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Language beyond the classroom: The social representations of the use of English in Chilean trap music

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Abstract

The present research reveals a glimpse into a brunch of English studies in Chile. The main subject of study will be the linguistic anthropological, political, social, and economic implications behind the social representations of English in a diverse sphere as the appearance in urban Chilean trap. The following qualitative research sheds some light, on a descriptive level, to the use of English in the Chilean trap music in a non-experimental design with a structural approach. The corpus arises from subjects that like and dislike the genre, as well as the artists that create the lyrics. Furthermore, an analysis of the different topics that were found in the process of the research, which were consistent to the approaches of English in this type of music, was also carried out. Overall, we conclude that English as a hegemonic language has broken into Spanish speakers and its music, creating a new interest in this powerful tool in order to promote and achieve recognition around the world.

Key words: Trap, social representations, language ideology, linguistic anthropology.

Introduction

It is common knowledge that English is one of the most influential languages around the world regarding the political, social, and cultural power that it has achieved along the centuries (Crystal, 2003; Joseph, 2006; Makoni & Pennycook, 2006; Phillipson, 1992). As a result, as Crystal (2003) established, English has been considered a global language since it has been used in different contexts, such as the academic, business, science, and the media. In this light, and because of the impact that English has provoked around the world, several social representations and language ideologies have appeared with regards to this language.

Having established the previous notions, the phenomenon of social representations has been widely studied by different authors, such as Mora (2002), and Cisternas (2017). In this respect, it has been characterized as a phenomenon which is both constituted through experiences and knowledge, and also present in social life and every communicational instance. Furthermore, this notion can be linked to language ideology, since it represents ideas and perspectives that people may have about a language in a society. The concept of language ideology, as well as the concept of social representations, has been fully studied by different authors, such as Silverstein (1979), Geeraertes (2006), and Kroskrity (2010). The latter defined this term, in general terms, as the perceptions and beliefs about language.

In terms of the previous studies found regarding social representations and language ideologies concerning the use of English around the world, there was a wide variety of studies in which the point of interest was outside the context of language teaching and/or learning. In this light, one of the studies that can be mentioned is the work done by Moody (2006), who put his attention in the role of English within Japanese popular music. By the same token, in a research carried out by Morgan (2001) it was found the impact that language ideology provoked in African American communities in the context of hip hop music identity. Thus, it was noticed that there were a vast variety of works in different countries which examine the ideologies and/or social representations about English in different musical genres.

Despite that some social representations and language ideology research focus their attention on different society phenomena, it was not possible to find Chilean studies

regarding these phenomena outside the academic world. Thus, most of the studies about ideologies concerning the English language are related to second language acquisition and/or language teaching. Overall, most of the studies related to these areas are focused on the curricula and the educational system.

Taking the previous considerations into account, there is an evident gap in studies regarding the daily use of English in the Chilean society. Thus, it was not possible to find Chilean studies about social representations or language ideology in any entertainment area such as the music industry. Hence, in order to fill in the gap, it arises the necessity to study the phenomenon of the social representation of the use of English in Chilean music. More specifically, it was found that in the national trap music, English is present in most of its songs. In that respect, it is important to highlight that both the use of English in Chilean trap music and its social representations are two subjects of study which have not received special attention in the Chilean academic world. Having said that, it is thought that these matters should be taken into consideration in order to collect data about the language ideology of English in a Spanish speaking country. Thus, through this type of study it can be possible to observe the social representations of Chilean people about the use of English in distinctive cultural activities, such as the artistic area of music. That is why this study can be taken as innovative and important; it can motivate further research about English aside from the traditional academic contexts.

The intention of this research is to characterize, from a linguistic-anthropological perspective, the social representations that different social actors who are Spanish speakers have about the English use in Chilean trap music. Thus, in order to develop the study, the approach will be qualitative, and it will be focused on the social representations of three different groups of the Chilean society —i.e. Chilean trap listeners, people who do not listen to Chilean trap music, and Chilean trap singers. Additionally, in order to deal with these phenomena, some key concepts which come into play along this research will be characterized, such as linguistic anthropology, social representations, language ideology, linguistic imperialism, code-switching, and lexical borrowing.

CHAPTER I

PRESENTATION OF THE STUDY

1.1 Topic

The social representations of the use of English in Chilean trap music, aside from the traditional academic contexts.

1.2 Problem justification

English as a second language in Chile is a mildly studied field. If it is so, the major subject regarding the research of English as a second language is focused on the teaching aspect of the phenomenon. On the contrary, there is a lack of studies on subjects aside from academic settings, especially in day-to-day context such as the music world. This is why code switching within trap lyrics, as well as the crescent popularity of this music genre bring us to the unfamiliar state of English in a different social sphere.

The following qualitative research will point out and describe the use of English in this new sphere —this is, the urban music in Chile. Urban music as trap, specifically, has not been investigated yet. Moreover, trap music has brought people closer to a language that is not commonly spoken in Chile. Therefore, our research will consist in the linguistic, anthropological, political, social, and economic implications behind the social representations of the use of English in Chilean trap.

1.3 Research questions

1.3.1 General question

a) What are the social representations regarding the use of English in Chilean trap music in different social actors who are Chilean Spanish-speakers?

1.3.2 Specific questions

a) What are the social representations of Chilean trap singers regarding the use of English in their songs?

b) What are the social representations of Chilean trap listeners regarding the use of English in this musical genre?

c) What are the social representations of people who do not listen to Chilean trap regarding the use of English in this musical genre?

d) What are the linguistic, anthropological, political, social, and economic implications in the social representations of the three social actors aforementioned?

1.4 Objectives

1.4.1 General objective

To characterize, from a linguistic-anthropological perspective, the social representations that different social actors who are Spanish speakers have about the English use in Chilean trap music.

1.4.2 Specific objectives

a) To describe the social representations of Chilean trap singers regarding the use of English in their songs.

b) To describe the social representations of Chilean trap listeners regarding the use of English in this musical genre.

c) To describe the social representations of people who do not listen to Chilean trap regarding the use of English in this musical genre.

d) To discuss the linguistic, anthropological, political, social, and economic implications behind these social representations.

1.5 Methodology

The methodology of this qualitative research was carried out on a descriptive level. Furthermore, the research had a structural approach, since the sample corresponded to subjects that accounted for how knowledge about a particular phenomenon—in this case, the use of English in Chilean trap music—was socially distributed. Additionally, the design was non-experimental since no manipulation of the control variables was involved. Finally, the

study was cross-sectional due to the fact that the data collected was analyzed from one given point in time.

1.5.1 Participants

The social actors who took part in this research were (1) singers of Chilean trap music, (2) people who listen to this music, and (3) people who do not. They ranged in age from 15 to 35. Additionally, the gender of the participants was classified into three categories, which included male, female, and others. In this case, the participants were the ones who chose her/his gender identity. Furthermore, throughout the analysis singers were referred to by their artistic names. In the case of the participants who were part of the focus groups, they were mentioned by using their initials.

Table 1. Singers

Name	Gender	Age	Education level
Roska	Male	19	High School
Jeilean	Male	22	College student
Big Yellow	Male	23	College student
Youpain	Male	19	High School
Bad pressure	Male	18	High School
Polima Westcoast	Male	21	High School
Lizz	Undefined	32	Graduated

Table 2. Trap listeners

Name	Gender	Age	Education level
P. C	Male	17	High school student
L. Q	Male	20	College student
M. G	Female	23	College student
M. G. Z	Male	20	College student
S. S	Female	24	Graduated
M. I. G	Female	25	College student
F. A	No binario	25	College student
S. M	Female	26	Graduated
C. S	Female	28	Graduated
J. Z	Male	32	Graduated

Table 3. People who do not listen to trap music

Name	Gender	Age	Education level
L. X	Female	15	High school student
M. N	Male	20	College student
N. I	Male	21	College student

B. S	Female	23	Graduated
T. H	Female	23	College student
M. S	Female	23	Graduated
D. P	Female	24	Graduated
N. C	Male	25	Graduated
J. T. F	Male	26	Graduated
C. A	Female	27	Graduated
D. Z	Male	26	College student
M. M	Male	28	Graduated
S. M	Female	29	Graduated

1.5.2 Instruments

The research was based on two types of sources of information. On one hand, there was a primary source which involved semi-structured interviews that were used for singers. In addition, focus groups for people who listen to and do not listen to this musical genre were also used as instruments. Regarding the secondary source, it involved a lyrics' analysis of the trap singers' songs. Thus, the analysis was based on both the frequency of the use of English and its patterns. Then, topics that were constantly repeated in the different songs were identified. Throughout this secondary source was shown the phenomenon of the use of English in the trap music industry.

1.5.2.1 Primary source

For singers, a semi-structured interview that contained open-ended questions was used. In the case of both Chilean trap listeners and people who do not listen to Chilean trap, each focus group was divided into two subgroups, depending on the participants' age. Thus, the first group was constituted by participants from 15 to 24 years old, and the second group was constituted by participants from 25 to 35 years old.

1.5.2.2 Secondary source

In addition, a total of 19 songs were analyzed in terms of the frequency of English words that appeared in the given lyrics. Furthermore, different topics which were frequent along the lyrics were mentioned. Thus, the corpus was composed by: Dance (Ceaese) - These Weones (Pablo Chill-e) - My Blood (Polima Westcoast feat Pablo Chill-e) - Chacal (Lizz) - Not Steady (Paloma Mami) - Pain (Easykid) - BrokeBoi (Polima Westcoast) - BZRP Music Sessions, Vol.19 (Polima Westcoast) - Rodeo (Polima Westcoast) - BIGGMAC (Big Yellow x BiggTimmy) - Don't worry about me (Paloma Mami) - Goosebumps (Drefquila) - Up (Drefquila) - Fetty (Pablo Chill-e feat Julianno Sosa) - Dale tu Kolin (Pablo Chill-e feat Julianno Sosa) - Mercurio Lento (Lizz) - Tak Tiki Tak (Harry Nach) - Veneno (Ceaese) - No signal (Ceaese) - Baby Papi (Princesa Alba)

1.5.3 Procedures

As it was mentioned above, the data was collected through interviews and focus groups. The first case was integrated by singers, who were contacted via email and social media. Moreover, each interview was individual and via zoom due to the current pandemic. The questions were related to their music, lyrics, and mainly about the ideologies of English in the music industry. By the same token, the social actors who participated in the focus groups were attracted by Instagram. Afterwards, the focus groups were divided into two groups — people who listen to Chilean trap music, and people who do not listen to Chilean trap music. Additionally, and due to the dissimilar ages, both groups were subdivided into two groups — the first one was integrated by people from 15 to 24 years old, and the second was constituted by people from 25 to 35 years old. The focus groups were conducted via zoom because of the

current pandemic previously mentioned. Generally speaking, the questions for both interviews and focus groups were similar in terms of the topics, which were mostly related to the use of English in the Chilean trap music, as well as their social representations about the theme. Furthermore, each interview and focus group were recorded with the previous consent and agreement of the social actors, who virtually signed a consent form. Subsequently, the recordings were transcribed in order to analyze and categorize them into the aforementioned topics. Additionally, and in order to guarantee the confidentiality of the focus groups' participants, the initials of their names were used. Conversely, in the case of singers their artistic names were maintained since they initially agreed so.

1.5.4 Data analysis

The data was analyzed by dividing the social representations given by the participants into different topics that were related to the use of English in Chilean trap music. In this light, the topics that emerged during the analysis were: English as a global supremacy and influence; English as an aesthetic instrument in music; English as an economic tool; English as a lingua franca; The idea of rightful English, English as a political strategy, Pedagogical implications in the use of English, and Linguistic Borrowing. These analyses were supported by some key theories and concepts such as linguistic imperialism, language ideology, social representations, and linguistic borrowing. These theories and concepts were previously examined in the Theoretical Framework section. In respect of the secondary source, in order to demonstrate the English presence in trap lyrics, the data was analyzed by both grouping the English lexical items that appeared throughout each song and by determining the frequency of the use of English in each of them.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Key concepts

In the following chapter, and in order to establish the phenomena presented in the study, it will be found different concepts which will be examined and defined by different academic authors. In respect of the first section (2.1.1) which is related to Linguistic anthropology, it will focus its attention on the studies carried out by Barnard (2004), Birx (2006), and Duranti (2001). In respect of Birx (2006), it was taken from his work the definition and the historical aspects of the anthropological discipline, explaining then the different sub disciplines of this field. Furthermore, when it comes to Barnard (2004) and Duranti (2001), both authors were used to refer to the concept of linguistic anthropology, since the two of them aimed to define and explain this subdiscipline.

The section (2.1.2) consists on addressing and describing the concept of social representations which was first acknowledged by Moscovici (1961) and that was later associated with language ideologies —this due to the tools which the former concept may bring for tracing the extension for a proper theoretical understanding of the latter concept. Several descriptions provided by Mora (2002) will be used in order to approach the concept of social representations. This author brings a complete review of the most important aspects for conceiving and delimiting the implications regarding this concept. Furthermore, Cisternas (2017) was revised for his contributions on setting the dimensions that would define the link which exists between social representations and language ideology.

Section (2.1.3) will address the concept of language ideology through a deductive manner. In the first place, Silverstein's (1979) former and general definition of the notion will be provided. Also, descriptions of Cisternas (2020) and Kroskrity (2010) about language ideology will be displayed. Similarly, some brief descriptions of the main language ideology models given by Geeraerts (2006) will be reviewed. Throughout this section, then, the socio-cultural and socio-political character that frames linguistic ideology will be empathized.

The next section (2.1.4) will be based on the theories of Philipson (2012), who was one of the first authors in presenting the notion of linguistic imperialism. Thus, his definition and critique about the relation between language and power will be used. A second

theory will be given by Joseph (2006), who connected the concept of language with politics, and also studied the relation between them. The third author used was Crystal (2003), who stipulated the notion of English as a global language, and also described the historical, political, economic, and social processes that allowed it. Furthermore, another author used in this section was Makoni & Pennycook (2006), who provided a historical perspective about the construction and development of English as a hegemonic language. Finally, the last author mentioned was Kwet (2019), who talked about the new form of imperialism that nowadays has taken place around the world. In that respect, Kwet (2019) explained that digital imperialism refers to how technological advancements have impacted different aspects of a society.

The section (2.1.5) will be dedicated to describing trap music using the interviews made by Ignacio Molina to several Chilean trap artists which were compiled in his book *“La historia del trap chileno”* published in 2020. This section will approach the origins of this musical genre, its main characteristics, the description of Chilean trap music, its popularity, and its principal features. In addition, the most famous Chilean trap artists that have succeeded during the last decade will be mentioned.

Section (2.1.6) will be referred to the code-switching scope. As it will be fully explained, multiple definitions and descriptions have been postulated for over a couple of decades. Thus, a special mention of Li Wei’s (2000) insight regarding the ability and skills that may be necessary in order to produce code-switching will be given. Also, it will be considered the different models that Myers-Scotton (1997) has published regarding the importance of context and social environment that set the ideal conditions for the appearance of code-switching. The phenomena then described will be a key point to the realization of Spanglish and the use of English on Chilean trap.

When it comes to the final section (2.1.7), the concept of lexical borrowing will take place. Thus, the concept will be first defined considering what Haspelmath (2009) proposes. Very similarly, the two main types of borrowing will also be tackled. In order to avoid misunderstandings regarding the concept, the ideas proposed by Johanson (2002) will be also considered. Then, it will be examined the main reasons that explain lexical borrowing.

To do so, Miller et. al. (1988) will be used, as well as Haspelmath (2009). Finally, what makes lexical borrowing special will be also briefly considered by the end of the section.

2.1.1 Linguistic anthropology

In regard to what Birx (2006) established about anthropology, this discipline is, in general terms, the study and science of humans: “Anthropology strives to give a comprehensive and coherent view of our own species within material nature, organic evolution, and sociocultural development” (p. 186).

Historically, anthropology has appeared before its existence or even before it was named and established as a discipline. This field has taken place every time a thinker has recorded observations of human behavior in different cultures. It was in the 19th century when the discipline was influenced by the social, cultural, and political setting in which each anthropologist was enclosed. For that reason, each era of anthropology has a different approach. Nonetheless it is necessary to remind that this discipline is not focused on the progress of new ideas or information, but the comprehension of humankind (Birx, 2006). Taking into account the U.S perspective, anthropology is divided into four sub disciplines which are: biological anthropology, archeology, cultural anthropology, and anthropological linguistics/linguistic anthropology. In respect to the last field, linguistic anthropology is defined as “an interdisciplinary field dedicated to the study of language as a cultural resource and speaking as a cultural practice.” (Duranti, 2001, p. 8889.) Furthermore, Barnard (2004) linked linguistic anthropology to the study of language and its diversity. In respect of its characteristics, the corpus of each research must be developed by an exhaustive documentation of daily social activities which are collected through different techniques, especially fieldwork.

