industry, the American industry guides its attention to certain public and intents to portray this successful image that has characterized the American culture in the last century. Once again, participants concede to external attributes such as movies, which is a very familiar context to them to connect their preferences in relation to the variety of English.

Furthermore, participants emphasize the American variety over other varieties due to its simplicity and clarity in pronunciation. Besides, taking into account its preference towards movies from American movies, the participants argue that the variety spoken by actors from the U.S seems to be more familiar and closer to their reality; they value the simplicity and spontaneous speech used in movies and other public instances. In fact at the moment to watch the video, the participants declare that due to Obama's speech they could relate themselves with the message provided by the president, even though they do not have any knowledge of the language. These notions can be seen as a reflection of what American linguists intended at the moment of establish a standard variety. In contrast to the origin of the standard variety in the U.K., the American process pretended to include different possibilities of uses of the language spoken in the country, with the exception of the Afro American variety (Milroy, 2001). In this sense, scholars tried to be less elitist than the process itself really was. Taking this fact in consideration, the population in general observes this variety as closer and inclusive. Therefore, even nowadays, the image of the American standard variety seems to be more used in comparison with the British standard variety. It is important to highlight the fact that language ideologies expressed in the English Language, in this particular case in the U.S. create social representations in speakers of different languages who do not have knowledge of the language or are

associated to the academic environment, base their justification and first of all develop an argumentation in preference or disagreement with a certain variety through cultural and more familiar contexts.

Following, the next figure illustrate the preferences of this age range group in detail.

Figure 6: Preferences of the middle adult group towards English and its two varieties, British and American English.

Middle Adult Group		
<i>English</i>	<i>British English Variety</i>	<i>American English Variety</i>
-useful tool	-formal	-commercial variety
	-robotic	-common variety
-global language	-artificial	-more empathic
	-stressed accent	-more practical
-working tool	-confined variety	-closer variety
	-clear	-universal
	-harmonious	-popular
	-more comprehensible	-informal
	-charming	-less comprehensible
	-fancy	-more technical
	-better quality	-more commercial

3.3.3 Adolescent Group

In view of the information gathered from the participants, it results difficult to draw a common pattern to this age range since that the answers vary greatly in terms of gender and choices. In other words, there are no specific preferences towards any of the varieties or reasons to choose any of them, either a direct relation between their opinions towards both varieties and their preference towards one variety above the other. As a way of interpretation, with regard to the data provided and the context of this age range, these results can be attributed to mainly two reasons; one is related to their educational background, in view of the fact that the participants are currently studying English as one of the obligatory subjects in their respective schools; therefore their opinions are mainly based on their immediate experience with the foreign language. Another important reason is related to a general absence of explicit negative or positive evaluations towards any of the varieties due to the constant flow and contact with the English language as a result of globalization.

a. English as a global language

This age range group presented a common agreement in the recognition of English as a global language which is omnipresent in the quotidianity of their social surroundings. It is widely acknowledged in cultural and educational contexts by all the participants. With respect to the cultural aspect, the participants articulated the influence of the English language in terms of the exposition to the music and film industry, including specific brands of the latter in their speech. Besides, the strong influence from videogames is brought to the discussion, where one of the participants referred to the English language as a common and neutral language in online video games, portraying it as a concrete medium of communication. This last phenomenon has been implied as a particular feature in this age range group, being interpreted as a consequence of the overall exposure of English as a global language. Taking into account the current historical background of the participants, Crystal in his book “English as a Global Language”, defines that “the story of English throughout this period (20th and 21st century) is one of rapid expansion and diversification,

with innovation after innovation coming to use the language as a primary or sole means of expression” concluding in the fact that the English language has become the natural choice for progress (Crystal, 2003).

Regarding the naturalization of the presence of English in the participant's' field of representation, their opinions towards the language are more superficial in comparison to the previous two age groups, in view of that their attitude towards the mentioned language respond mainly to the fact that the English language has been introduced in their social and cultural settings since very young ages and with a more direct impact in comparison to the previous groups. For this reason, their perceptions -in terms of complexity- are less justified. For example, some participants were in some way indifferent to the importance of English in view of that there is no conscious questioning of the status of English in their immediate backgrounds: “uhm... I don't know... I suppose it's important because everything is in English”, “we become used to the language”, “It is important because it is taught in the school”. This lack of critical inquiring can be attributed to the general age of the participants and the general educational contexts in which they are inserted. The regular system of education in Chile proposes an expositive approach in which the subjects are imposed as obligatory. The regular system of education do not encourage critical thinking, therefore most students attending public and semi-public schools are taught in a passive perspective in which they are trained to attend and listen mostly. The subject of English as a foreign language is no exception. The approach described by the national education department towards the teaching of English covers the use of English as a tool which entail the students to develop expertise, skills and relevant updated attitudes which compose a multicultural space. This multicultural method of teaching fulfills the purpose of linking the students to their cultural identity and, at the same time, it connects them to the current globalized world (Mineduc, 7). Taking into account this brief description, it is utterly significant to point out the fact that the government through their education department acknowledges the English language as part of the cultural identity of the younger percentages of the population. In this sense, it is easier to interpret the qualities of this specific group in view of the naturalization of the English language as part of their social and cultural settings, in contrast to both previous groups where the impact of the English

language -in terms of historical backgrounds- was not as direct as it is in this group; in addition, the antecedent age range groups had been taught other language -French in general- apart from English, while in the current contexts of Chilean society, the only foreign language imposed by the national department of education is English.

b. British English variety

Taking into account the previous analysis, it is necessary to highlight that, in general, these group shared a less complex development in their arguments, in comparison to the other age ranges groups. This is interpreted in view of their age, level of maturity, and lack of critical thinking as well as the evident naturalization of English as an immediate element in their cultural and social backgrounds. Besides, this group does not reflect categorical devaluations as a consequence of their neutral attitude towards the language.

However, the majority of the participants exhibited preferences towards the British variety, justifying their inclination employing similar arguments of the previous age range groups. Following this, it can be interpreted that the favorable perceptions in this group towards the British English variety reflect the immediate influence of language ideologies portrayed by the older individuals present in the participants' quotidianity. This influence can be attributed to educational contexts and their respective English teachers and, in addition, to familiar contexts. This last interpretation arises basically by the nature of the participants' speech. There are no specific cultural references to justify their inclinations. The general notion of preference is formulated according to the aesthetic aspects of the British variety: "it is more formal", "it sounds more pleasant". Besides, when the participants were asked about the reasons of their predilection, some of them made reference to their school teachers "well... the teacher told us that in class", "because it is the variety taught in the schools... or not?" In view of the fact that the participants did not make explicit connections of their preferences to cultural and social elements displayed in their experience so far, it is concluded that the impact of the British English variety is not as direct as the American English variety, which will be discussed below. The impact of the British variety appears through language ideologies depicted by older individuals who

maintain the British variety in a superior status in comparison to the American variety, despite of the fact that the British supremacy in terms of culture and economics in general is remarkably surpassed by the American supremacy.

c. American English variety

Following the previous section, a less number of participants preferred the American English variety. Nevertheless, the participants were not very clear at the moment of choice “uhm... between both I prefer the British English, but there is not much difference I think”, “well I don’t know the difference, but I prefer the British... is that the one taught at school?”; furthermore, some of the participants changed their minds in the middle of the interview, or other participants preferred the British variety for aesthetic reasons but in terms of practicality, they preferred the American variety. This interrelation of both varieties in which the British variety is intended to aesthetic functions and the American to more practical functions, results in a revealing claim of what was previously discussed; there are no explicit devaluations of one variety or the other, since that -taking into account the pertinent historical background- the spread of English as the global language has been lately promoted and established by the United States in economic and cultural aspects. As a consequence of this, the majority of the participants refer to the American variety with explicit cultural references to the film industry “we have been watching Disney since we are children” and the music industry “the American pop music has reached a lot...”. In addition, most of the participants refer to the American variety as more familiar, despite of their inclination to the British variety. According to this, the American variety produces a direct connection with the immediate historical, cultural and social backgrounds of the younger participants in view of the fact that the overall supremacy of the United States has produced a globally wider dissemination of this variety.

Following, the next figure illustrate the preferences of this age range group in detail.

Figure 7: Preferences of the adolescent group towards English and its two varieties, British and American English.

Adolescent Group		
<i>English</i>	<i>British English Variety</i>	<i>American English Variety</i>
-global English	-correct variety	-informal
	-formal	-familiar
	-original	-didactic
-working tool	-distant variety	-spoken with high speed
	-charming	-amusing
	-more complete	-most known variety
	-authentic	-technical

Chapter IV

Conclusions and discussion

In order to conclude the present study, it is necessary to present the most general assumptions regarding the preferences towards the English language and its most known varieties: General American (G.A.) and Received Pronunciation (R.P.), which throughout the analysis, were depicted also as the American variety and British variety respectively. As a starting point, it is important to highlight that these varieties were selected since they are acknowledged by the participants as the representative varieties of the countries in which they are spoken, in this sense, it is related with the fact that both varieties are the standard variety in both countries as well, therefore they are the most spread varieties of English in terms of political, economic, and cultural aspects.

Taking into account the first age range group, denominated as mature adult group, it is observed a striking difference between the preferences towards both variations, besides, and the references to historical events are more prominent than in the subsequent age range groups. According to what is previously mentioned, this group in general portrays a significant preference towards the British English variety, as a consequence of the legitimacy conferred by the participants towards the supremacy represented by the European countries which colonized the territory denominated as America until today. As a result, the valuation of this variety responds to the placement of this social product in a superior status according to the hierarchy configured in the social settings corresponding to the mature adult group. In contrast, this group valued with negative preferences the social product portrayed by the American English society, hence, its spoken variety. This last phenomenon is attributed by the relation generated by the participants regarding the languages spoken in the colonized territory of America.