Historically, according to Duranti (2001) and taking into consideration the U.S perspective of the Boasian tradition, it can be established that this paradigm started with the documentation (Handbook of American Indian Languages written by Boas) of the Indian languages which used to be endangered. Thus, the Boas’ paradigm made use of linguistic fieldwork, grammatical structures, and linguistic analysis as tools for cultural analysis. From Duranti’s (2001) point of view, throughout his academic life Boas tried to vanish the different

stereotypes about the diversity of languages around the world, especially Indian languages. In fact, that is the reason why he developed the term cultural relativism, which is defined by Ruhl as the “awareness of cultural differences as a tool for appreciating and analyzing other cultures without assuming one’s own group to be superior.” (Ruhl, cited in Birx, 2006, p. 632). This concept emerged with the objective to avoid ethnocentric studies that were carried out through the last century. In regard to ethnocentrism, this term was characterized by the description and preconception of a different culture and/or group of people comparing its culture and values as the ideal standard. (Ruhl, cited in Birx, 2006)

Furthermore, according to Duranti (2001) linguistic anthropology was separated into three different paradigms. The first one is the already mentioned Boasian tradition, and the second and third paradigms are related to the works and studies developed by Hymes . The second paradigm brought new ideas, while the first one can be linked to the idea that linguistic expressions should be studied in context. What just mentioned means that the researcher must pay attention to language in use by using ethnographic description. This concept can be understood as the study of a phenomenon —e.g., linguistic expression— embedded within events or activities. Furthermore, following the new ideas that this paradigm brought, it can be mentioned that it focuses on studying social units, instead of paying attention to grammatical units (first paradigm) (Duranti, 2001). Lastly, the third and recent developed paradigm continues the ideas and contributions made by the previous one, such as the importance of context in the explanation of variation in language, and the ethnographic approach. Nevertheless, the main feature of this new paradigm is that it focuses on the study of how language is used as a tool to build social realities that are described (Duranti, 2001).

To conclude, it can be said that even though it has been established different paradigms throughout the years, the focus of each of them is related to understanding different societies in terms of their culture, language, and behavior.

2.1.2 Social representations

The concept of social representations is acknowledged and described for the first time by Moscovici (1961) based on previous studies on the field of social psychology (as cited in Mora, 2002). This theory claims that social representations are sources of knowledge that emerge from the interactions between two or more subjects about a phenomenon in the reality

they shared. “[...] It is the knowledge of common sense that has as objectives to communicate, to catch up and to feel being inside a social environment, and it originated in the communicational exchange in the social group.” (Mora, 2002, p. 7) (our translation). This element is present in every communicational instance; therefore, it is a process that is always under constant mutability. In addition, social representations have an intrinsic social approach, which determines a global and individual perspective of an object and a subject.

There are different elements that condition the instances where social representations are present, which are commonly linked with the different individuals and environments where the speakers concrete their communicative act.

In the social representations, the social component operates in different forms: by the context in which people and groups live, by the communication that they establish between them; by the manners of apprehension that their cultural knowledge brings to them; by the codes, values, and ideologies linked to positions or specific social belongings. (Jodelet, 1984, as cited in Mora, 2002) (our translation).

In other words, the subjects’ background knowledge influences their opinion when they have to communicate their ideas with someone else about some event that is present in their society.

One of the most remarkable aspects of this theory is the use of common sense as a fundamental source of information. Mora (2002) points out that “Common sense knowledge or natural thought (in contrast to scientific knowledge), that it is built through experiences, information, knowledge, education and social communication: a knowledge socially elaborated and shared.” (p. 19) (our translation). In that sense, in order to study an object of our social reality, it is used the collective information that subjects have learned and expressed to others during the course of their lives. Hence, “Social representation is a natural theory that integrates different cognitive concepts such as attitude, opinion, image, stereotype, beliefs, etc., as it is not set out as a mere sum of parts or a non-critical agglomeration of concepts.” (Mora, 2002, p. 18) (our translation). As it has mentioned before, elements which are immersed in social representation are inevitably prone to be under permanent change due to the influences that are present in different aspects in our environment.

Following the same line of social representations' mutability, nowadays there are several sources of information where individuals can grasp different opinions, ideas, and attitudes about diverse events and experiences throughout their daily life. It is true that mass media has increased its production in a considerable measure and has become one of the most influential exponents of knowledge regarding common sense approach in our social reality. "Social representations are characteristics of our time mainly by the abundance of circulating information, by its relatively brief validity as opinions and by the consequent improbability of structuring many ideas in a permanent theoretical scheme." (Mora, 2002, p. 23) (our translation). Therefore, what is understood as common sense, changes in a more rapid manner because subjects are receiving a much considerable amount of information, which can be reflected in the social representations that the individuals perceive and share. Even in some cases, this information is exchanged not only exclusively in a face-to-face interaction, but also by the agency of virtuality which makes it more accessible for subjects all around. "In contrast to myths, social representations do not have the possibility of settling and solidifying it to become in traditions because mass media demands a continuous change in types of knowledge [...]". (Mora, 2002, p. 21) (our translation).

It is important to highlight that this concept of social representations is strictly linked with the phenomenon of linguistic ideologies due to interdisciplinary tools that social representations may bring to the theoretical understanding of language ideologies to deal with several of its aspects (Cisternas, 2017). After analyzing different definitions of the concept of linguistic ideologies, Cisternas (2017) determined linguistic ideologies as:

A system of ideas about a language and the role which this should perform in the society, that emerges in a specific social-political and socio-cultural context, and it is influenced –though not determined– by the subject's position that occupies in the social space. (p. 105) (our translation).

This definition, however, is not enough to characterize the implications and the proper extent of it in the collection and analysis of data related to language ideologies. Therefore, Cisternas (2017) decided to complement it with the notion of social representations in order to establish the limits in the field of linguistics ideologies.

In this sense, Cisternas (2017) in order to make a fully stated definition about this broad concept, concluded that a linguistic ideology is a system of social representations about the linguistic market, speakers, the relations between language-culture, and language-identity. These four aspects are influenced but not necessarily determined by the context of production, and it is directed towards the modification and maintenance of the status quo of the social-linguistic relations. In other words, social representations are part of the linguistic ideologies because they represent the ideas, opinions, and perspectives that people have about the society, and in this case, about the language people use.

To sum up, Moscovici (1961, as cited in Mora, 2002) understands the concept of social representation as a combination of different types of knowledge within a subject. These phenomena make social reality intelligible by constructing and communicating it with other entities, which finishes objectivizing it as common sense shared among individuals. “In other words, common sense imposes itself as an explanation which is more extended and defining about the relations in a social exchange. Thus, its analysis and deconstruction are presented as a way of a desirable and relevant approach.” (Mora, 2002, p. 23) (our translation). In addition, social representations are linked with the notion of linguistic ideologies because they bring a proper set of tools to analyze and delimit the extent of aspects which are important to consider about this concept and the beliefs that speakers may have about language.

These representations are mainly constituted through experiences and knowledge which are transmitted to the subjects by means of traditions, education, mass media, among other experiences in relation with social life. These elements fulfil an important role in social life, since it both gives meaning and coherence to social events that the subjects face throughout their lives, as well as influences the behavior which they have towards information elements regarding their daily life. “it means then that the social representation contributes exclusively to the process of behavioral training and to the orientation of communications (Mora, 2002, p. 21) (our translation). Without this, it would most probably be perceived continuously as a process of estrangement and uncertainty. This, however, does not mean that social representations are immutable in time since they are under constant dispute and transformation for their users. Comprehending this topic is indeed a complex process which implies a way to understand our reality.

2.1.3 Language ideology

Also known as linguistic ideology, language ideology (henceforth LI) is a concept used in anthropology, linguistic anthropology, sociolinguistics, and cross-cultural studies. According to Silverstein's (1979) former definition "[...] ideologies about language, or linguistic ideologies, are any sets of beliefs about language articulated by the users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use." (p. 193). In other words, LI has to do with perceptions about language, and how these perceptions affect society. Therefore, language ideology is the particular culture about languages that groups have constructed and shared between them, not only about language structures but also regarding language in use.

Perceptions, and beliefs about language "often index the political economic interests of individual speakers, ethnic and other groups, and nation states." (Kroskrity, 2010, p. 192). As it was pointed out above, just as any type of ideology, language ideologies are influenced by political and moral factors, and they are shaped in a cultural setting. "Language ideologies represent the perception of language and discourse that is constructed in the interest of a specific social or cultural group." (Kroskrity, 2010, p. 195).

Following Kroskrity's statement, he suggests that language ideologies act as conditioners of individual's notions of what is or is not 'true', 'morally acceptable', 'pleasing', or 'appropriate' about discourse and language itself, and that these conceptualizations often underlie the aim to use language as the site at which to promote, protect, and legitimate those social and political-economic interests.

There are several other definitions of LI. Notwithstanding, according to Cisternas (2020) overall, all the definitions essentially point out that "language ideologies 1) are a set of ideas or beliefs, 2) are referred to languages and their social use, 3) have an implicit or explicit character, 4) shape a system or interrelated set, and 5) its content is influenced by the context in which the subject is situated." Therefore, it is fundamental to bear in mind both the context and the cultural, socio-political factors that frame the LI when it comes to understanding the background interests of the given LI. Following this line, several models of LI have appeared throughout time; three of the main models will be briefly addressed.

According to Geeraerts (2006), the rationalist model is based on the ideas of the illustration period; language is perceived as a communicative media that promotes citizen participation and democracy. In this sense, language variety and multilingualism would mean an impediment to emancipation. On the other hand, also in words of Geeraerts (2006) the romantic model conceives the language both as an expression media and as an identity marker. This model is clearly based in the romanticism period since “The identity that is expressed by the language is the identity of a community, and the community is a nation when it acquires political autonomy.” (Geeraerts, 2006, p. 289) this model basically understands language as identity, in the sense that it promotes and stimulates the conservation of particular languages, and it conceives standardization processes as social exclusion. Finally, linguistic purism is the tendency that rejects everything but standard norm, that is to say: colloquialism, lexical borrowing, non-standard collocations and so on.

There are many characteristics regarding L1; for instance, “They are profitably conceived as multiple because of the plurality of meaningful social divisions (class, gender, clan, elites, generations, and so on) within socio cultural groups that have the potential to produce divergent perspectives expressed as indices of group membership.” (Kroskrity, 2010, p. 197). Thus, Language ideologies are never socially uniform, and they vary according to many social factors that affect individual and collective perspectives or conceptualizations of social practices. In other words, LI are politically determined and heterogeneous.

Another relevant topic about LI is the extent of awareness that speakers may or may not have of their own local language ideologies, “Members may display varying degrees of awareness of local language ideologies, (Kroskrity, 2010, p. 198). This specific level of awareness acts to reinforce the social and the political-economic purpose of the perceptions that shape a linguistic ideology. Since the more internalized a linguistic ideology is, the more powerful it is. Evidently, this has to do with the notion of standard language, as languages and registers with more prestige are better perceived within language ideologies.

There is an important distinction between “neutral ideological Viewed analysis (focusing on ‘culturally shared’ beliefs and practices) and critical ideological analysis that emphasizes the political use of language as a particular group’s instrument of symbolic

domination.” (Kroskrity, 2010, p. 196). The second is a deeper social approach that could lead the analysis to a greater comprehension on how language ideology works in practical terms.

The users of a language that have a language ideology built up the ideology; they materialize it, and they even create it sometimes. “These users, in constructing language ideologies, display the influence of their consciousness in their selection of features of both linguistic and social systems that they do distinguish and in the linkages between systems they construct.” (Kroskrity, 2010, p. 200). In the case of English, it is a fact that it is a prestigious language and that linguistic ideology has made this reinforced throughout time.

In words of Cisternas (2020) a language ideology is narrowly bond to 1) the context in which it is produced, and the manner in which meaning is provided to it; 2) the way in which a determined social order is naturalized, which is associated to a set of categories and cultural, socio-political processes; and 3) interests and institutional spaces that enable and stimulate its production.” Overall, language ideologies are inseparable from the social context in which they are framed. And they are key aspects in relation to le construction of identity within a linguistic community, additionally; they are shaped by socio-cultural, socio-political and military interests.

Finally, LI is a core aspect to study when it comes to analyze the perceptions and valorizations of some linguistic elements above others. However, they must be separated in multiple categories, which all are deeply related with the notion of culture and power. “The relevance that language ideological approaches can treat the interaction of multiple ideologies and not merely attend to the beliefs and practices of dominant groups, they are particularly useful in the analysis of dynamic situations involving cultural contact, socioeconomic change, evolving gender relations, and even the hegemonic influence of states on linguistic and cultural minorities.” (Kroskrity, 2010, p. 205). In this sense, both neutral and critical ideological analysis helps to explain at different rates, how cultural and social notions shape ideologies on language and discourse.

2.1.4 Linguistic imperialism

Throughout the last decade, there have been some authors who have studied the phenomenon of linguistic imperialism, and the hegemony of English. In this sense, there will be some key concepts that different authors have investigated and proposed throughout their career which will be useful in the present research.

Taking into consideration the definition of Galtung (1980) cited in Phillipson (2012), imperialism is a type of hegemonic power in a society (understanding hegemony as a relation of domination and subordination) in which one group is the dominating force and the other group is the one that is under the control of it. Furthermore, Galtung (1980) also proposed a theory which separates the world into two agents, where the first one is the Center which represents the developed countries, and the Peripheries which are constituted by the underdeveloped countries (p. 52). In respect to this theory, in general aspects the norm is based on the exploitation of the Center over the Peripheries.

Following the line of imperialism, according to Phillipson (2012), there are two types of imperialism, the first one is cultural imperialism which is divided into three subtypes: scientific imperialism, media imperialism and education imperialism (p. 65). Furthermore, the second type is linguistic imperialism which is a central element because it encloses the other types of imperialism that were mentioned above. In this sense Phillipson (2012) mentioned that there is one main reason which explains this situation, and it is linked with the notion that language serves as a medium that spreads ideas and leads communication. Having said that, the definition offered by Phillipson (2012) covers the idea that linguistic imperialism is the usage of one language —i.e. dominant language— above others which have less power in the society, and as a result it creates the exclusion of the dominated languages (p. 39).

In regard to the idea that one language has more power than others. Joseph (2006) mentioned that language is a political act, because it determines the social hierarchy and it is used as a medium to exert power. Thus, the distribution of this power will be unequal since it will benefit only one part of the society, generally, those who possess the dominant language and have political, economic, and social dominance.

Taking into consideration the implications of imperialism and therefore linguistics imperialism, it is necessary to bear in mind the exploitation and discrimination that

these dominated agents have to go through in a society that is ruled by a dominant force. In this sense, it can be found different types of discrimination, such as racism, sexism, classism, nationalism, and linguicism. Regarding the concept of linguicism, according to Phillipson (2012) this type of -ism is defined as “ideologies, structures, and practices which are used to legitimate, effectuate, and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources between groups which are defined on the basis of language” (p. 47). In general aspects this phenomenon represents the language inequality that exists in society, where one language (dominant) has the power to challenge the status and reputation of other languages (dominated). A clear example of this issue is English linguistic imperialism which is a sub-type of linguicism, and it is defined by Phillipson (2012) as “the dominance of English is asserted and maintained by the establishment and continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages” (p. 47). In this sense, the Hegemony of English can be maintained due to the fact that there exists a system of hierarchy among languages, which is supported by the political, social, cultural and economic power of the dominant actor.

In addition to the legitimation of the English linguistic imperialism there are two different methods which contribute to the hegemony of English, understanding the concept of hegemony as “the relations of domination and subordination, in their forms as practical consciousness, as in effect a saturation of the whole process of living.” (Phillipson, 2012, p. 73). On one hand, Anglocentricity is linked to the idea of making English as the norm that should be followed by other cultures. On the other hand, Professionalism deals with pedagogical methods and techniques that have to be followed by English language teaching (ELT). Even though ELT is only focused on the pedagogical side of the English teaching without paying attention to the cultural matters, it is Anglocentricity that works on the imposition of it, for that reason they have to complement each other.