Following with the next age range group denominated as middle aged adult, it is recognized dissimilarities between the inclination towards the British variety and the American variety. In the case of this group, the preferences were originated mostly through cultural and economic references. Besides, these preferences were divided by a gender factor, since women participant preferred the British variety, alluding to the image portrayed in the film industry, therefore, a direct cultural implication. Women tended to highlight the romantic image portrayed in movies and from that point reflect that said

romantic image in the variety, contrasting with the negative image portrayed towards the American variety. On the other hand, the male participants of this group depicted a clear preference towards the American variety. In relation to this preference, the reference was mainly from an economic perspective. Male participants claimed that according to the economic success portrayed by the American society and mainly the spread of its industry, they seem to be closer to their reality, In relation to that, they declare that even the variety seems to be closer in comparison with the British variety.

In the case of the last age range group referred as the adolescent group, the preferences are not as evidently outlined as in the two previous age range groups, considering that the respective historical and cultural backgrounds depict a merged image of English -in terms of its expansion as a global language- since that The United States holds the great majority of economic supremacy in the last 50 years approximately. In this sense, the American variety is valued positively, or at least, not as negatively as it was valued in the first age range group. Besides, the American English results a more familiar variety for this group, while the British variety is delineated as a more distant one since that the cultural market of England is not widely distributed in comparison to the American cultural market. Regarding this group, it is important to further acknowledge that the preferences depicted towards the British variety responds to the diffusion of language ideologies by older percentages of the population, since that the influence of the British English has decreased its importance throughout the decadence of England in terms of economic and political supremacy.

In general, the valuation towards both varieties shows a decrease in the British variety and a positive increase towards the American English variety. This is a result of the evolution in the historical background, since part of the social configurations in which individuals generate assumptions of truth and reality are related to their own contexts. Following this, it can be concluded that the social configurations generated by social actors who are not part of academic spheres share the same historical and cultural backgrounds of the configurations generated in academic contexts. Therefore, the assumptions generated in

academic contexts may not differ considerably from the ones generated by lay people, as the ones chosen for this study.

In view of the last conclusion, the following discussion will articulate a criticism towards the generalized lack of interest for contexts not related to academic environments. The majority of research conducted in the disciplines related to linguistic phenomena disregards the assumptions generated by lay people, with no apparent reasons. Some of the justifications to these generalized disregarding is related to utilitarian concerns, considering that is apparently easier for scholars to request for participation in near environments. Nevertheless, as a result of the constant cycle enclosed in academic environments, it results difficult to distinguish the beliefs behind the persistent appraisal of different assumptions related to language ideologies.

In the personal experience of the researchers, we have observed throughout our years of instruction in the program, a persistent tradition of preserving the standard variety defined as Received Pronunciation or BBC English, especially from the phonetics and phonology section of the Linguistics department. From the former years in the program, the classes of phonetics are exclusively conducted in the standard British variety, and is mandatory for the students to learn and reproduce the distinctive sounds related to the R.P on account of that other varieties of English are explicitly rejected by the teachers. During the last two years of the program, teachers from other subjects approve the learning of other varieties of the student's choice, however, in view of the fact the R.P variety is supremely induced, most students prefer to maintain the tradition of following the patterns defined by the standard British variety reproduced by the teachers.

This is attributed to the perseverance of maintaining the language ideology concerning the British English variety reflected in the first age range group, which is also portrayed by the older scholars associated with the disciplines of phonology and phonetics. The arguments given by the teachers to maintain the tradition of teaching the Received Pronunciation variety are not far from the opinions provided by the mature adult participants, which in summary, are that "the standard British English is more

comprehensible” and that “is the original language”. The noticeable difference between the group of scholars and laypeople is concerned with the nature of the justifications to support their position. Scholars tend to articulate a discussion with linguistic arguments to defend their position, while lay people defend their position with references to historical and cultural events and background.

In the younger age ranges groups, the reproduction of cultural capitals in order to justify their preferences are clearly more apparent, and the tradition of maintaining the standard British variety in a superior standard decreases by the glaring disappearance of the British economic, political and cultural influence throughout time, being thus subdued by the American supremacy. In this sense, laypeople illustrate in a more straightforward manner the impact of this historical evolution in the different social markets from which individuals construct and represent realities. The importance of studying the social representations of individuals not linked to the academic spheres lies on the fact that their ways of building social models responds to the same reasons by which scholars choose their preferences, which are the supremacy exercised by the powerful in a symbolic manner, which is transferred in a game in which the powerless grant and legitimate the power of the supremacies in the exchange of cultural and social capitals.

Finally, it is concluded that, on the base of the authors revised for this study, the investigation conducted, and the own experience lived throughout the years of the English linguistics program, the assumptions, beliefs, ideologies and others held by different social, and academic contexts respond to the power and supremacy exercised by the powerful institutions and entities, and therefore, the justifications based on linguistic factors are as biased as the ones generated with general cultural reasons.

Chapter V

Limitations and further research

This investigation was framed in an approach defined as Folk Linguistics. This approach is focused on the beliefs of actors not linked to the academy. Therefore, one of the most difficult limitations was the delineation of the features to generate a relatively homogeneous corpus, and consequently gather an adequate number of participants who fulfill the requisites. Other limitation is related to the little research done with similar approaches, for this reason the analysis resulted in a laborious task since that most of it is based on the interpretation of the researchers only.

The present study analysed the social representations regarding exclusively lay people. It would be enlightening that further research could focus in a comparison and contrast study including participants with academic backgrounds. Other important suggestion is based on the expansion of the corpus; it would be illuminating to include more participants with different social contexts. It would be interesting as well, but also difficult to keep a track of the beliefs and opinions developed, specially, by the younger group throughout time, and observe how new historical events or personal experiences would still shape their preferences towards these two varieties.

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Appendix A

Corpus

All the interviews respond to the next basic questions:

- a) What do you think of the English language? - ¿qué piensa del inglés?
- b) Which variety do you prefer, British or American english? - ¿qué variedad prefiere, británico o norteamericano?
- c) What do you think of British English? - ¿qué piensa del inglés británico?
- d) What do you think of American English? - ¿qué piensa del inglés norteamericano?

Adolescent group

Miguel - 17

- a) Eeh... no sé, todo ahora es en inglés así que es importante aprenderlo, por eso lo enseñan en el colegio o no? Antes no enseñaban tanto inglés, ni había tanto contacto con la música en inglés como el pop estadounidense que se ha masificado caleta...
- b) El inglés británico me gusta más porque... el norteamericano tiene muchos modismos y son muy rápidos para hablar mientras que el británico es más formal más correcto... hablan más distinto se les

entiende más... el norteamericano no me gusta es todo muy rápido, es como escuchar a... es como comparar a los chilenos con los españoles, nosotros igual hablamos muy rápido / es como que los españoles son los británicos y nosotros chilenos como los norteamericanos... como que cambiamos mucho el lenguaje.

Y en general como sabes que uno es más rápido que el otro?

Porque eh... en general se sabe que el norteamericano es más informal, se ve en las películas eh... y también los profes del colegio lo han dicho hartas veces

Monse - 16

a) Pucha no sé... es eh... importante supongo. Todo está en inglés... por eso.

b) Es que no sé... a mí me suena más fácil eeh... como se llamaba? El de los gringos porque eeh... Me suena más fácil porque no es tan formal... más... Como decirlo... cosas más breves quizás así como el chileno. Como la pronunciación... también se me imagina que deben acortar las palabras / como que hablan más rápido pero les entiendo más. Yo elijo el norteamericano porque me suena más familiar igual... onda la música que me gusta y las series están en gringo po, aunque digan que es más informal no me importa.

Jacob- 16

a) En general el inglés se considera como un idioma global, porque en todas partes se usa y por ejemplo hay bandas de acá que prefieren cantar en inglés para hacerse más famosos.

b) Encuentro que el inglés americano aparte de ser más didáctico es más entretenido y encuentro que es mucho más conocido a nivel mundial ehh... creo yo, hablo de la ignorancia yyy... creo que el británico es como muy recto, como muy correcto para todo, por eso no me tinka mucho y preferiría tomar clases con un profe americano, por las mismas razones.

(después de ver el video) se nota que los dos hablan bien, que modulan, o sea igual se notaba que ella modulaba más, que era más formal se nota hartito cual es el acento británico, creo que el británico se entiende más pero uhhh no sé... puede deberse a que es la reina yyy no sé qué más.

Camilo-16

a) No creo que sea difícil el inglés, Dicen que el inglés es más fácil que el español, por el vocabulario y las conjugaciones que hay y por la forma de hablar, por eso a lo mejor es el idioma que se habla en todas partes. Mis primos que hablan en inglés siempre dicen que es mucho más fácil que el español entonces por eso pienso que se masificó más que otros idiomas como el de nosotros.

b) Entre los dos preferiría el británico, pero sí igual, no creo que haya mucha diferencia igual, pero igual prefiero el británico

c) Mmm... por lo que sé creo que el inglés británico es mas...formal, mas... como que de ahí viene el verdadero inglés... es como el español de España y el español de Chile, el chileno es mas... con mas modismos, como que no es tan original, en cambio el español eh... es más informal el americano y más formal sería el británico, creo yo...

Felipe-16

a) Hoy en día hay posibilidades gigantescas de estudiar inglés, puede ser mediante libros, internet... en internet hay cada forma de aprender, también jugando a los que nos gustan los juegos online. Todo esta en inglés así que es más fácil aprender las palabras a que buscar el juego en español. Todos aprenden inglés para jugar porque incluso los juegos que vienen de japon están en inglés y no en japones... también cuando uno juega online, el idioma que todos tenemos en común es el inglés, porque como todos hablan distintos idiomas, es más fácil. Al final uno se acostumbra al inglés.

b) O sea yo creo que el inglés viene de los británicos según yo, yyy... según yo el inglés norteamericano es más informal, no sé... Prefiero el británico, me gusta el acento, lo encuentro más bonito, es bacán, eso. *(después del video)* se nota mejor el mensaje en inglés británico, el acento, para mí fue más fácil entender el de la reina que el del tío obama.