According to Phillipson (2012), the procedures of ELT are considered as one of the most important political investments by the dominant countries, such as the United States and the British Empire. In this sense, there are a few examples that can be mentioned. In the case of European Colonial nations, such as West African countries, with the incorporation of English as a lingua franca, as well as the English teaching procedure in schools from

Denmark, Sweden and the Netherlands, and the operation of American audiolingual method during the World War II and postwar period (Crystal, 2003; Phillipson, 2012).

In respect to what was stated above, it is imperative to mention that Phillipson pointed out different perspectives about ELT. In this sense, Phillipson (2012) claimed that ELT has such a strong power because it reasserts the values of the dominant group. In this regard, it can be inferred that the consolidation of the English power is only achievable if it satisfies the requirements of those who have influence and power in a society.

Taking into consideration the idea offered by Phillipson (2012) about ELT and the reassertion of the language, there is a divergent perspective from Crystal (2003) who stated that the language will become dominant and global language only because of the power of its people, it does not have to uphold the values of the dominant country, but to be the language of the those who lead the world.

In accordance with the hegemony of English, the main question is why linguistic imperialism settled in the English language. According to different authors (Crystal, 2003; Joseph, 2006; Makoni & Pennycook, 2006; and Phillipson, 2012) there is a historical, political, economic explanation. Following the idea that Crystal (2003) stated, there is a geographical-historical recognition of the English language and a social-cultural justification for this hegemony. Historically, the English language expanded gradually around the British Isles, but it was during the sixteenth century when the language started to spread to other continents along with the expeditions of the British empire. One of the first explorations was North America and South Asia, during the eighteenth century the conquest of this country continued in the southern hemisphere such as in Australia and New Zealand. After that period, throughout the nineteenth century, Great Britain took power in South Africa, and Africa or at least part of it. Furthermore, over the course of this conquest, the work of the missionaries, religion and immigration the number of the people who spoke the English language suffered a drastic increase.

In addition, it should be pointed out that according to Crystal (2003) the pre-nineteenth century expansion of the English language was because of the British colonialism. If it is taken on the cultural side, the hegemony of the language started to grow by different factors, for instance the industrial revolution which caused the invention of printing, transport

system, communication system, and the stabilization of the economy. Additionally, from a political point of view, the consolidation of English started during the period of the First World War, in 1919. Nonetheless, the period that was more transcendental for the English language, it was the post-war world, because from the perspective of Crystal (2003) the international institutions and organizations (UN, Association of South-East Asian Nations, the Commonwealth, the Council of Europe, the European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, European Free Trade Association) started to propose the importance of a lingua franca, understanding this concept as a common language (Crystal, 2003). In addition, there are other factors that go along with the political advertisement of English, for instance the media, the press, advertising, broadcasting, cinema, popular music, and education. In terms of the educational system, according to Phillipson (2012) the ELT was one of the most important political investments to globalize the English language. Additionally, the academic world is led by this language because most of the papers, research and studies in general are in English, even Crystal (2003) pointed out that many studies that are not written in English are excluded and ignored by scholars.

Furthermore, despite the types of imperialism mentioned by Phillipson (2012), in recent years, it has appeared a new form of imperialism which can be perceived as a consequence of the continuous technological progress that has taken place around the world. According to Kwet (2019), digital colonialism (imperialism) has been considered as a new phenomenon in which the domination is exerted by three basic elements of the digital ecosystem: software, hardware, network connectivity. In that sense these three core pillars are dominated by the United States, and with the control of them, it positioned the country as one of the leaders in the digital world.

Taking into consideration what was established by Kwet (2019), this new form of imperialism is the representation of conquest in the underdeveloped countries, certainly it has nothing to do with taking off their land, but with the domination of Big Tech corporations. In words of Kwet (2019):

The following functions are all dominated by a handful of US multinationals: search engines (Google); web browsers (Google Chrome); smartphone and tablet operating systems (Google

Android, Apple iOS); desktop and laptop operating systems (Microsoft Windows); office software (Microsoft Office, Google G Suite); cloud infrastructure and services (Amazon, Microsoft, Google, IBM); social networking platforms (Facebook, Twitter); transportation (Uber, Lyft); business networking (Microsoft LinkedIn); streaming video (Google YouTube, Netflix, Hulu). (p. 4)

Having established this quote, it can be inferred that the new digital world has taken an important place in the day-to-day matters of the society, since the new generation totally depends on technological devices, and it is constantly connected to the internet. The social media is the center of communication and globalization, that means the country that can control this powerful element, it would be able to lead and dominate every aspect of life, since the world is interconnected.

To conclude, the English language dominance is a combination of different events and power that allowed it to achieve this global status. Following the idea of Crystal (2003) “Without a strong power-base, of whatever kind, no language can make progress as an international medium of communication. Language has no independent existence” (p. 7) In other words the English linguistic imperialism relies on the stability of the country and people who speak the language.

2.1.5 Trap

The origin of the trap genre takes place in Atlanta, USA, as a subgenre of hip hop music, which first originated around the 1990s in an underground environment. “[...] Three 6 Mafia, 8Ball & MJG, Kingpin Skinny Pimp, everyone had that vibe, because this shit was born in Memphis. Afterwards the dudes from Houston and Atlanta - who called it trap - listened to that music in Memphis” (Marlon Breeze cited in Molina, 2020, p. 51). Eventually it began to become consolidated into public light around 2010 with the collaboration of artists like Drake, Cardi B, Travis Scott, Post Malone, among many others till nowadays where it is recognized as one of the most popular genres across the world.

One of the elements that helped to consolidate this genre was the invention of the concept of the Traphouse. These places were locations where drug dealers, pimps came to do business with individuals.

If we think about real trap, which was born in Atlanta, that was born in traphouses where drugs were sold, in strip clubs, if we begin with the idea that it was born from it, that everybody is talking about girls doing twerk, on a bed with money and guns, basically they are telling their own reality". (Lizz cited in Molina, 2020, p. 167). (our translation)

This place was also characterized by the regular availability of weapons among habitues that frequented the spot, along with a heavy drug consumption.

As trap became popular, it eventually internationalized, arriving in Chile where at first glance it did not have a great acceptance by the public due to the content of its lyrics, in comparison to what the lyrics were about during that time. Nonetheless it took advantage of the niche of reggaeton which helped the genre to consolidate among masses, starting to establish a new and fresh style which many artists would dare to take part in later on.

Thanks to the reggaeton artists, trap started to become popular. Beforehand people listened to reggaeton, Arcangel, De La Ghetto, all these dudes. Out of nowhere, they began to make trap, and here nobody listened to trap from the USA. So Arcangel and De La Ghetto started to make trap, and to introduce it in Chile. Thanks to them this genre was commercialized here. (Criz Gomez cited in Molina, 2020, p. 105) (Our translation)

Along with the popularity of reggaeton in Chile, the existence of internet platforms such as YouTube, Soundcloud, Facebook, among other social media, helped trap music to be spread among listeners whether they were experienced in urban music or not. Additionally, another element which helped to boost the impact of trap in Chilean musical scene was the presence of traphouses events, which were different in the sense that these events were made with the aim of being focused on a music party where artists would share their own musical creations, a part of having a good time among known friends and potential future friends. "Trap House is the cradle of the Chilean trap. There was born the generation that nowadays is more popular and is earning more money or signing record labels." (Weyser cited in Molina, 2020, p. 108). These places allowed singers to know each other's music,

which usually had good feedback between them, and this would create interest among them to produce new content together in terms of featuring more than one singer on a song or by sharing mixtapes and beats to enhance the quality of music.

Likewise, in the U.S.A, when trap music arrived in Chile, it was commonly listened to by people from lower social classes. Initially, the recurrent themes and motifs of the lyrics had strict relation with weapons, drug consumption and traffic, personal sex life, and especially about money and different ways of earning it by either legal or illegal terms. All of the previous elements mentioned are related to the actions performed by some of the trap artists, who often had to do illicit activities in order to earn enough money to support not only themselves, but also their whole family. “Money is bound to trap. If we speak about the word trap, of what it really means, and from where it was born in the USA, those who are immersed in the shit make it for money. You make illegal shit, you put yourself on the street for money” (Ben Weapons cited in Molina, 2020, p. 167). It is well-known that most of them came from very complicated backgrounds and economic situations due to the lack of opportunities in general. “Because you didn't have the opportunities that other people had and is what your environment taught you, and that's what you learned on the street, and that's what you did to generate your resources. So here money is everything” (Ben Weapons cited in Molina, 2020, p. 167). Trap is portrayed as a genre that is rooted both in the lack of opportunities and social inequality. However, it is also the chance to bow destiny down, and push yourself up in life in terms of economic rise. The key of trap's success, according to the people involved in it, is found within how people get identified by not only its lyrics but also its whole social context that is highlighted in its songs.

That's when you realize that a song is suddenly influencing and it is spreading itself in a society. And a song that has a message. trap is like a fashion, a trend and when you introduce a message in something that is fashionable and trendy, clearly the people get to identify and it starts spreading.” (Seba Echeverría cited in Molina, 2020, pp. 179-180) (our translation)

Another element that helped to forge trap identity in Chile was the recurrent use of computational tools such as Auto-Tune, which is a computer program that is usually used to alter and fix the voice's pitch according to the user's measure providing a special type of vocal sound. “Auto-Tune was known at first instance by T-Pain, because as an artist he

exceeded its use in his debut disk [Rappa Ternt Sanga, 2005], he used that tool in all his verses. It was so much that artists said that the dude didn't sing". (Criz Gomez cited in Molina, 2020, p. 123). Although this element was not so popular at the beginning, nowadays it is categorized as one of the most remarkable and distinctive features of the genre. Another digital tool that was broadly used that would help to create music was Fruity Loops, which is a program where artists can make their own fresh sounds. trap displays its versatility in terms of beats and experimental rhythms thanks to the existence of these technologies. The trap genre, digital programs and virtual platforms are narrowly bound.

Trap music scene in Chile is not homogeneous at all, but it has its common points. The essence of the genre is something that Chilean trap singers share, what has made it become as popular as it is nowadays, especially among young people. "Trap is not a genre; it is a lifestyle. The lifestyle of trap is 'Do it, take risks and prosper' (T.R.A.P)" (Young J Star cited in Molina, 2020, p. 165). As Young J star points out, trap is about economic prosperity as a consequence of having taken risks in life, and it is also about overcome many difficulties and finally being at the top, where everyone can hear what you are singing, what you want to transmit, deeper than trap's surface of sex, drugs and violence.

Notwithstanding, each trap artist has their own message and their own style when it comes to delivering their message. However, there is space for everyone in the national scene, and most of the artists are very kind with each other. "I think that within the urban scene is both Pablo's trap and the alternative music that I make, also the Trini's pop or Tommy Boysen's reggaeton. The other thing that I feel is that is Chilean trap; all of us can join in one sound, but it is something national as well" (Gianluca cited in Molina, 2020, p. 189). The exponents have different musical lines, some of them are softer, sadder, or more social than others, and many of the artists reinvent themselves according to trends. However, something that characterizes Chilean trap is the reciprocal support between some artists. Despite their differences regarding style, message and personality, it seems that everyone has its place and audience, and they have made their path helping each other, through a contact chain in the media.

Everyone came to fulfil a gap; they came to fit in a place. And that is why the shit created such a stir, because there is not just only one of something anymore, but there are plenty of

them, so we can set a festival or a party just about this. In Chile it started to create this link, an artist's network that began to expand to different places around the world and it started to create connections [...] As we were very few at the beginning, it was difficult for the shit to boom. Now that we are a bigger group, people began to wonder 'what is happening in Chile? Many people are realizing music (Lizz cited in Molina, 2020, p. 192). (our translation)

Undoubtedly, there are certain Chilean trap singers that are more popular and recognized than others, but as Lizz mentioned above, there is space for most - if not all - of them. Pablo Chill-e, Ceaese, Polimá Westcoast, Drefquila, Guianluca, Paloma Mami and Princessa Alba are some of the most remarkable exponents of trap's national scene, they are internationally recognized, and their music have attracted the attention of multiple international record labels such as Warner Music, Sony Latin Music, La Vendicion, among others.

2.1.6 Code-switching

Code switching or language alternation has been one of the most studied phenomena throughout the bilingual sphere. Commonly described as the alternation of two or more grammatical structures of different codes or dialects, the main idea of code switching is way far from just the alternation of languages. In fact, a closer approach would be the Socio-Psychological, which according to Myer-Scotton (1997), it is the social and in-group study of the phenomenon the real motivation behind the switching of different codes.

The phenomenon described has been carefully studied, for quite some time. According to Wei (2000), the encounter of two (or more) bilinguals with "the same linguistic background and changes from one language to another in the course of conversation" (p. 13). This is his simpler impression of a code-switching ideal environment, which is close to the notion of Myer-Scotton (1997) about the in-group mode of communication, which is translated as the group identity behind the phenomenon.

Wei (2002) describes code-switching as an "extremely common practice among bilinguals and takes many forms" (p. 13). He points put that the phenomenon can occur in sentences, phrases, and words. On the other hand, Luna & Peracchio (2005) describes code-

switching as “the insertion of a foreign word or expression into a sentence [...] resulting in a mixed-language message” (p. 768).

Wei (2000) highlights the fact that code-switching “involves skilled manipulation of overlapping sections of two (or more) grammars.” (p. 14). Along with Myers-Scotton (1997), both claimed the proficiency of the bilinguals, but she cunningly adds the idea that bilinguals can consistently project grammatical frames according to the norms of their dialects. Therefore, both agree that ungrammatical combinations, regardless of bilingual ability, never occur. Another motivation that Wei (2000) explains is the suggestion of CS as “a discrete mode of speaking, emanating from a single code-switching grammar.” (p. 14). Myers-Scotton (1997) also refers to the social part of the “Production phenomenon subject to variation and is associated with cross-community differences in the saliency of relevant socio- and psycholinguistic factors.” (p. 231). Both authors rely on the environmental and social and social configuration of the phenomena.

Overall, it can be recognized as a long, unfinished work trying to understand a phenomenon that is extremely common among bilingual speakers. As it has been shown, code-switching is the skilled exchange of words, phrases, or sentences that move from one language to another. This phenomenon usually occurs in a community environment among speakers with a similar language background. Thus, its grammar is coherent and can be predicted (Myers-Scotton, 1997).

2.1.7 Lexical borrowing

The concept of lexical borrowing, also known as loanword, can be defined as a word that, at some moment in the history of a specific recipient language, was incorporated into its lexicon as a result of a borrowing from a donor language, as Haspelmath (2009) points out. This borrowing, according to the author, can be both “due to native speakers adopting elements from other languages into the recipient language” (p. 36) —i.e. adoption —or “whether they result from non-native speakers imposing properties of their native language onto a recipient language” —i.e. imposition (p. 36). Johanson (2002), in order to both avoid misunderstandings from the metaphorical point of view of the term borrowing and embrace

the diverse and multiple phenomena produced in language contact, prefers to use the concept of copying. Thus, in Johanson's words, the "elements inserted into a given contact-affected code are not taken to be identical with the originals, but just copies of them" (p. 249).

There are several reasons that can explain why lexical borrowing occurs, and most of them are conditioned by "functional, aesthetic, and social factors" (Miller, Poplack, & Sankoff, 1988). In this sense, among the social factors it was possible to find some puristic attitudes coming from the linguistic community of the recipient language, as well as different prestige levels given to the donor languages. Furthermore, Haspelmath (2009) proposes that there are also many cases of "culturally motivated borrowing" (p. 35), where cultural importations often go hand in hand with lexical importations in a straightforward way.

What makes lexical borrowing special is that, as its name explicitly says, it involves the incorporation of single words —i.e. lexemes —that are commonly unanalyzable units in the recipient language (Haspelmath, 2009, p. 37). Nevertheless, more often than not these individual words are both phonologically and morphologically adapted to conform with the patterns of the recipient language (Miller et al., 1988).

2.2 Lit review

After having reviewed the literature, it was found that there are no previous studies specifically devoted to the use of English in Chilean trap music. Nevertheless, it was possible to find some other studies that have put their attention in the use of English within the national boundaries but focused on one specific area. Thus, the scope of these works has been particularly devoted to the area of pedagogical studies, which mostly alternate between teachers training and curriculum innovation research, as it was demonstrated in the works of Batt & Díaz (2010) and Abrahams & Farias (2011), and pronunciation learning strategies and performance in pre-service English language teachers, as proposed in Veliz-Campos (2018).

The use of English in music from countries that, as same as Chile, are non-native speakers of English, is a phenomenon that has been largely studied during the last decades not only in many different parts of the world but also in more than one musical genre. Such has

been the case of Shinhee Lee (2004), who studied the linguistic hybridization of K-Pop music by addressing the English Korean mixing in this genre, and Moody (2006), who focused his work in the role of English within Japanese popular music. In the same sense, most of these articles which have implied the use of English in music have particularly focused their attention on the concept of code switching. These are the cases of Davies & Bentahila (2006) and Sarkar & Winer (2006), who both devoted their works to code switching in North African and Quebec Rap respectively, as well as the studies of Hok-shing Chan (2009), Babalola & Taiwo (2009), and Likhit Phongsathorn & Sappapan (2013) who, likewise the authors that were mentioned before, have worked with the concept of code switching by examining the presence of English in three different musical genres: Cantopop, Nigerian Hip Hop, and Thai Pop. In addition, a large number of studies were also found regarding Spanish-English code switching, but which were mainly framed in both educational and academic settings. In regard to what was mentioned above, Becker (2001) and Martínez (2014), for instance, have based their works on Spanish-English code switching in Mexican American classrooms. Brice (1998), on his side, has worked within an ESL classroom in order to determine the functional uses of code switching in both ESL teachers and students while learning English.

When it comes to trap music, the research spectrum seems to be a bit narrower if it is compared to the number of research mentioned above. Nevertheless, it was possible to find some articles which have worked with this emergent musical genre and its social approach. Kaluža (2018), on the one hand, tries to analyze the reasons why trap music has such a social impact in today's world by specifically highlighting its emancipatory potential. In the same way, Bravo (2018) examines the role of trap music in the youth identities which belong to marginalized groups. Similar articles were also found regarding both the social and gender approach of rap, which is considered, not least, as the father of trap music. One of those aforementioned corresponds to the recent work of Weitzer & Kubrin (2019), who addresses the concept of misogyny in Rap music by assessing the women's portrayal in 403 Rap songs.

CHAPTER III

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

3.1 Social Representations of people who do not listen to Chilean trap music about the use of English in Chilean trap

This section will be divided into the main topics found in the focus group of people who do not listen to trap music. Thus, each topic will be analyzed separately one from another, as well as supported by quotes extracted by the focus group aforementioned. In total, six topics were identified: (1) English as a political strategy; (2) English as a global supremacy and influence; (3) English as an aesthetic instrument in music; (4) English as an economic tool; (5) English as lingua franca; (6) The idea of rightful English.

3.1.1 English as a political strategy

There are different understandings and meanings about the political factors that come into play in language. Furthermore Joseph (2006) stipulated that when he mentioned politics language he means that:

It is not just in academic parlance that we find a broader application of the political to any situation in which there is an unequal distribution of power, and where individuals' behaviour reflects the play of power, or is guided (or maybe even determined) by it. But, as we shall see, few words are as contentious as power. (Joseph, 2006, p. 2)

Throughout the research it was expected to be found the topic about the political power of English, since historically the leading countries have promoted it as the language of power and its use has been related to international organizations/institutions, and in general to different trades. Furthermore, it is necessary to bear in mind that the conception of English as a political strategy is presented by the social actors as general notions and ideas about the power that are infringed by the countries which have English as L1. Following this idea, in regard to the analysis, it was possible to find several perceptions about this phenomenon: “Yo creo que es una razón estratégica igual. Y lo otro igual política po. Como decían antes, también está la influencia directa que tiene Estados Unidos en nosotros po.” (M. N). “I believe that it is a strategic reason, and also politics. As it was said before, there is the direct influence that the United States has over us.” (M. N) (our translation).

As it was established in the quote, it exists this belief that the use of English can be linked with the concept of strategy, since many social actors stipulated the influence and political power of the United States over the entire world and Chile respectively. Following this idea, it is important to mention that most of the social actors did not mention different countries which speak English as their first language, but U.S. This phenomenon may occur because of the political and cultural impact of this country, since the origin of trap music came from Atlanta, United States, with the fusion of rap, hip hop, and electronic music. Having said that, these notions about the use of English are one of the concepts that Kroskrity (2010) mentioned in his work, where the political and social factors create this language ideology which conditions the notion of the individuals about what is correct or appropriate in terms of the language itself, in order to promote and legitimate the political interests, specifically U.S concerns.

3.1.2 English as a global supremacy and influence

Several descriptions of the English language depict it as a universal language which has expanded worldwide throughout the last centuries, this feature is due to the political and economic hegemony of nations that have English as its native language such as Britain and especially the U.S.A nowadays (Crystal, 2003). It is well-known that English has been recognized as a dominant language due to the status it provides to its speakers above other existent linguistic systems (Phillipson, 1992) as it is stated by some interviewed people who don't listen to trap:

Más que nada yo creo que es por un estatus, así como sacar inglés así como, como yo creo, creerse superior al resto. (N. I)

I believe that it is because of status, it is like someone wants to feel that it is superior in comparison to other people, just by showing off his/her ability to speak English. (N. I) (our translation)

Yo creo que claramente se le asigna un valor mucho más importante al inglés que a otras lenguas. (M. N)

I believe that English receives more value than other languages. (M. N) (our translation)

This valuation has been also identified by non-native English speaker artists at such a level that several of them have started to include a variety of English words, expressions, phrases, etc., which are inserted in the lyrics of their musical creations. This characteristic is represented in terms of the access and possibilities that it magnifies to its speakers in order for them to potentially achieve to reach corners of the world, which they would not carry out otherwise just with the use of their native language. The above is expressed in the words of non-listeners of trap as it follows:

Es netamente un marketing para hacerse fama a nivel mundial ya que la lengua Anglo es lo más hablado a nivel mundial, es universal. (M. M)

It is only a marketing strategy to become worldwide famous, since the Anglo language is the most spoken one around the world, it is universal. (M. M) (our translation)

Como que el inglés es como accesible igual y es por, por lo que les decía hace un rato de cómo la influencia gringa y que quieren copiarle todo. (N. I)

English is accessible, and as I said before, it is because of the *gringa* influence, and how people want to copy everything from them. (N. I) (our translation)

In this sense, Anglocentricity is related to the idea of making English the one language that should be spoken by other cultures around the world (Phillipson, 1992). In other words, the imposition of English linguistic imperialism is narrowly bonded to the status and success of the English speaker territories and people who make use of the language.

In contrast to the idea of English as a hegemonic language which brings prestige and status to its users, a participant who was interviewed mentioned that there is another form of using this language in music, specifically in trap music, which is to mock at English and to the American culture:

Bueno es por la influencia de estados unidos totalmente, es como que estados unidos como lo que significa de partida, pa América en general porque ni siquiera es, cuando usan el inglés ni siquiera es como una burla hacia el inglés europeo, o el inglés de Australia, es burla específicamente al inglés de estados unidos. Entonces es como mofa específicamente de ese país en lo que significa, lo que significan ellos en el fondo, en nosotros, Chile y como

Latinoamérica. Entonces claro. Los usan a ellos en verdad como, como referente negativo o positivo. (C. A)

Well, it is due to the influence of the United States totally. It starts from what The United States means for America in general. Because when English is used it is not even a mock towards European English or Australian English, it is a mock specifically towards the English from The United States. Therefore, it is a mock specifically towards what that country actually represents, what their citizens really represent to us, to Chile and as Latin Americans. So yeah, they use them ultimately as referents either positive or negative ones. (C.A) (our translation)

Overall, there are a variety of factors which help to maintain the hegemony of English above other languages such as the hierarchy that it possesses which is ingrained in not only native speakers but also in non-native speakers, and its influence is supported by the political, economic, cultural and structural supremacy. Taking in consideration the participants' opinions, it is clearly expressed the idea that English is a benefit for artists in order to have a better status in the society, which is also related to the idea of becoming more famous in the trap musical scene. Despite the opinion of one participant which is related to the idea that trap artists make use of English with mocking intentions towards the hegemonic influence of the United States on the rest of the world, especially on Latin-American countries as the case of Chile, it is stated by most participants that English is considered a language that brings prestige, and it is hugely relevant worldwide in comparison to other existent languages.

3.1.3 English as an economic tool

Along the research it could be found that there were different aspects and factors which played an important role in spreading the English language, nevertheless, in words of Phillipson (1992) the economic, political, intellectual, and social have propelled English forward. (p. 6). In that sense, throughout the focus groups it appears the idea of English as an economic tool, since the social actors had the notion that English will benefit in different social matters, such as status, self-recognition and money. Furthermore, it is well-known that the music industry has been led by English singers, musicians. This is why it is possible to find this phenomenon in different genres around the world, such as K-pop, J-pop, Tai-pop,

Nigerian hip-hop, Canto-pop, and Quebec rap (Lee, 2004; Moody ,2006; Davies & Bentahila, 2006; Sarkar & Winer, 2006; Chan ,2009; Babalola & Taiwo, 2009; and Likhit Phongsathorn & Sappapan, 2013). These different genres follow similar patterns of Chilean trap music, in terms of linguistic borrowing, since it seems that in the case of J-pop and other non- western music, they tried to use the English language as a method of modernization, westernization (Philipson, 1992) and sophistication (Lee, 2004). Thus, this issue can be explained in the next quote: “The increasing influence of Western music on non-Western music either in music or lyrics are often connected to the issue of economic growth and modernity.” (Lee, p. 432)

Having said that, according to the social actors, they pointed out the possible reasons why English is used in Chilean trap music.

Es netamente un marketing para hacerse fama a nivel mundial ya que la lengua Anglo es lo más hablado a nivel mundial, es universal. (M. M)

It is only a marketing strategy to become worldwide famous, since the Anglo language is the most spoken one around the world, it is universal. (M. M) (our translation)

Yo en realidad creo que es porque vende no más, que en este caso el inglés vende más que otros idiomas. (R. H)

Personally, I think that it is because English can offer more economic profit. (R. H) (our translation)

Yo creo que en general todos lo hacen como por marketing, como para ver y enganchar un público nuevo o mostrar que pueden hacer o que manejan más idiomas. (N. C)

Generally, I think that everyone does this as a marketing method, to attract new audiences and to show what they can do or the fact that they are able to speak other languages. (N. C) (our translation)

Regarding these quotes, it can be seen that most of the social actors agreed with the notion that English is a good instrument to work with, in terms of promotion and publicity of singers and music. Furthermore, they see this language as a means to be renowned internationally. Taking into consideration both perspectives, academic and non-academic, it can be said that the social representation of English as an economic growth is internalized in people's mind, since as it

was pointed out in the Linguistic Imperialism section, the English dominance has been established by the stability of the countries and people who speak English. In this sense, there is the dominance of the British culture because of its empire, and the dominance of the United States because of its culture and economic power.

3.1.4 English as lingua franca

The concept of lingua franca, often defined as a contact language between people who do not mutually have a common mother tongue and use English as the chosen foreign language for communication (Firth, 1996, cited in Nagy, 2016) —or in simpler words, just as a common language (Crystal, 2003)— can be directly connected to the major concept of Linguistic Imperialism previously exposed. From the earliest expeditions, the British Empire began to expand throughout the world, just as its official language did. Thus, and due to both the constant domination and expansion of the English-speaking countries, English language has spread not only among native speakers but also in non-native ones. Nowadays, this idea of a common language which could hopefully be spoken in every part of the world has been supported even by major international political and economic entities, such as the UN and the European Free Trade Association, as Crystal (2003) states.

When it comes to what was found in this research, it was exposed that the belief of English as a lingua franca is, most of the time, hardly and clearly supported by people who do not listen to trap. As quoted below, for instance, this idea is not only explicitly portrayed, but also considered as the only, unique way that exists in regard to a global communication: “Estamos viviendo en un mundo cada vez más globalizado con nuevas formas de comunicación, y en todo orden de cosas es necesario en inglés, te guste o no, porque esa es la lengua que se adoptó universal y no queda de otra” (J. F). “We are living in an increasingly globalized world with new forms of communication, and in every order of things English is necessary, whether you like it or not, because that is the language that was adopted as universal” (J. F) (Our translation).

Very similarly, many participants considered English as the language that can help singers in massing their work by reaching both more geographical territory and listeners.

Thus, English is seen as the lingua franca unquestionably spoken in that foreign country in which the music will be hopefully listened to, as the quotes below show:

Sabe el inglés al revés y al derecho lo que la puede hacer llegar más lejos creo yo a un público mucho más amplio. (J. F)

She knows English very well, which can make her go further I think, to a wider audience. (J. F) (our translation)

Si una canción se mezcla con el inglés igual puede salir como al extranjero [...]. (R. H)

If a song is mixed with English, it can go abroad. (R. H) (our translation)

Finally, the use of English as a lingua franca in Chilean trap songs is also connected to the idea of considering it as a quick expansion tool. Thus, some participants see the use of English as a way to make the process of massification both quicker and easier, as shown below:

Creo que sea en inglés igual va a ayudar a que se masifique más rápido. (N. C)

I think that by being [written/spoken] in English will help to massify it faster. (N. C) (Our translation)

Me imagino que con ese idioma tan hablado es fácil llegar a más lugares po. (M. N)

I imagine that with that language, which is widely spoken, it is easier to reach more places. (M. N) (Our translation)

In regard to what has been exposed, the concept of English as a lingua franca is clearly identified in the thoughts of people who do not listen to trap music. Thus, the idea of English as a global language is first supported when considering it the unique language which will be used for a future global communication; secondly, and closely connected to the point just mentioned, participants also see English as a way to expand both the geographical and musical boundaries due to its global use; finally, the idea of taking English as a facilitator and as a quick expansion tool was also found throughout the analysis.

3.1.5 English as an aesthetic instrument in music

The aesthetic of English in Spanish songs may come from two different aspects, firstly we have the social assimilation with wealth and the correlation between English and power, and finally the code-switching phenomena.

Wealth in trap music is a permanent subject of lyrics and music videos. According to Kaluža (2018), there is a “trap-identification” that he related to the music industry which masificated and popularized trap music. In addition, Fischer (2009) points out the premise that the capitalist model influences and connects wellbeing with feeling fulfilled by the act of acquiring objects. English has a direct link with the idea of breaking the poverty cycle. The appearance of English in Chilean trap adds prestige into the ghetto music. One of the opinions that rises during the interviews is the added value to the lyrics and English as an aesthetic instrument: “yo creo que claramente se le asigna un valor mucho más importante al inglés que a otras lenguas.” (M. N), “I think it is clear that English is better valued than other languages.” (M. N) (Our translation) Here lies the predominance of English as a dominant language.

On the other hand, the use of English as a stylistic aspect of trap, as code-switching phenomena, relates the language alternation between Spanish (as the dominant language) and English (the subordinate language). Li Wei (2000) explains that the grammar displayed by speakers have different roles: while one language controls the grammar, the second just adds semantic items that fit into the sentence. In the case of trap music, the items that are fit into the Spanish lyrics are usually seen on the interviews as a random addition: “quizás lo hacen porque les da justo como en la canción... ah estoy armando la canción ah pongamos algo, ya pongamos en inglés.”(R. H), “maybe they do that because it fits perfectly into the song... oh I’m writing the song, let’s put something in English” (R. H) (Our translation). Fluency is not exactly the only aspect raised up, even a few English words would make the trick in order to fulfil the aesthetic:

De hecho, como que suena súper bien po. O sea calza, y le da como estilo igual. Igual yo creo que eso es un factor. Como que meterle inglés entremedio ayuda a, no sé, como que cada uno tiene su forma de trapear y cantar en las pistas, y de repente esas palabritas en inglés suenan entretenidas cachai. (M. N) (our translation)

In fact, it is like it sounds better, I mean it fits, and adds style. I think it is a factor. It is like putting English in between helps to... I don't know, everyone has its own trapping and singing preferences and an English word is interesting. (M. N) (our translation)

The quote above shows the mere mention of English would make it more attractive or catchy, even though when people were asked the reason for English to be in a Spanish rooted song, the interviewed mentioned that “Y nosotros lo hacemos porque yo creo que lo hacemos porque suena bien” (R. H), “we do it because, I think it sounds good” (R. H) (our translation). The conclusion may be the stylistic and simply aesthetic of an overrated importance of English.

To sum up, the use of English in Chilean trap as an aesthetic resource can be lowered down to two main reasons. The first one is related to power and wealth, two aspects that may be associated with Capitalism and the international value of English. The second and final point is the perception of code switching as an ability, that arises in the aesthetic use of English at the moment of writing the lyrics making them more appealing.