Karla-17

a) Ehhh... yo creo que igual es importante, o sea es como el más usado o no? O sea yo creo, porque hemos visto inglés desde chiquititos en el colegio y en las películas de disney y ehh... bueno, para mí igual es difícil el inglés, trato de aprender palabras y unirlos y es como difícil eso.

b) Igual preferiría el británico, o sea porque creo que lo he estudiado y como que me costaba un poco, pero creo que igual lo entendía, pero no sé bien la diferencia en verdad. Creo que el británico es como más... de una mejor forma... ese es el que enseñan en el colegio? ehh... me gusta ehhh , ese porque es como más completo, no que siempre están

acortando las palabras... ehh dejémoslo en el británico. Ehh pero igual si veo una película me tinca mas el de estados unidos, estoy más acostumbrada a escuchar por este que por el otro... como que todo viene de ahí, los cantantes y las películas, casi todas vienen de ahí... por eso me quedo con el americano

Gabriela - 17

Interviewer: entonces te voy a mostrar dos videos, onda uno con el Obama y otro con la reina cachai? Los dos están dando como saludos pa navidad.

Adolescent participant: aaah pero sabis que no voy a entender niuna wea

Interviewer: aah si sé, pero es pa que cachis más o menos diferencias, cachai?

Adolescent participant: ah ya ya si cacho.

-after videos-

Interviewer: y... que pensai?

Adolescent participant: puta no sé, igual Obama se nota que habla formal pero igual suena feo... como que el inglés de la reina es de verdad (risas)

Interviewer: como eso de verdad?

Adolescent participant: aaah si po, porque es el inglés original po, el inglés gringo es como una mezcla que pasó porque eran colonias de inglaterra... onda por eso suena más sucio po.

Interviewer: entonces... tu crees que pasa lo mismo acá? En latinoamérica?

Adolescent participant: si po.

Interviewer: tu creis que el español de España es como el original con respecto al español en latinoamérica?

Adolescent participant: eeeeeeh si po! Es el original po. Pero eeh... por ejemplo igual los peruanos hablan más mejor que nosotros, hablan más bonito cachai? (risas)

Interviewer: tu decís?

Adolescent participant: aaah si po, si onda tu escuchai a un peruano pronuncian mejor, se escucha mejor. Igual acá tenemos más variedad de ... como se llama? Tu sabis

Interviewer: eehm... dialectos?

Adolescent participant: siiii! Entonces igual no es lo mismo que inglaterra con estados unidos... cierto?

Interviewer: supongo... y si tuvieras que aprender alguno, cuál elegirías?

Adolescent participant: uhm.... Yo creo que el norteamericano, al final ese nos enseñan en el colegio po, cierto? Los profes no hablan tan bonito, así que ese es más fácil para aprender.

Damaris - 15

interviewer: si tuviera la oportunidad de tomar clases de inglés particulares con un hablante nativo de inglés, preferiría a un británico o un gringo?

adolescent: si es para estudiar, prefiero el americano, porque la pronunciación y modulación es mucho más entendible que el británico, sería más fácil para estudiarlo, por eso yo creo que le entendería más a un profe si fuera americano...

interviewer: ok y en general, cuál te llama más la atención?

adolescent: ahh... claro, en general prefiero el británico, porque al escucharlo, al oírlo sí, suena más bonito y no tan cuadrado como el americano, es como diferente al escucharlo, mmm... no sé

Middle adult Group

Darío - 45

a) Pucha eh... haber.... El inglés ya se ha convertido en más que una lengua normal como el español, ahora es una herramienta necesaria para todos... ponte tu cualquier personal en el mundo necesita saber inglés, aunque sea muy básico para poder encajar, ahora por ejemplo si yo quiero viajar a... china por ejemplo sabiendo inglés ya la hago de oro, no necesito aprender chino porque allá y en todas partes el inglés se habla. En ese ámbito aca igual estamos atrasados porque el inglés que se enseña en el colegio es pff muy charcha, uno no aprende a hablar como se debería y falta más inglés en todas partes acá para poder realmente llegar a algún nivel de que todo seamos más o menos bilingües... yo creo que más el área de los negocios, la economía en general deben manejarse más en el inglés, igual que en las ingenierías... en los ámbitos más académicos. Uhm... con respecto a lo que te dije sobre la economía ahí uno ve que somos un país sin mucho desarrollo porque como los negocios no son tan grandes, no hay tanto inglés... cuando chile crezca en ese ámbito, vamos a tener que aprender inglés todos para poder manejarnos en el país.

c) Eeeh el americano yo creo que es el que ha pegado más en todo el mundo y ... bueno de partida el inglés británico (acá quiso decir que el norteamericano viene del británico) pero... así onda por competencia yo creo que... o sea no es una competencia sino que en lo más comercial siempre pegó más norteamérica. Claro porque si tu vai a cualquier parte del mundo todos te hablan americano, menos en África... no sé en qué otro país yo por lo menos... bueno aparte de Inglaterra el inglés de ellos bueno ahí y en África... otro lado que yo sepa no no... no se habla.