3.1.6 The idea of rightful use of English

As it was previously mentioned, language ideologies influence the speakers' ideas about the several conceptions of language regarding their native language and also about other tongues (Silverstein, 1979). That is to say that speakers have certain beliefs about how they conceive the appropriate use of a specific linguistic system which are built upon by social, cultural, political, and economic structures. A linguistic ideology becomes more powerful when speakers internalize an appraisal about the different forms and expressions of a language (Kroskrity, 2010).

It is evident that English as it is catalogued as a dominant language falls under this preconception due to both the economic powerhouses which English native speaking countries embody and also the huge total number of individuals who use this specific language around the globe (Phillipson, 1992). In addition, it is established among the speakers the idea of a standard register that controls and imposes a supposedly proper usage of the English language. According to Joseph (2006):

The impulse to police the form of the language in terms of standardness of accent, vocabulary and lexicon, is culturally inseparable from the impulse to police the borders of the language – what is and isn't English – and blends unsettlingly into the impulse to police thought as expressed in language. (p. 12)

There are some cases, as in below, in which individuals may believe that a valid and correct use of English is part of a standard register that should include a rightful use of conditioning elements such as: pronunciation, grammar, vocabulary and accent in order to be socially acceptable:

Tiene que tener buena pronunciación para que se entienda lo que él quiere decir. (M. M)

It has to have good pronunciation in order to actually understand what he wants to say. (M. M) (our translation)

Yo encuentro que cuando uno quiere cantar una canción en inglés tiene que hacerlo lo mejor posible sino mejor no hacerlo porque no va a llegar al público que quiere llegar. (S. M)

I believe that when someone wants to sing a song in English one has to do as well as possible, or better just do not do it because it is not going to reach the audience that it wants to reach out to. (S. M) (our translation)

On the other hand, if the register is considered as non-standard, along the lines of an appropriate use of the language, it often provokes social rejection and embarrassment within the social community because it is perceived as an attempt to have the enough knowledge to manage a language that it is catalogued as prestigious which might bring them up to a higher level of status among other individuals. Pennycook (2017) goes in depth with the perception of the native speaker implications by claiming that the learning and use of a level of the language which is considered as the proper one is bound to preserve economic interests and also conditions that impulse power and prejudice towards the whole possible variety of English speakers, which reinforces the assumptions of the authority privilege regarding the native speaker condition which is linked with a specific version of language ideology and usually tied to particular racial formations as well.

Some of these conceptions are expressed by some non-listeners of trap in the following lines:

Pero la cosa es que la loca igual suena como nativa. Entonces me gusta como lo canta, como lo habla. Le sale súper natural, entonces no se escucha como que da vergüenza ajena cuando la escuchai. (N. X)

But the thing is that the girl actually sounds as native. So, I like how she sings it, how she talks it. It is very natural; therefore, it does not sound cringy when you are listening to her. (N. X) (our translation)

Cuando uno no sabe hacer algo y lo quiere hacer como para aparentar o en este caso para cantar o hablar en inglés uno igual se ve como ridículo. Si lo estai haciendo mal mejor no hacerlo, entonces igual da un poco como de vergüenza ajena si lo hacen mal. (N. C)

When someone does not know how to do something and wants to do so just to pretend or in this case to sing and speak English, that person looks ridiculous. If you are doing something poorly done it is better just not doing it. So, it is actually cringe if they do it wrong. (N. C) (our translation)

There is a belief according to one non-trap listener regarding the idea of stigmatization of an allegedly inappropriate speech, which is reinforced by the idea that the speakers who use English as a second language and speak what is catalogued as rightful form of English are considered as more successful people by the members of the society.

Sipo, le sirvió a ella hablar en inglés, hacer una canción con la facilidad que ella tiene de que es su idioma nativo creo supongo, le sirvió porque a fin de cuentas enganchó hartó, como que la hizo destacar a varios otros que estaban polulando tratando de hacer lo mismo. (J. F)

Yes, it worked for her to speak English, to make a song with the easiness that she owns as it is her native language, I suppose. It worked because at the end of the day it had very much engagement, It made her stand out from many others that were rambling, trying to do the same. (J. F) (our translation)

To sum up, the languages ideologies expressed by the participants in the current research belong to the notion of English as a dominant language, which not only imposes the belief that speaking this language usually grants a certain degree of prestige, but also reinforces the idea that someone who perfectly manages a register which is catalogued as a

legitimate one, accomplishes to be conceived as more successful, in terms of what is socially accepted by conventions that are conditioned by political, economic, cultural, social and moral interests.

3.2. Social Representations of people who listen to Chilean trap music about the use of English in Chilean trap

Similarly, with regard to the last categorizations, the following section will be divided into a variety of topics that were taken from the focus group of people who listen to Chilean trap music. Thus, each group will be analyzed separately one from another, as well as supported by quotes excerpted from the focus group aforementioned. In total, seven topics were identified: (1) English as a global supremacy and influence; (2) English as an aesthetic instrument in music; (3) English as an economic tool; (4) English as a lingua franca; (5) The idea of rightful English; (6) Pedagogical implications in the use of English; (7) Linguistic borrowing.

3.2.1 English as a global supremacy and influence

Many authors have contributed to establish and enrich the notion of linguistic imperialism. Among them, Crystal (2003) stipulated the notion of English as a global language, which basically highlights the global relevance and powerful position of English above other existent languages. Another important concept regarding this topic is the one given by Makoni & Pennycook (2006) who review the construction and development of English as a hegemonic language throughout history. The participants approached and recognized both notions: the global and hegemonic features of English. Also, they characterized the language addressed as dominant as it follows:

Creo que el inglés es dominante, sobre todo aquí en Latino America como los occidentales cachai. (F. A)

I think that English is dominant, moreover here in Latin America as the western countries you know. (F. A) (our translation)

Igual yo creo que, igual las canciones que yo escucho tienen como inglés-español, o sea no es como que tampoco se adentran a más idiomas, yo creo que más que nada porque el inglés es como el idioma principal hablado a nivel mundial. (A. M)

I think that the songs which I listen to have English- Spanish, so they do not get into more languages. I believe this is mostly because English is the principal language spoken worldwide. (A. M) (our translation)

The speakers consider the language in reference as dominant as it has been mentioned above, in terms of linguistic imperialism, which is defined by Galtung (1980) as a hegemonic power of a society mentioned by Phillipson (1992). In other words, the term hegemony demonstrates a relation of domination and subordination of one particular social group over other or others. This type of domination brings with it economic and cultural aspects which confront the traditions and habits that the individuals of the dominated countries have acquired and established throughout their history.

Cultural imperialism manifests, hence, when the culture of a central and dominant country imposes unilaterally over peripheral countries which the former domains at disposal of their cultural integrity, that means, the influence of developed countries is focused on economic and cultural aspects (González and Vilorio, 2007, p. 156) (our translation)

This may be exemplified when participants mentioned in one instance that English is in a dominant position in Latin-American, in economic, cultural and political terms. Furthermore, it is also mentioned that this hegemonic relation goes even further when it is pointed out that this dominative structure has been spread worldwide.

Following this line, participants claimed that the spreading of English's global supremacy will eventually succumb to other languages notwithstanding the number of individuals who make use of other languages, until English becomes the only valid linguistic system for humanity to make use of.

Creo que es triste pero eventualmente esos idiomas y esas raíces van a morir, y todos vamos a ser una humanidad completa, y hay que ir dejando atrás lamentablemente esos otros pueblos originarios, o idiomas más nativos. Creo que es triste, pero creo que eventualmente va a pasar. (F. A)

I think it is sad, but eventually those languages and those roots are going to die, and all of us will turn into a whole humanity, and pitifully we must be letting behind those other indigenous communities, or more native languages. I think it is sad but I believe that eventually it is going to happen. (F. A) (our translation)

Crystal (2003) stated that English has established its current global status due to both the expansion of British colonial power that began during the sixteenth century, and the rising of the United States as the most powerful military force and therefore economic powerhouse during the twentieth century to nowadays. This idea is reassured by participants' claims which are related to the recognition of the influence that United States has nowadays towards itself and the rest of the people by means of a globalizing process which it is spread and perpetuated through the media, the press, advertising, broadcasting, cinema, popular music, and education.

También yo creo que es parte de la evolución y de la moda de lo que es y de la influencia que tiene Estados Unidos en nosotros. La moda porque no sé, desde mi perspectiva yo creo que es como un gran exponente y varios como que aspiran a eso, como que la transición que hace como que lo ven como un gran exponente. (M. I. G)

I also think that it is part of the evolution and of the fashion that The United States is and the influence which it has on us. The fashion because I do not know, from my perspective I believe that it is a great exponent and many people aspire to it, the transition that it does somehow makes them see it as a great exponent. (M. I. G) (our translation)

The participant exposes the United States as the biggest exponent in terms of imposition of fashions and trends among consumers. Therefore, many artists tend to aspire on replicating the patterns which come from this powerhouse's influence. For that reason, these artists who are dedicated to trap music have incorporated some of these cultural items, not only into fashion and trends, but also in the use of English language within their lyrics. In words of Crystal (2003) given the extraordinary international character of the English-language pop music world in the 2000's, in order to break through into the international scene and grab worldwide recognition, singers seem to need to be singing in English.

To sum up, English as a dominant language is capable of imposing itself in every corner of the world by spreading its hegemonic influence in terms of political, economic,

military and cultural power. The extension of this influence through time could be capable, to some extent, of leaving behind and eventually erasing the use of other languages by individuals. In addition, the use of English is a key element for trap artists as it gives them a tool to obtain a type of status and to develop their musical careers aiming for international success and recognition. It is believed that usually these artists will not achieve most of these elements just by using their native language in the lyrics of their songs.

3.2.2 English as an aesthetic instrument in music

One of the many features that has been raised up is the use of English in Chilean trap as an esthetic instrument. The increasing use of English worldwide has also affected the Chilean music industry. According to Kaluža (2018) the root of trap came from a coalition between the ghetto lifestyle and the opportunity to climb up the social ladder, which is the main subject of the current urban music. In that sense, the Latin American adaptation may vary from the US style in some essential points: first, in the stylistic incorporation of English in places where English is rarely spoken; and secondly the idea of pursuing the American Dream, led by the very same language.

The status of English can be reflected in the way people have accepted Spanglish, even when the grammatical rules are not followed, or the speaker is not “proficient enough”:

El espanglish sobre todo [...] que ese tema como de armonizar como una misma oración, a veces no tiene como sentido gramaticalmente, pero sí como un recurso estético tiene que ver con el tema de la rima, y es algo ingenioso demuestra creatividad, demuestra habilidades de rimar del idioma que sea, independiente de que uno lo maneje o no, así que el espanglish en el trap lo encuentro bacán y ojala que se siga haciendo. (M. G) (our translation)

The spanglish specially [...], the idea of harmonizing in the same sentence, sometimes they do not necessarily follow grammatical order, but as an aesthetic resource in rhymes. It is something innovative and shows creativity, it represents rhyming skills between any language, leaving aside if you do or do not speak the language. Therefore, the spanglish in trap is great and I hope they keep doing it. (M. G) (our translation)

The rhyming skill has been highly mentioned. trap music comes from a combination between hip-hop and electronic music (Molina, 2020), therefore the rhyming in trap comes from a music style known by its lyrics and the way that the words rhythmically fuse with the music (Cambridge, 2020). In the Chilean trap this phenomena is clearly highlighted, “aparte a veces como que mezclan todo, hacen rimar palabras en inglés con el español y yo creo que queda bacan.” (A. M), “Sometimes they like to mix everything, they rhyme English words with Spanish, and I think it sounds great” (A. M) (our translation)

Following the rhythmical aspect of Chilean trap, an addition has been made. The prestige of English as a dominant language has been clearly pointed out. Altogether the amalgama of both aspects conceived the earnest assimilation of a positive perception of Spanglish.

Yo igual creo que es porque suena mucho mejor, osea a veces uno cuando rima le tirai una palabra en inglés y suena mucho mejor la frase, [...] igual, donde surgió el trap es alla en norteamerica entonces, ellos hablan inglés, entonces uno empezó a escucharlos a ellos, entonces colocar una frase en ingles suena más pulento yo creo. (L. Q)

I think it is because it sounds much better, I mean, sometimes when oneself rhyme, you put an English words and the phrase sounds better, [...] and were it came from the trap started in north america, they speak English, so we started listening them, and I think putting an English phrase sound way cooler. (L. Q) (our translation)

Few participants claimed that English words could make titles and lyrics stand up. “El [...] inglés en las canciones los títulos de las canciones están en inglés entonces igual le da el toque como que resalta” (M. G), “They are using English on songs and titles are in English, so it adds a spark and rise above” (M. G). Other interesting insight is the possibility of using English as a mean to get known and push the barriers: “que es un recurso estético interesante o también puede ser como una buena estrategia para derribar estas barreras y abrirse nuevas puertas [...]” (M. G) “it is a fascinating aesthetic tool, or maybe it can be a good strategy to go beyond the brothers and open some doors” (M. G) (our translation)

As a conclusion we were able to identify different aspects in which aesthetic may be a tool present in the use of English in trap. Firstly, the use of rhyme, secondly the

musicality and the use to highlight or to attract attention to the genre and the lyrics. Thirdly the ability to expand the possible listener by using English as a mass media relation.

3.2.3 English as an economic tool

Among people who listen to Chilean trap music, likewise, people who do not listen to Chilean trap music, it appeared the language ideology of English as an economic tool. Thus, most of the social actors agreed that English is something that allows people to succeed in the professional and non-professional aspect. In this sense, according to Joseph (2006) the idea of studying and learning a language depends on the educational and economic opportunities that offer the language; in this case English which is a language that has reached its power throughout the history. Having established this notion, there is no doubt that the perspective of the English language as an economic power is intrinsic, since in words of Joseph (2006), globally speaking, nowadays English is linked with an economic advantage. In that sense, as it was mentioned in (section 2.1.3), according to Kroskrity (2010) language ideology represents the language's perception of a specific social group, and these ideas are influenced by political and moral factors, and they are shaped in a cultural setting. As it was mentioned before, it seems that most of the social actors, who listen to Chilean trap music, agreed with these ideas, and they commented the following:

Es raro pensar que es como porque es aspiracional cachai, yo igual pienso así, pero es triste es triste pensar que uno tiene que aspirar así a ser un negro gringo con los dientes de oro, pero si creo que va para alla. (F. A)

It is weird to think that is aspirational, you know, I do think in the same way, but it is sad, it is sad to think that someone has to be a black “gringo” with golden teeth but I do believe that goes beyond. (F. A) (our translation)

Yo creo que por la fama igual po. Por hacerse más conocido pa afuera po [...] Pero yo creo que por eso es po, porque así podí hacerte conocido en otros países y como ir creciendo en fama po. Si igual yo creo que eso es lo que busca la gente que hace música, sobre todo en estos ritmos. No creo que quieran quedarse en el under todo el rato, si igual las lucas mandan y la fama envicia. (C. S)

I think that is because of the fame, to be renowned around the world [...] I think that the use of English is because someone can be renowned in other countries and gaining popularity. That is what singers or musicians are looking for, mostly in this genre. I do not believe that they want to remain in the underground of music, because money runs the world and fame makes people greedy. (C. S) (our translation)

In respect of these two quotes, it was shown how the social actors have internalized the importance of using English to achieve recognition and success in the music industry, moreover they recognized the hegemonic power of English and its influence in the world, and as it was stated by Crystal (2003) most of the time “a language is accepted from outside the community, such as English or French, because of the political, economic, or religious influence of a foreign power.” (Crystal, 2003, p. 11) In that respect, this means that even if people do not have English as their mother tongue, they recognize the status that this language represents in every country, and this phenomenon could be seen along the last two quotes, since they talked about the notion of English as a means to gain popularity and/or fame, and mostly they linked English with money, acknowledging the power that English can provide by using it in this type of music.

Furthermore, it was interesting to find the connection that most of the social actors made between fame and being a black American with golden teeth, this might represent the personification of the United States’ culture, since as it was mentioned in the Theoretical Framework, (section 2.1.5), trap music comes from the United States as a subgenre of Hip Hop music, having lyrics that were characterized by flaunting the richness of their success. Similarly, it was possible to find in the secondary source, (see Appendix section, table of songs’ lyrics), that most of the songs refer to topics that were related to money and what the trap singers have achieved in this industry, indeed, they boasted their achievements by mentioning the following English lexical items: Bling, bank, lambo top, money top chasing money, counting money like mad; I got gold in my eyes, among others. In that connection, these features of trap music can have an impact on the perception of people about the use of English in Chilean trap songs, since they consider that Chilean trap singers use English as a method of making money and gaining the same fame as the North American singers possessed.

Conversely, in the same focus group of people who listen to Chilean trap music, it appeared the notion that the capitalist system has promoted the use of English in Chile, even though this country has a neoliberalist economic system. Nonetheless, there were other ideas that appeared about the use of English, that claimed the following: “Yo creo que igual se da más para el inglés porque es la consecuencia del sistema capitalista que tenemos, cachai.” (F. A) “I believe that the use of English is more common because of the capitalist system that we have, you know.” (F. A) (our translation)

In that sense, it can be inferred that among people there is still this conception that the capitalist system is closely connected with the United States which represents the economic power and influence around the world. By the same token, Crystal (2003) established the following idea:

During the twentieth century, this world presence was maintained and promoted almost single-handedly through the economic supremacy of the new American superpower. Economics replaced politics as the chief driving force. And the language behind the US dollar was English. (p. 10)

Taking into consideration this quote, it can be explained why English has been seen as an economic tool, since this language is led by the hegemonic power of the U.S. That is why this language and its influence have been accepted outside the country, since the economic supremacy of the United States has positioned English as a worldwide language leader.

3.2.4 English as a lingua franca

English has emerged, as Nagy (2016) proposes, as a lingua franca frequently used by millions of speakers in order to engage in a conversation with each other, no matter their nationality and/or mother tongue. This idea, previously shared among participants who do not listen to Chilean trap music, was also present and largely identifiable in the thoughts of Chilean trap listeners. Thus, similar representations were found in regard to considering English as a shared, global language spoken among people with different first languages. In that sense, for instance, participants directly assumed that, after 30 years, people from all over the world will be speaking a single universal language in order to communicate. Furthermore,

they also propose that this universal language will be, without any doubts or surprises, English:

Siento que eventualmente todos, no sé po, en 30 años todos van hablar un idioma y ojalá sea así [...] como que eventualmente todos vamos hablar un idioma como universal y creo que el inglés es ese idioma universal. (F. A)

I feel that eventually, I don't know, in thirty years, everybody will speak one language, and I hope it will be like that [...] It is like, eventually, we will all speak a universal language, and I believe that English is that language. (F. A) (our translation)

This sort of natural conception about English as a universal, unique spoken language can be explained, according to Pennycook (2017), due to the colonial expansion that has been mostly seen as a result of inevitable global forces. Thus, people have not really realized the political history behind this misconception, and on the contrary, naively assume the domination imposed by the institutions and the governments that have largely promoted it. Some other participants, very similarly to what was exposed in the previous quote, also believe and assume the notion of English as a lingua franca. For instance, participants proposed that the mere fact of including English in their music —or in this specific case, in their songs' titles— will not only reach those listeners who speak or belong to an English-speaking country, but will also produce a particular interest on them, as shown in the two following quotes:

El título de las canciones en inglés, entonces igual puede darse el caso de que una persona que su idioma nativo sea el inglés vea el título, entre y le guste y quiera escuchar a los artistas o quiera traducir la letra al inglés y cosas así [...] entonces sí creo que ayuda de gran manera a la masificación de las canciones. (M. G)

The song titles in English, so it could happen that a person whose native language is English, looks at the title, enters, and wants to listen to the artists, or wants to translate the lyrics into English and stuffs like that [...] so I do believe that it helps in a great manner to the songs' massification. (M. G) (our translation)

Los nascar eehh son 16 temas creo, 14 tienen título en inglés, entonces yo creo que son igual palabras en inglés como hell = infierno, honey = cariño she call me = ella me llama... igual son palabras que a lo mejor alguna persona con su idioma principal, el inglés, lo ve y dice a

ver voy a entrar y escucha palabras en inglés y va a buscar la letra para ponerse en contexto de la canción. (A. M)

The nascar mmm they are sixteen songs I think, fourteen of them have their titles in English, so I believe that are words like hell = infierno, honey = cariño, she call me = ella me llama... they are words that a person whose native language is English will see and will listen to the words in English, and will also look for the lyrics so he/she can contextualize the song. (A. M) (our translation)

By stating that individual lexical pieces are added in their songs' titles —rather than writing complete songs in English— it is clearly demonstrated that language is not playing its expected, communicative role, but rather being used as a way to engage the reader. The two paragraphs afore exposed, therefore, can be seen under the notion of the socio-political function of language. Thus, English is considered as a prestige tool, or in Pennycook (2017) words, as a “gatekeeper to social and economic progress” (p. 13) by Chilean trap singers.

In addition, there were also other participants who assumed that by using English, the artists and/or their songs will both gain recognition and be listened to abroad, regardless of whether these foreign countries are English-speaking or not. Furthermore, the notion that using English as a way to break some national boundaries and thus open new doors —possibly referring to foreign countries— is also identifiable in the quotes shown below.

Pa hacerse conocer más por así decirlo, como en el extranjero. (C. S)

In order to become more known, like, abroad (C. S) (our translation)

Como decían eso te hace llegar a oídos, no sé, más extranjeros [...] Entonces yo encuentro que es muy bueno, es muy bueno complementar el inglés con el español. (P. C)

As they were saying, it makes you get more people, I don't know, foreigners [...] so I think that it is very good, it is very good to complement English with Spanish. (P. C) (our translation)

Puede ser como una buena estrategia para derribar estas barreras y abrirse nuevas puertas [...] (M. G)

It can be like a good strategy to break down these barriers and open new doors [...] (M. G)
(our translation)

In accordance with the participants' words above, then, English seems to be ubiquitously embedded in international local contexts, as proposed by Pennycook (2017). Last but not least, there was also a participant who, unlike the rest and what has been previously mentioned in this section, did not consider English as this future global language that will be adopted as universal around the world. On the contrary, the participant proposes that the use of Spanish in Chilean trap music will continue and that it will not be replaced by English at all. Furthermore, he also highlights and exemplifies the case of Puerto Rico, which despite having English as a second language, continues to produce music in Spanish.

No creo que se deje de cantar en español. Ni en Puerto Rico pasa. Desde el reggaeton, el raggamuffin o el rap, y ahora el trap, ellos aún siguen cantando en español, y eso que los puertorriqueños hablan inglés también. (J. Z)

I don't think they will stop singing in Spanish. Not even in Puerto Rico it happens. From reggaeton, raggamuffin or rap, and now trap, they still continue to sing in Spanish, and Puerto Ricans speak English too. (J. Z) (our translation)

As a summary of what has been exposed, it is clear that most of the participants believe in the idea of a common global language shared by speakers with different mother tongues. Because of that reason, English enjoys a position of universality which generally makes it a sort of expansion tool. Thus, most people see English as an opportunity to reach more people and places by considering it a language spoken by speakers who, as Jenkins (2019) proposes, come from different lingua cultural backgrounds. In this sense, there is the notion that people from all over the world are actually able to speak and understand English.

3.2.5 The idea of rightful English

Among trap listeners, there are certain preconceptions about what is and what is not considered appropriate regarding non-native speakers of English making use of the language when it comes to writing trap song lyrics or employing expressions which belong to

English-speaking cultures. What was previously mentioned is directly related with Kroskritis' (2010) claims about language ideologies, in the sense that there are certain uses of the language which individuals could find to be acceptable in particular contexts. Following this line, a participant expresses that there are evident prejudices in the trap musical industry around the non-native speakers using English instead of their first language.

[...] si somos chilenos los que estamos hablando, exceptuando a paloma mami, es como raro porque nosotros no hablamos inglés acá po. Osea no es que lo odie ni nada pero como que siento que no es como muy nativo po. Pero yo creo que ponerle un chileno como inglés a la letra, es como muy porque está copiando o no cacho por qué, porque el inglés no es como nuestro po. Igual el mundo en sí se está globalizando. Estamos todos viviendo los mismos dramas y todo, pero no tenemos la misma lengua, aunque queramos. Así que más que nada por eso[...]. (C. H)

[...] If we are Chilean who are speaking, excluding Paloma Mami, It seems weird, because we do not speak English here. I mean it is not that I hate it or something, but I feel it is not very native. But I think that if Chilean people make use of English in their lyrics it is because they are imitating and I do not why, because English language does not belong to us. At the same time, the world itself is becoming globalized. All of us are living the same issues and everything, however we do not have the same language, even if we want to. So it is mostly because of that [...] (C. H) (our translation)

According to this point of view, English language is something that does not belong to Chilean culture, as it does not correspond to its native language. Therefore, when trap artists make use of this linguistic system it seems that they are trying to make a copy from original artists who are native speakers of English. This idea is reinforced with a statement about how other individuals' question (M. G) use of English. “[...]a veces igual te preguntan pero por qué todo en ingles, si tu lengua nativa es el español, entonces yo igual pensaba lo mismo [...]” (M. G) “[...] Sometimes people actually ask you why is it everything in English if your native language is Spanish, so I used to think the same [...]” (M. G) (our translation)

Regarding the previous statement, linguistic ideologies correspond to representations which are constructed by users of the language, and they may or may not be aware of their own internalization of those ideologies. On the other hand, what is clear, according to Kroskritis (2010) is that the use of a particular language ideology serves as a

conditioner to conceptualizations of discourse itself, in this context, speakers decide what is and what is not rightful about language use, and finally these conceptualizations have the purpose to promote, protect, and legitimate social and political-economic interests of the language community from which the corresponding language ideology comes from. In this case, it is expressed that the participant's own use of English language which is not its native tongue has been questioned. This judgement is explained by the common ideology that the nation-language relation is unexchangeable between speakers of different languages, and that only native speakers have the right to speak and sing in English. In other words, if you are Chilean, you are supposed to sing only in Spanish, as it corresponds to your native language.

3.2.6 Pedagogical implications in the use of English

In regard to the process of learning and teaching a second language, it is important to take into consideration the studies carried out by Phillipson (1992) about English linguistic imperialism, in which it is stated that the language power has been developed through different factors, such as ELT (English language teaching), academic, cultural, economic, and political factors. Nevertheless, apart from the traditional factors that promote the English power, Phillipson (1992) declared that there were additional ways in which English linguistic imperialism can be achieved, in this sense, he mentioned three different cultural activities which help with the advance of English as the language of power, for instance, films, videos and television.

Having said that, following the idea of the media as a means to promote the importance of learning a certain language, Crystal (2003) added that there were a wide variety of cultural matters that can contribute to the advance of English, such as the press, advertising, broadcasting, and popular music, among others. Regarding the importance of music in spreading the language, Crystal (2003) pointed out that the dominance of English in popular music is mainly because of the extension that radio can reach around the world. Furthermore, people tend to have their first experience with English through this means.

Having said that, one of the aspects that could be found in the focus groups of the people who listen to trap music, it was how they use music as a method of learning a second language, in this case English.

No igual queda bacan que le pongan inglés, osea asi igual uno... a veces yo igual leo las letras de las canciones, y así también después entiendo yo el contexto también... y aprendo qué significan las palabras, el contexto que tienen en la misma canción. (A. M)

It is cool that they add English in their songs, I mean, I sometimes read the lyrics' songs, and afterwards, I learn the context and also what the words mean in that context. (A. M) (our translation)

Sí aprendo, porque pucha si escucho una canción y no conozco un término que no utilizan lo busco y me informo sobre eso, entonces eso igual me sirve caleta pa aprender. (M. G)

Yes, I do learn, because if I listen to a song and I do not know the meaning of the word that they use, I look it up, so in that sense that helps me a lot to learn. (M. G) (our translation)

[...] Creo que es bacan y que ojalá más gente se atreviera y también se enseñará más poh y también el tema de que uno busca la letra cuando te llama la atención también es una herramienta de aprendizaje poh y uno así aprende otros idioma. (M. G)

[...] I think that is cool and I wish more people would be brave enough to learn English and also it should be taught properly, and also when you look up the lyrics of those songs, this can be a different method of learning another language. (M. G) (our translation)

Taking into consideration the opinions given by the social actors above, most of them believed that it is helpful to hear English in trap music, since it is an innovative and interesting way to learn a language, outside of the academic, usual context. Additionally, it seems that for them this method of learning is easy and accessible, since it does not require much time, it can be adapted to the interest of the listener, and it represents an informal, day-to-day, English. Furthermore, it is accessible since the technology can be used as a medium to acquire new vocabulary, and it is affordable for everyone.

In addition, following the view of the use of technology in the process of learning, Crystal (2003) mentioned the ways in which a language can be spread, nowadays there are several options that are more accessible for people. In this regard, technology allows the entertainment industry to produce a worldwide impact. For that reason, nowadays, the younger generations have more and more contact with a variety of languages. Moreover, this phenomenon was mentioned by the social actors in which they expressed their opinion about the use of English in music, specifically about the impact of it.

Yo creo que esto ayuda a conectar con audiencias más nuevas, porque siento que los niños son mucho más cercanos a distintos idiomas cachai, yo igual creo que estoy viejo y pah mí no fue tan fácil tener cercanía como mi hermano tiene con el inglés cachai. (F. A)

I believe this helps to connect with a younger audience, since children have more access to different languages, you know, and I am old and for me it was not easy to have the access that my brother has with English. (F. A) (our translation)

Taking into consideration the role that technology has played in the process of learning or acquiring a new language, according to the opinion of the social actor, it can be established that the invention of new devices, social medias, and applications such as Spotify, iCloud, YouTube, Instagram, Facebook and Snapchat can connect people with the rest of the world, and it implies a new and innovative method of learning a language. Because of that reason, perhaps the new generations have more access to experience new languages than the older one. Additionally, apart from the important role that technology have been playing in the process of acquiring a new language, it must be said that motivation has also been transcendental in this process, and there are a wide variety of factors which can motivate a person to learn a new language, to be more precise English which has a global impact and it has been recognized as a dominant language. In relation to the idea of the global impact of English, Crystal (2003) stated the following:

A language does not become a global language because of its intrinsic structural properties, or because of the size of its vocabulary, or because it has been a vehicle of a great literature in the past, or because it was once associated with a great culture or religion. These are all factors which can motivate someone to learn a language, of course, but none of them alone, or in combination, can ensure a language's world spread. (p. 9)

In regard to what Crystal (2003) stated above, it can be pointed out that one of the strongest motivations to learn a language has to do with a combination of factors, such as history, politics, economy, the prestige of a culture, among others. Furthermore, it must be highlighted that most of these factors are unconscious and most of the people who are motivated to learn a language, in this case English, are not always aware of these factors to make such a decision. Thus, it can be inferred that people have internalized the idea of learning English, since as it was mentioned in the previous sections about English as an Economic tool, Political Strategy, the influence of English, and English as a Lingua Franca, people are constantly thinking about the benefits of learning a language that can be found in different aspects of professional and/or non-professional life. That is why music can perform the role of a motivational agent, since it is an innovative method of learning English.

3.3.7 Linguistic borrowing

The notion of lexical borrowing is defined by Haspelmath (2009) as words which are included into a receiver language lexicon through a borrowing from a donor language. Nowadays in our globalized society, it is unsurprisingly that a Spanish speaking country as Chile adopts borrowings from a hegemonic language such as English. Thus, this idea is pointed out by participants that are catalogued as trap listeners.

Pero yo también siento que esta variedad de género lleva a la variedad del lenguaje, como que ya el uso de las palabras que ocupan en inglés, ya son palabras que nosotros entendemos, no necesitamos saber inglés para saber lo que dicen. (F. A)

But I also feel that this genre variety leads to a language variety. It is as the English words which are being used already are words that we understand, we do not need to know English in order to understand what they are saying. (F. A) (our translation)

Y también de la forma en como se ha utilizado el lenguaje ahora y de la forma en la que se habla po, como decía el compañero eso decir “estoy sad”, “mood”, cosas así que ahora como que no habla todo en español, sino que hay ciertas palabras que ya si o si entendi en inglés, eso. (M. I)

And also, the way in which the language has been used nowadays and the way in which we speak. As the fellow was saying, to say “estoy sad”, “mood”, and things like that, it seems that nowadays you do not talk completely in Spanish, but there are certain words that you definitely understand in English. (M. I) (our translation)

Here, the speakers state that some English words have been adopted in our linguistic community, even though the Spanish speakers in this case do not necessarily have incorporated English as their second language. In other words, they may not have the knowledge about some linguistic elements such as grammar, phonetics, and deep vocabulary, but they are capable of incorporating and using specific pieces of its vocabulary. According to Haspelmath (2009), what is remarkable about lexical borrowing is that it involves the incorporation of single words, in this case lexemes, which are units hardly analyzable in the receiver language.