Uno siempre va a elegir el que se usa más en todos lados, que sería el norteamericano en este caso porque a pesar de que los dos son inglés hay uno que tiene una forma de pronunciación distinta a la otra. Aunque igual no es que uno me guste más que otro... yo me baso más en la cultura de lo que yo conozco ehhh de la tele e igual porque he hablado con algunos gringos que han venido a Chile y que obviamente hablan el inglés norteamericano. / eehm el inglés británico es como muy formal y este (el norteamericano) es como más corriente. Como que la señora es muy robótica. Mientras que el otro te está como conversando, así como nosotros dos.

Yo elegiría estudiar el americano porque es más comercial, y está en todo el mundo. Si yo tuviera la suerte de viajar me toparía más con el norteamericano... y bueno con el otro igual pero ahí afuera me daría cuenta de las diferencias-. Pero bueno desde aquí partiendo, el americano es el que más pega.

Cristian - 43

b) Bueno... sin duda prefiero el acento de Obama como que le entiendo un poquito más que a lo que dice la reina o sea ella igual habla de... O sea no soy experto en inglés no soy pero si me cuesta entender menos lo que dice Obama / no sé porque le entiendo más, depende de la percepción de cada persona... Entonces viendo el video le entiendo más a Obama, hay más empatía con Obama que con la reina de todas maneras, pero igual el acento de la reina es como más marcado... Aunque no sabría cómo decirte el acento que yo siento más cercano, más familiar es el de Obama que el de la reina Isabel.

Preferiría el americano, si en parte igual nos hemos criado viendo películas americanas así que estamos más acostumbrados a ese acento, en si es otro aspecto más fuerte porque Nosotros vemos muchas

películas americanas traducidas entonces estamos como criados con ese acento y se nota inmediatamente... Hay una diferencia.

Para aprender elegiría el norteamericano porque claro es más práctico.

Jaime - 45

b) Para mí el inglés americano es más universal digamos como ehm... Más popular dentro del continente americano, sobre todo. Pero el inglés británico lo encuentro más localista no se po como más por ejemplo en otros países europeos se usa un poco más el británico pero creo que en minoría

Si tuviera que aprender un inglés eh... Aprendería el americano por lo mismo que digo que es más popular, es más universal. Eeh... A lo mejor me equivoco y el británico se usa más pero para mí no, en mi forma de pensar no.

Mario - 44

a) El acento británico diría yo es más claro, no obvia nada por lo general siempre dicen todas las palabras y es más armónico de escuchar mientras que el norteamericano es mucho más informal porque tiene más muletillas o abreviaciones de palabras y a veces es poco entendible Si tuviese una posibilidad de estudiar inglés estudiaría el norteamericano dado que es más técnico y es más como eh más comercial; solo por eso, por un tema de trabajo

Marcela - 42

a) Cual de los dos es más claro y entendible? Bueno el británico por la modulación, es más entendible; me gustó mucho más que el de Obama... ah pero en sí lo que yo entiendo de inglés que es bien básico y poco para la edad que yo tengo... sería lo que me enseñaron en el

colegio, que vendría siendo lo básico, le entiendo más a la reina que al presidente.

No encuentro que uno sea mejor o peor que el otro pero si como en la modulación el británico es mejor en pronunciación. Yo lo veo más en la música... en ese ámbito puedo hablarte yo que entiendo más el británico en pronunciación... en ese sentido.

El británico... me gustaría aprenderlo porque es más fácil en entender la pronunciación. El otro como que dicen dos palabras diferentes pero se escuchan igual... eso.

Gabriela - 44

a) El inglés es una herramienta de trabajo para todos los que trabajan en administración y con computadores porque todos los programas vienen en inglés o tienen las primeras instrucciones en inglés entonces uno necesita cachar o al final no podís po... yo por ejemplo tengo que traducir todo, si dice por ejemplo no se... charge yo tengo que escribir que significa cargar, tengo que aprender todas las palabras para entender el programa que usamos en la empresa ehm.. SAP todo está en inglés po, entonces cuando me enseñan alguna tarea nueva, tengo que traducir todo. Pero por ejemplo los chiquillos que tienen una mejor base en inglés, no necesitan hacer eso, cachan más y hacen todo más rápido. *Pero porque dices eso, si tu igual tuviste inglés?* Porque ellos aprendieron en la universidad po, o sea yo estudié hasta cuarto medio no más y tuve francés hasta octavo y después tuve inglés pero en mis tiempos no aprendí mucho porque no era necesario y no me gustaba... onda en lo único que se veía inglés era en los programas de tele y todo te lo traducían... por ejemplo los videos musicales de no sé... todo venía traducido abajo, uno no necesitaba ... además que uno no tenía las herramientas de ahora de internet de llegar y buscar una canción po, la

generación de los chiquillos... tu todos tienen computador y pueden aprender inglés mucho más rápido... *y que tipo de videos les mostraban traducidos?* Ehm... por ejemplo michael jackson eh... no sé, la verdad no me acuerdo mucho (...)