An important factor that participants highlight is that new generations are more susceptible to be exposed to English uses, which leads to incorporating them in their daily speech. This can be explained due to the fact that young individuals are currently living in an extremely globalized world where new technologies allow the spreading of different languages, especially those that are considered as dominant languages such as English.

Y creo que las nuevas audiencias están mucho más conectadas a esto, y lo ocupan en su día a día, por ejemplo el ‘sad’ yo he escuchado a cabro chicos decir ‘estoy sad’ en vez de decir ‘estoy triste’. (F. A)

And I believe that the new audiences are much more connected to this, and they use them in their day-to-day, for example ‘sad’, I have heard kids saying ‘estoy sad’ instead of saying ‘estoy triste’. (F. A) (our translation)

The statement above reinforces the idea that most lexical borrowings occur due to several reasons, which are determined by “functional, aesthetic and social factors” (Miller et. al, 1988). In this case, the linguistic syncretism is narrowly linked to social processes caused by a globalized society in which English increases its functional value and it is often considered more aesthetic due to its prestige and high rates of usage around the world.

3.3 Social representations of Chilean trap singers about the use of English in trap.

This section will be divided into the main topics found in the individual interviews of Chilean trap singers. Hence, each topic will be explained in subsections that include quotes from the interviews mentioned before. In total, seven topics were identified and analyzed: (1) English as a global supremacy and influence; (2) English as an aesthetic instrument in music; (3) English as an economic tool; (4) English as a lingua franca; (5) The idea of rightful English; (6) Pedagogical implications in the use of English; (7) Linguistic borrowing.

3.3.1 English as a global supremacy and influence

According to some interviewed artists' perspectives, English is portrayed as a powerful language; the word "hegemonic" appears as a pattern. In general terms, it seems that the people who make trap in Chile have a preconceived picture of English language use, and what it actually means within the musical scene, in terms of global status, recognition and internationalization.

Creo que igual lo usa porque uno escucha mucha música en inglés, como igual es la lengua poderosa por decirlo así, la hegemónica en el mundo actualmente hasta que pase a los chinos. (Bad Pressure)

I think that it is used (the English language) because one listens to very much music in English, it is like a very powerful language, so to speak, it is the hegemonic one nowadays, until it is transferred to the Chinese. (Bad Pressure) (our translation).

Pero qué es asumir igual una realidad la cual existe una hegemonía de alguna forma de un idioma extranjero en nuestro país, además de hacer una alusión según yo clara a algo que yo creo que es como súper difícil de sacarse que es que como género igual derivamos mucho de una cultura gringa, tal vez no la cultura gringa hegemónica patriarcal y súper demarcada de un contexto que es como el que todos tienen de los gringos, sino una más marginal y contestataria. (Jeilean).

However, it is to assume a reality in which somehow there is a hegemony of a foreign language in our country. Besides it makes a clear allusion, in my view, to something that is very difficult to take off, which as a genre we derive very much from a gringa culture. Perhaps not the patriarchal hegemonic and super demarcated gringo culture from a context that is like the one everyone has of gringos, but a more marginal and rebellious one. (Jeilean) (our translation).

Within the trap community, it is well-known that there is a hegemonic force implicitly introduced in our country and furthermore in Latin-American culture in general; this is, English language. Therefore, according to some answers from the artists interviewed, in most cases, trap music that comes from the United States is culturally charged with such English culture, but it represents rather the most marginal and subversive side of the culture mentioned; the side of the illicit activities, the ghetto, sex and guns, among other elements, which compose the essence of the trap. They think that this somehow challenges the conventional hegemonic context of which most American citizens are part of.

Following this line, other trap artists coincidentally compare the power of English with other languages such as French or German. What is interesting is that they spontaneously conclude that English is more powerful than the other languages already mentioned. This also coincides with Phillipson's (1992) perspective on linguistic imperialism, in the sense that the usage of the dominant language as in the case of English above others such as French and German which have less power in society, resulting in the eventual exclusion of the dominated languages.

El inglés es el que está presente como si uno escucha música, no suele escuchar música en alemán o en francés, o igual de repente sí, pero uno no lo entiende mucho, no estás muy familiarizado con esos idiomas. Es de donde mismo viene el trap y el rap. Uno igual se familiariza con el inglés más que con cualquier otro idioma. (Bad Pressure)

The English is what is present like when one listens to music, one does not usually listen to music in German or in French, or sometimes one does, but one does not understand much, you are not familiar with those languages. It is the same where trap and Rap come. One also familiarizes more with English than with any other language. (Bad Pressure) (our translation)

Hasta ahora a mis 23 años de edad, siempre he tenido mayor relación con el español y con el inglés po cachai. No escucho weas en francés porque... no sigo a nadie francés en Instagram, no escucho música en francés, o en alemán, que son como idiomas radicales. Japonés, chino, coreano, weas así, en animé nomás cachai. Pero no es algo como que tenga incorporado wn. Sólo me pasa con el inglés. (Big Yellow)

Until now at my 23 years old, I always have had a greater relation with Spanish than with English, you know. I do not listen to shit in French because... I do not follow anyone French on Instagram, I do not listen to music in French or in German, and they are like radical languages. Japanese, Chinese, Korean, stuff like that, just in anime you know. But it is not something that I have incorporated. It only happens to me in English. (Big Yellow) (our translation)

Even though as we live in a globalized world, we will be always receiving multicultural influences from many countries and therefore many languages, English language influence will always predominate above others due to its hegemonic characteristic and the economic, social and political power that the United States has constituted during the last centuries (Crystal, 2003).

Another important aspect that a trap singer highlighted during the interviews is the status that English has above other languages in terms of success and reach across the world.

Bueno hay que tomar en cuenta también de que la mayoría de las personas cuando entrai a YouTube, encontrai que las canciones más escuchadas van a estar en inglés po. (Roska).

Well, it also has to be taken into account that most people when they enter YouTube, find that the most heard songs are going to be in English. (Roska) (our translation).

teni como referente que lo más grande lo más exitoso, tu sabi en la sociedad en que vivimos, la gente va decir que el weon mas grande va a ser Drake po, que es muy gringo, entonces sipo o cuando veo a Bad Bunny que el weon también ocupa inglés en sus canciones, o entiende el inglés o Annual tiene una entrevista solo hablando inglés, lamentablemente es así pero es así po. (Roska)

You have as referent that the greatest, the most successful, you know in the society where we live, people would say that the greatest dude would be Drake, who is very gringo, so yeah or when I see Bad Bunny who also uses English in his songs or understand or Anuel who has an interview only where he only speaks English, unfortunately it is what it is. (Roska) (our translation).

Once again, English is portrayed as a language that gives an essential element to artists in order to become more listened to, and in some cases to reach the top of the charts in social media platforms such as YouTube. The interviewed mentions that there are artists which are capable of speaking in both Spanish and English, and that they usually maintain the use of Spanish in the lyrics of their songs. Nowadays, however, these singers prefer to develop their musical creations and respond to interviews using English only. These choices are not picked in random terms, but they are a demonstration of the political, cultural, social and economic power of English language above other languages. Consequently, they are able to reach for the top more easily than other artists which do not make use of English in any form.

3.3.2 English as an aesthetic instrument in music

English is a wide-spread language, spoken mostly by non-natives. This spread has landed in Chile, especially in Chilean music. Several Chilean singers and musicians have started fluctuating between Spanish and English, or also called Spanglish. trap music in Chile has had a particular adaptation as a music genre (Kaluža, 2018). Also sung and produced mostly by underprivileged communities in Chile (Kaluža, 2018), Latin American' trap adopted the rhythmic flow and added English as an aesthetic and merchandising feature.

Trap music was born in the U.S, the complete genre and trend came from an English-speaking country. Thus, this may suggest that the predilection of this language is the aesthetic feature that some artists use in Chilean trap' lyrics, in order to apex the Chilean music charts and positioning itself in the field.

As one of the most spoken languages, English does a peculiar entanglement that results in Spanglish, the mixture of these two languages have acquired popularity between Chilean trap singers, and this feature has a positive connotation among the genre:

Otra característica que encuentro que es importante porque yo creo que se ocupa el inglés en el trap porque tiene que ver mucho con el formato en el que se canta por ejemplo en mi caso yo ocupé Auto tune que es una de las herramientas con la que se canta dentro de esa música. (Jeilean)

Another characteristic that I found really important, because I think that English is used in trap because it has to do with the form, for example I use Auto Tune which is one of the patterns in this formula. (Jeilean) (our translation)

The reminiscence or mimic to the U.S trap community is also a fragment of the encounter of these two realities separated by language. Moreover, speaking English in Chile gives speakers a higher presence, being English a language spoken by very few people in Chile. Some singers mentioned that the bilingual persona turns singers more appealing to the listeners.

Siento que tengo un acento afroamericano po entonces la wea como que dicen “oh! es como escuchar un weon bilingüe y la wea” no se po es como súper atractivo supongo, y esa es una de las razones y la otra no sé en realidad el espanglish no se me gusta caleta. (Roska).

I feel that I have a African American accent, therefore people say “oh he is bilingual” I don’t know, it’s really charming and that’s one of the reasons and the other is because I really love Spanglish. (Roska) (our translation)

As seen above, a few singers pointed to Spanglish as an important tool, but not just to pretend, but also because it creates a melodic singularity that is easily a characteristic feature of the genre. “la wea suena bien po cachai como es atractivo para el oído, por ejemplo “shit” o decir una wea en inglés” (Roska). “It sounds good, it is more attractive to the ear, for example saying “shit” or saying something in English” (Roska). A female singer alluded to the bias feeling that Chilean spectators have, concerning English: “la gente lo va a tomar como ay esta weona qué se cree, pero si lo digo en inglés como a qué no sabi na who fucking rule this land o sea quien gobierna esta wea, suena diferente cachai” (Lizz) “People will react

saying things like “who does she think she is” but if I say it in English like “Guess who fucking rule this land”, or “sea quien gobierna esta wea” it sounds different.

Aesthetically speaking, two main aspects are shown, the preference of English as a superior language referring to the idea that sounds “better” or just the result of two different cultures with the same cultural background.

An interesting point of view came from a male trap singer that explained that the ability of sound being elided in English makes it a great aesthetic improvement. “En cambio en el inglés podí casi balbucear una frase entera y se entiende y la wea te va a calzar bacan arriba de un beat. Eso me llama a mí la atención”. (Big Yellow). “English instead, you can stammer an entire phrase and it will be recognizable and fits amazing on a beat. That is why I'm drawn to it” (Big Yellow). The opportunity that presents English to rhyme with it is the main component of Spanglish in music as an aesthetical resource.

3.3.3 Use of English as an economic tool

Similarly, as well as in the case of the focus groups, the notion of English as an economic tool appeared in most of the singers' interviews, since the social actors established that the economic factor was a transcendental and crucial element in the process of spreading their music. In that sense, most of them agreed that English has been used for business purposes, since this language may facilitate the commercialization of their music. Thus, taking into consideration what Philipson (1992) and Gonzalez & Vioria (2007) respectively said about the supremacy and power that the U.S has in the commercial products of all kinds, there is an ideological dominance about the language of this country, which is encouraged by the ideal image that the same country wants to propagate. Having said that, the following quotes demonstrate the ideas and conceptions of the singers about English and its use in their career advancement.

Finalmente el inglés es como el idioma comercial, la gente maneja el inglés para hacer todo tipo de comercialización. (You Pain)

English is like the commercial language; people speak English to make all kinds of commercialization. (You Pain) (our translation)

Yo creo que hay otras personas que lo usan porque es la lengua pa hacer negocios también. Si para hacer negocios grandes en las industrias más grandes, para meterse en ese mundo hay que saber hablar inglés. (Bad Pressure)

I believe there are other people who use English because it is the language to do business, since to do great business in big industries, people must know how to speak English to be part of the business world. (Bad Pressure) (our translation)

Porque es una lengua instrumental, como que en el mundo se habla y es como universal, y creo que te dan más apoyo. (Polima West-coast)

Because it is an instrumental language, since it is a global language and I believe that it receives more support. (Polima West-coast) (our translation)

With regard to these quotes, it can be stated that English played an important role for the singers and their careers. Thus, there is an agreement about language being part of the media industry, since according to the social actors in order to be recognized in the business world of music, a singer ideally should speak English to achieve that goal. This social representation about English has been defined by the hegemonic power of the leader countries, which according to Phillipson is the result of “British colonialism, international interdependence, `revolutions` in technology, transport, communications and commerce, and because English is the language of the USA, a major economic, political and military force in the contemporary world.” (Phillipson, 1992, pp. 23-24).

In respect of the previous quote, and as it has been mentioned before, all of these factors have contributed to the interdependent relation between the U.S and the underdeveloped countries. Additionally, according to the opinions given by the social actors, it has been evident that nowadays English has a presence in a wide variety of genres, not only in the pop music world, as it was established by Crystal (2003), since as it has been demonstrated along the analysis of the focus groups, speaking English or making song in English can be associated with some advantages in term of music, and economic benefits for the person who is able to fulfil those characteristics, for that reason Phillipson (1992)

concluded that people and masses in general appreciate that English provides access to power and resources, due to the fact that this can mean economic gains. In that way, it is possible to conclude and assert that for the social actors English is a fundamental tool in their career as artists, and it is absolutely evident when they mentioned: “English is like the commercial language” “you can do great business” and “it is the language to do business” “people must know how to speak English to be part of the business world.” Thus, most of them agreed that English was a helpful tool in order to succeed financially and as an artist, since English offers people more changes in their professional life.

Nevertheless, despite the unconscious domination and subordination relation among the countries, it seems that nowadays it has appeared some ideological changes about the use of English which involves a critique about the imposition of English over other languages. In that respect, throughout the analysis was possible to find several critiques against the dominance of English, and one of those critiques has relation with the marginalization of languages and cultures which do not possess the power or status enough to stop this process which affects deeply minority languages (Joseph (2006); Philipson, 1992), for that reason nowadays it has been possible to see this idea that English can be omitted in some context where is not necessary or mandatory its use. In the music industry respectively, some social actors stated that:

[...] ha empezado a pasar en segundo plano un poco más el tema de esas pequeñas cositas que antes eran como los artistas en español básicamente tienen que saber cantar temas en inglés o sino su mercado se reduce demasiado, como todo se veía como desde un mercado. (Jeilean)

[...] English has taken a second place regarding how artists who speak Spanish must sing in English or their music market will be reduced or affected, since it is just about sales. (Jeilean) (our translation)

Taking into consideration this social representation about how English is not necessary to succeed in the music industry, it may be possible that other languages have taken an important place or recognition in the media industry. Notwithstanding, it has not provoked a great impact, since there is still a type of marginalization and exclusion of other languages, and this

issue will persist unless there is a change in the economic, political, cultural, and military dominance of the leader countries.

3.3.4 English as a lingua franca

As it has been exposed, the concept of English as a lingua franca has been present not only in the notions of Chilean trap listeners, but also in those people who do not listen to the music in question. Not surprisingly, when it comes to the Chilean trap singers in charge of creating the lyrics afore commented and analyzed by the two mentioned groups, English appears as a global means of communication once again. In that sense, there is the repetitive idea of considering English as a universal language spoken everywhere around the globe, and also by everyone. Some singers, for instance, state that English will be useful to them when leaving the country because of their musical success, pre-assuming that the language will be spoken abroad, no matter the country they will be moving to, as followed proposed:

Siento que es super útil el inglés wn. Además, no descarto la posibilidad de irme del país en algún momento. [...]Tú te dai cuenta que el inglés es el idioma universal po hermano. Así está catalogado po wn. Tu podi ir a un país... podi ir a Alemania y hablar en inglés y probablemente alguien te hable cachai. (Big Yellow)

I feel that English is very useful. Also, I do not rule out the possibility of leaving the country at some point. [...] You can realize that English is the universal language. That is how it is catalogued. You can go to Germany and speak in English and someone will probably talk to you, you know. (Big Yellow) (our translation)

With regards to the quote exposed, the idea of “universality” can be literally and evidently identified in singers' notion about the English language. In other words, it is thought that English will be that unique language spoken in every country of, in Nagy (2017) words, an “interconnected globalized world” (p. 155). In addition to the reiterative idea exposed, singers also associated English to what Pennycook (2017) defines as “gatekeeper” (p. 13). Thus, there is a representation of English as a sort of regulator when it comes to opening new doors in order to reach more places and/or new listeners, as shown in the following quote:

[...] sí es más importante usar el inglés en las canciones, como manejarse con algunas palabras. Sirve para abrirse a más público y al mundo. [...] Siento que es como el idioma universal. Sabiendo inglés te abrirá más puertas. (You Pain)

[...] It is more important to use English in the songs, like handling some words. It serves to open up to more audiences and to the world. [...] I feel like it's like the universal language. Knowing English will open more doors for you. (You Pain) (our translation)

As it can be seen, there is not only the explicit idea of considering the English language as the universal one, but also the notion of considering it a tool which may—or may not, in case you are not able to “handle” it—open their music to the world. In that sense, singers saw in this universal character an advantage to grow both musically and geographically. According to Pennycook (2017), this “regulator” position English exclusively enjoys is closely related to the prestige and power the language has in many countries. As a matter of fact, in the author’s words, English is able not only to regulate social and economic progress as previously mentioned, but also to act as an international gatekeeper, even regulating the flow of people in the world (p. 13).