c) Sabes porque? Ahora acordándome justo en esos tiempos pasaba todo lo que tuvo que ver con la lady di y en la tele te mostraban todo, como si estuviéramos en Inglaterra, Londres... las noticias mostraban el palacio, las fiestas todo todo todo y se escuchaba todo tan bonito.... Tan elegante... era como el sueño de todas... a lo mejor ahí empezó todo eso de creerse princesas porque tu sabes que la lady di era pobre y la reina le hizo la guerra al hijo para que no la metiera a la realeza... entonces uno veía todo eso en la tele, a la reina hablando, al príncipe y a lady di... se vió el vestido laaargo, yo creo que todas queríamos casarnos así, tan elegante y bonito. Y bueno... yo igual había escuchado hablar a norteamericanos, porque iban mi iglesia... porque íbamos a la iglesia evangélica protestante po y a veces iban gringos. Ellos hablaban español con nosotros obvio, pero entre ellos hablaban inglés y no se escuchaba tan bonito, hablaban más rápido y nunca tan elegante así como en la tele hablaban los británicos.

Si tuviera que elegir uno sería el británico, como que a la reina se le entiende más... habla más pausado, más bonito mientras que Obama es más como pa dentro, habla más rápido y se escucha feo en comparación a la reina, cachai. El inglés británico tiene mejor calidad... Es como lo que pasa con el chileno y el peruano, ponte tú. Los peruanos pronuncian todo más bonito, se preocupan de hablar bien, nosotros somos más flaites, como shigua, pronunciamos todo mal, nos comimos las `s'... Y pucha si pudiera estudiar uno, estudiaría el británico porque es mucho más elegante, aunque por lo mismo el norteamericano debe ser más

fácil no? Porque es como más sucio. Por ejemplo, cuando veo películas gringas no me gustan tanto como se escucha... onda no es como la Bridget Jones o esa otra que me gusta... del Mister Darcy... como que es mucho más romántico.

Nicole - 38

interviewer: si tuvieran la oportunidad de tomar clases de inglés particulares con un hablante nativo de inglés, preferirían a un británico o un gringo?

adult: mmm... creo que un británico, me parece que ellos hablan mejor, les sale más bonito cuando hablan, tienen un algo que me gusta más que el americano...

interviewer: ok y en general, cuál les llama más la atención?

adult: el británico claro, si es más lindo, suena mejor... cuando veo en las películas y hay un británico se nota al tiro, les sale tan bien, como que pronuncian todas las palabras, los gringos hablan con las palabras cortadas, no se entiende nada, pronuncian todo cortado... es como acá con los peruanos y nosotros... ellos pronuncian todas las letras y usan muchas palabras del vocabulario, nosotros decimos todo cortado y usamos palabras que ver, el poh y la hueá y puras cosas así... con ellos pasa así igual

Mature Adult group

Fernando - 60

a) Bueno, el inglés empezó a ser una lengua importante uhm... después de que los yankees le ganaron la guerra fría a la Unión Soviética y ahora se dicen todas esas cosas de que es necesario porque al final todo viene escrito en inglés, todas las empresas necesitan gente que sepa inglés para entender las cosas que vienen de allá... pero imagínate si la

gloriosa union sovietica hubiera ganado, sin todos los chanchullos y juegos sucios de los yankees, estaríamos aprendiendo ruso, el ruso sería la lengua importante, y ahí a lo mejor igual me gustaría aprender el idioma dominante, por ahora no, al menos yo siento que no necesito el inglés... *y alguna vez lo necesitó?* a lo más lo necesité cuando me gustaban los beatles cuando era cabro pero mi hermana traducía las canciones así que yo nunca necesité realmente aprender el idioma, siempre chamulle las letras -risas- igual me salían bien, si me decían que me parecía al john mccartney -más risas-. Ahora todo lo profesional, los trabajos y cuestiones así vienen en inglés pero yo ya no necesito leer manuales ni aprender cosas nuevas, yo ya aprendí lo que tenía que aprender... me acuerdo que cuando estaba haciendo el servicio militar venían las provisiones en inglés... de ahí que nos meten el inglés a la fuerza, te day cuenta? *En qué año hizo el servicio?* En el 74, pleno apogeo de dictadura... igual si te cuento se va a alargar harto la cosa, pero si te puedo decir que como estados unidos tenía la cola metida, todo venía de allá en inglés... las armas, los insumos y provisiones.. y puta desde ahí que el idioma no dejó de entrar. Si la cosa hubiera sido rusa, habríamos aprendido ruso, pero obviamente cuando yo estaba haciendo el servicio todo lo ruso estaba completamente censurado... bueno y teniendo en cuenta como se dio la historia en nuestro país con estados unidos metido hast las patas acá la gente nueva, más profesional es la que necesita inglés para entender cómo funciona el mundo entero, porque al final es la lengua del imperialismo yankee y si uno no entiende cómo se comunican estaría difícil la cosa, más limitado el campo laboral.

b) Bueno... partamos porque el británico es el lenguaje original, mientras que el norteamericano es una mala versión, más flaite y sucia. Nunca me ha gustado el acento de los yankees, lo que hablan no es inglés, es

como que se inventaron su propio lenguaje más ordinario y lleno de muletillas.

Obviamente prefiero el británico porque es el lenguaje de la reina... como te decía es el lenguaje original, al igual que el español de España... si lo vemos desde esa perspectiva, el inglés yankee es como un sucedáneo del británico y malo más encima. Al menos yo entiendo mucho más el británico, porque es la pronunciación original y la que corresponde y la que me enseñaron en el colegio, a los gringos nunca me dediqué a entenderlos así que no hay mucho que te pueda decir. Eehh... bueno, en el colegio igual me enseñaron francés y chino y no sé si elegiría inglés porque me gusta más el francés... pero si tuviera que aprender, aprendería el británico porque es el idioma original, como se tiene que hablar el inglés y eso entrega entonces una enseñanza más completa y sofisticada...

Alberto - 58

a) Bueno... eh... yo sé re poco de estas cosas... a lo más por lo que aprendí en el colegio y he visto en la tele y teniendo en cuenta eso entonces yo creo que el británico es como más antiguo no? Es como el inglés original, por lo tanto el norteamericano vendría siendo como el chileno... es una variación que se provoca por la colonización. Entonces cómo hablamos los chilenos? Re mal po, así que debe pasar algo re parecido con el inglés gringo.

b) La verdad no recuerdo para nada... pero yo creo que en el colegio nos debieron enseñar el británico, y por eso preferiría esa pronunciación, se me debe hacer mucho más entendible y clara que el gringo porque como por ejemplo a nosotros no se nos entiende nada, y igual he escuchado que los gringos hablan muy rápido y desordenado, que no se

les entiende. Entonces como para yo entender un poco aunque sea... prefiero el británico.

Eh... con respecto a lo que te decía el británico se me hace más conocido y más entendible, es como la lengua formal por eso la elegiría para aprender porque me gustaría que me entendieran cuando hable.

Ángela- 57

a) En general para mi es importante saber otro idioma para el ámbito laboral, inglés más otro idioma si es posible, porque te asegura para presentar un buen currículum, o sea una mejor pega, te asegura un mejor recibimiento en la pega.

Si por ejemplo vas a Inglaterra o estados unidos es relevante saber el idioma... Son los únicos países como que se nombran como las potencias, porque por ejemplo en mis tiempos, se hablaba de la Unión Soviética, o sea Rusia como potencia, pero ahora no, solo se habla de estados o Inglaterra, como que ellos la llevan, antes no era solamente estos dos países.

b) Encuentro que el británico es bien pronunciado, ehh lo modulan bien y el otro, el yankee encuentro que es un inglés charlatán, es como flaite, no es bien pronunciado, como que a mi modo de pensar es como que ellos hablan inglés como se les ocurre. El otro es pituco, bien pronunciado, entonces me gusta más el británico, el mismo país, me gusta más el país, me llama más la atención Inglaterra.

María 59

a) Encuentro que el inglés es súper importante hoy en día, como que se ve en todos lados, yo no me acuerdo de casi nada del inglés... igual encuentro que es difícil... en mis tiempos nos enseñaban inglés y francés

y a mí me gustaba más el francés, lo encontraba más entretenido y me era más fácil de entender, pero después ya no lo enseñaron más y solo pasamos a tener inglés, en mis tiempos me acuerdo que también lo que más se mostraba eran cosas que venían de Inglaterra, en la tele uno veía cosas británicas todo el tiempo, como la música y cuando pasaba algo en las noticias se hablaba mucho de lo que estaba haciendo Inglaterra, evento, no sé... creo que con el tiempo se ha ido perdiendo eso... o no

b)

Si tuviera que elegir uno, prefiero el británico porque encuentro que es más completo y más avanzado que el americano, creo que el inglés de estados unidos no es tan completo como el otro, el británico es más complejo y avanzado, me llama más la atención, preferiría aprender ese, aunque a estas alturas yo ya no voy a aprender ninguno la verdad...

M. Teresa 56

b)

De partida, me encantaría conocer Inglaterra, porque los encuentro demasiado elegantes y eso me encanta, no como el yankee... el yankee no me gusta, ellos se creen los jaguares, pero para mí no lo son, para mí los de Inglaterra lo son, ellos son otra clase, de partida ellos no andan clasificando a la gente por si son rubios o son negros, no se escucha hablar de eso

Prefiero el británico por su pronunciación, como que es muy delicado cuando hablan en cambio el otro es como charlatán y no les importan si están hablando bien o si están pronunciando bien