Last but not least, another idea regarding the notion of English as a lingua franca was found in Chilean trap singers. Thus, by some participants English was seen as a tool that will make their songs “universally understandable” when listened to abroad, as clearly stated in the two quotes below:

[...] elegí el inglés porque quise mandar ese mensaje pa que llegara pa todos lados, que se entendiera. (Lizz)

[...] I chose English because I wanted to send that message so that it would reach everywhere, that it would be understood. (Lizz) (our translation)

Si tu hací un tema en inglés, mucha más gente va a ser capaz de entenderlo que solamente los que hablan español po wn, cachai. (Big Yellow)

If you make a song in English, many more people will be able to understand it than only those who speak Spanish, you know. (Big Yellow) (our translation)

By stating so, in first place, singers seem to assume that English is spoken wherever their music will be listened to. Furthermore, they use it as a way to make their message more understandable among people who, apparently, do not speak Spanish as their mother tongue. In that sense, and by having in mind the global and ubiquitous presence English has in most parts of the world, it would be easier to reach more people.

3.3.5 The idea of rightful English

As it was previously mentioned throughout the study, there are several preconceptions about the acceptable uses of English Language. These preconceptions are defined as linguistic ideologies which represent any sets of ideas, thoughts, and beliefs related to the structure and the use of languages (Silverstein, 1979). Following this line, trap artists have a variety of opinions regarding the use of English in their musical creations.

On the one hand, there is a stigma in relation to singing in English when you are not an English native-speaker. “Pero yo creo que sin duda me gustaría cantar más en inglés, mi barrera no es el lenguaje, pero es más ese estigma de cómo ‘Ay pero si es chilena ¿Por qué canta en inglés?’” (Lizz). “But I undoubtedly think that I would like to sing more in English, what set my boundaries is not the language itself, but the stigma of like “but she is Chilean, why does she sing in English?” (Lizz) (our translation).

During the interview it is expressed that it is not the language itself which limits the creative process of a piece of trap music, but it is rather the people who judge the artists when they decide to make use of English language within their lyrics. This is conceived as a linguistic ideology, in the sense that is a social belief which sets boundaries in the linguistic choices that are made by musical artists. It seems that if artists are from a non-English speaking country, they are not accepted or even allowed by others to sing in English unless they are willing to receive critiques and backlash.

Following this idea, there are also social preconceptions around the alleged appropriate phonetic register when using English, as it is expressed by a participant:

Además que yo siempre he luchado como por educar mi oído, entonces al momento de escuchar inglés, trato de escuchar hartito la fonética de la wea cachai. Como que decirlo exacto, tal cual como lo diría un gringo cachai.” (Big Yellow).

Besides that, I have always struggled to educate my ear, so at the moment of listening to English, I try to hear the phonetic aspects of the shit you know. As saying it exactly as a gringo would say it you know.” (Big Yellow) (our translation).

A good pronunciation is commonly associated with a rightful use of English. This idea is narrowly linked with the notion of sounding as a native English speaker, especially as a gringo, in other words, as an individual born and raised in the United States. According to Kroskrity (2010), these social conventions are strictly bonded with the legitimation, protection and promotion of social, political, and economic interests around the use of English language.

In opposition to these two previous linguistic limitations regarding the use of English, there are some people within the trap national scene who think that those restrictions are absurd and make an invitation to challenge the stigma around a standard pronunciation.

Aquí en Chile hay gente que habla inglés yo me he dado cuenta últimamente yo pensaba que como que era muy reducido como la cantidad de personas que lo hacían pero es esa vergüenza de “ay no sé el acento y la wea” weon habla la wea si ¿Qué tiene? es chistoso. (Roska).

Here in Chile there are people who talk in English, lately I have realized that I thought it was a much reduced number of people who have done it, but it is that shame of “I do not know the accent and shit” dude, speak the language, who cares? It is funny. (Roska) (our translation).

There is a social bias around the proper English pronunciation and accent, as mentioned by the participant, which perpetuates the rightful idea of English language usage. It will always be individuals who tend to criticize somebody else’s accent due to following social tenets regarding English-speaking countries' culture and linguistic practices. However, trap singers claim that trap stands out for “Take Risks and Prosper” (Young J Star in Molina, 2020); hence, it is not relevant what other speakers may think. In other words, the essence of trap music is about being against social conventions of what is right or wrong, it is about being at

the edges of the legal (Molina, 2020). The language used when making lyrics should neither be restricted nor stigmatized by any sort of linguistic ideology.

3.3.6 Pedagogical implications in the use of English

As it was introduced in the analysis of the social actors who listen to Chilean trap music, this factor in the process of learning and acquiring a language has been a new, easy and innovative method, since it is more accessible, and it can be adapted to people's interest. In that sense, the singers showed a similar belief about how music has helped them to learn English. In that respect, it could be possible to infer that most of them expressed a type of motivation when they were referring to the use of English in their music, since for them through music it was possible to learn English and, at the same time, to grow as an artist and in the music industry. Following this line of thought, as it was mentioned in the (section 2.1.4), Crystal (2003) highlighted the importance of using English to achieve recognition around the world, which is why the artists viewed English as a trigger to the fame and development of their music because in words of Crystal (2003), globally the United States leads the music market. In relation to this idea, the trap singers commented the following:

En el colegio aprendí un poco, pero fui aprendiendo con la música y como con todas las cosas que veía, y también porque es como una herramienta. Además me sirvió como artista y pa hacer música. (Polima)

In school, I learnt a little bit of English, but as the time went by I was able to learn more with music, and all the things that I watched on the TV. Furthermore, it helped me as an artist and to make music, since for me English is like a tool. (Polima) (our translation)

Hermano lo que también me pasa con el inglés, es que como estoy en una búsqueda por aprender inglés, como que pa mí cantar una canción en inglés significa harto cachai. (Big Yellow)

What happens to me with English has a great meaning, since for me singing a song in English means so much, because I am in the search of learning English. (Big Yellow) (our translation)

This ideology about discovering and using new methods of learning a second language is very characteristic, since most of the people have internalized the idea of how important is being able to speak more than one language, and instinctively the language that has been chosen to acquire is English, for that reason, it is quite interesting how entrenched is the power and hegemony of the language. In regard to what was shown in the previous quotes, most of the social actors have expressed their interests of learning the English language just because they had studied English at school that means there is no personal determination to study this language, since it is not a free choice at school. Thus, according to Phillipson (1992) and Joseph (2006) the politics of language choice involves the educational system which imposes and propagates the ex-colonial power, which is an implicit belief that contributes to the conservation of English as a hegemonic language, in that respect the government of each country make the decision of what language or languages will be taught in the educational institutions.

Taking into consideration this social representation about the imposition of the language, authors such as Philipson (1992), Joseph (2006), Gonzalez & Vilorio (2007), and Kwet (2019) have talked about the dissemination of language imperialism, which is characterized by the ideological imposition of the dominant countries, languages and cultures over dominated societies. In relation to language, as it was seen in section 2.1.4, the English linguistic imperialism has been promoted and encouraged by different factors, such as political, economic, the media, and mainly by the ELT. In that sense, Phillipson (1992) stipulated: “All education in a language other than the student’s mother tongue is imperialistic, even if the motive of the educator is to help students rise out of poverty and obtain career opportunities” (Cited in Joseph, 2006, p. 62). This means that even though the intentions of teaching another language are helpful to the development of a society, at the end it will imply the subjugation of the same society. By the same token, it was possible to find this social representation from singers who stipulated the following: “Yo no lo hago como para los gringos cachai, lo hago como para que la gente aprenda pero no de un weon que habla en inglés cachai” (Roska). “I do not do it for Anglo people, I do it because I want people to learn, but not from someone who is a native speaker, you know”. (Roska) (our translation). In the previous quote, it was shown an implicit critique and rejection toward the dominant imposition of the English language. However, it is important to clarify that they are not

rejecting the idea of acquiring and learning a new language, English, but towards those who impose and force this teaching, yet they are also part of the same pattern of learning, propagating, and teaching this imperialistic language, since they take the opportunity to learn the language and also to teach it through their music.

3.3.7 Linguistic borrowing

One of the most remarkable features of English language is its global spreading; in the context of a globalized world, people in general are highly exposed to this language without a doubt. In this sense, it is unsurprising that phenomena as Linguistic borrowing occurs. According to Hapelmath (2009) lexical borrowing refers to the linguistic phenomenon in which words are included in a receiver language through borrowing from a donor language. In this sense, answers provided by trap artists interviews help to both illustrate and explain in a deeper manner the idea above mentioned.

Entonces ha escuchado tanto y uno igual escucha tantas cosas que al final llegas a sentirlo, como a decir palabras en inglés. Como que igual la usas coloquialmente, así como cuando deci “wea”, podi decir “shit” o palabras en inglés. (Bad Pressure)

So people have heard a lot, and I have heard so many things that eventually you get to feel it. Like to say words in English. Like you use them colloquially as well. As when you say “wea” you can say “shit” instead or other words in English. (Bad Pressure) (our translation).

Here, it is expressed that lexical borrowing often occurs unconsciously, as a result of being exposed to so much English music and lyrics. Within colloquial contexts, speakers end up integrating single words from the language of which they are being influenced to.

Furthermore, this phenomenon is evidenced by the diverse song’s lyrics that have been incorporated in the secondary source, (see Appendix section, table of song’s lyrics) where Chilean trap artists mixed up some English lexical items and English phrases with Spanish language. These items are mainly related to topics linked with money, drugs, sex, and the so-called “thug life”. Examples of this are ‘que no sabi na who fuckin’ rules this land’, ‘tomando hennes and smoking weed’, ‘there’ money in the air so imma go get it’, ‘histeric

(fuck that bitch)' and 'cause there's no one who can make love like you do', among other lyrics.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

Conclusion

The present study, which started at the use of English in day-to-day context from the perspective of linguistic anthropology, exposed the social representations that three different social actors —i.e. people who do not listen to Chilean trap, Chilean trap listeners, and Chilean trap singers— have about the use of English in Chilean trap music. By doing so, and by also making use of related concepts such as language ideology and linguistic imperialism that helped to both support and backup what was found, it was possible to give a full recount of the way English is represented by some Chilean Spanish speakers.

In general, the three groups that were part of this research demonstrated similar notions regarding the political, economic, social, and linguistic implications behind the use of English in Chilean trap. Thus, and after having applied interviews and focus groups to each of the social actors, as well as having analyzed the data collected, a total of five topics were both identified and shared among the groups: (1) English as a global supremacy and influence; (2) English as an aesthetic instrument in music; (3) English as an economic tool; (4) English as a lingua franca; and (5) The idea of rightful English. Apart from the topics just mentioned, there were also some others that could be identified throughout the analysis, though they were not shared by all of the groups. Thus, when it comes to people who do not listen to the Chilean trap genre, the topic of (6) English as a political strategy also arose. Between the two other groups —i.e. Chilean trap listeners and Chilean trap singers— however, it was possible to find two other interesting points of analysis that were shared: (7) Pedagogical implications in the use of English and (8) Linguistic Borrowing.

On the basis of the topics that were rescued from the focus groups and interviews mentioned in the previous paragraph, most of them confirmed what several authors have previously proposed (Crystal, 2003; Joseph, 2006; Makoni & Pennycook, 2006; Philipson, 1992). In terms of (1) English as a global supremacy and influence, most part of the participants recognized the power and the dominance the language possesses in global terms. Thus, English was portrayed as both hegemonic and powerful due to, for instance, the superior status it gives to speakers and/or artists when spoken. Moreover, its use —in contrast to that of other inferior languages such as the artist's native language Spanish— seems to enjoy a special, prestigious position worldwide. This linguistic hegemonic force, as proposed

throughout the analysis, is directly supported by the political, economic, cultural, and structural dominance that English speaking countries —e.g. the United States— impose over the rest of the world, especially in Latin American countries. In that way, the concept of linguistic imperialism was absolutely though not surprisingly first confirmed. The topic of (2) English as an aesthetic instrument in music, by its side, demonstrated that artists also use the language to both fit into the wealthy, acclaimed life of trap artists, as well as to make their songs more appealing acoustically speaking. Thus, by including English content in their lyrics artists not only aim to pretend being part of the thug, expected life of those who belong to the trap sphere, but also to achieve a musical harmony between the two languages —i.e. English and Spanish. With regards to the topic of (3) English as an economic tool, it was widely manifested the commercial notion of the language. In that sense, the use of English was, in most cases, closely attached to an economic, professional growth. Participants conceive the English language, for instance, as a mere marketing strategy to monetarily succeed in their musical careers. English is seen, then, as an economic advantage to those who can use it in their songs —which similarly to the previous topic, is mainly shaped by the commercial influence of the U.S along the globe. The idea of (4) English as a lingua franca seemed to also be intrinsically part of the participants' notions. Thus, most of the interviewed recognized English as a common, universally spoken language that can be understood no matter where you are. Because of that reason, participants conceive the use of English in songs as a means to mass their musical work; this is, they see on English as an opportunity to reach more adherents around the globe. Very similarly, the conception of English as the unique, shared language that will globally prevail in a near future was also shown. When it comes to (5) the idea of rightful English, the conception of an appropriate use of the language was also identified. Thereby, most of the interviewed positively valorized a standard register of English; that is to say, participants conceive appropriately using a particular set of rules —e.g. grammatical, phonetical— in order to be socially acceptable. By doing so, both the notion of an ideal speaker —who most of the time corresponds to the native speaker— as well as the power and the dominance of a particular usage of the language are reinforced. In consequence, people who do not manage the expected register tend to be considered less competent and/or less successful. Regarding (6) English as a political strategy, it was exposed the way in which the leading English speaking country of the U.S. uses the language as a way to impose their

power. Thus, as similar as it was previously mentioned in the paragraph, participants believe in the idea of English being used as a means of spreading the U.S. dominance globally. In terms of (7) pedagogical implications in the use of English, it was shown that some participants tend to see the use of the language as an opportunity to actually learn it. In that sense, and by being an accessible, unusual, and interesting learning method, most of them positively appreciate its use on Chilean trap songs. Hand in hand to this motivation just mentioned, however, it was also identified a somehow internalized responsibility in learning the language—which, as it happened to previous topics, can be explained due to the worldwide domination of English-speaking countries. Finally, the topic of (8) linguistic borrowing was also present and identified in the analysis. In this line, it was manifested that Chile, by being in a subjugated position against the hegemonic U.S., commonly and unsurprisingly borrows words from the English language. Thus, once again, the influence and ubiquitous presence of English in people's lives are reinforced.

In addition, and after the analysis and the recount of the social representations given, it was shown the actual relevance English has in a setting that, as different to what is commonly investigated in the academy, relates to a new urban musical genre. By this, the study could lead future investigations to inquire into new, emergent spheres of study, as proposed in the following discussion chapter.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

5. Discussion

As students of the English Linguistics and Literature program of Universidad de Chile, this study means the culmination of our under-graduate academic formation regarding English language. Since Chile is a Latin-American country where English is neither used as L1 nor as L2, we are aware that English education is not assured to all Chilean citizens. Very unfortunately, and due to the economic and social conditions that accessing this education imply, just a few individuals have access to its formal teaching.

After analyzing the results shown throughout the current investigation, it is observable that the use of English language takes place not only in academic settings, but also in other cultural expressions such as music. In this specific case, Chilean trap music, which corresponds to a relatively new genre in our country that has had huge success during the last years. This means that English as a worldwide hegemonic language has established itself within the Spanish-speaker community. Here, and due to the political, military, cultural, and economic implications the U.S currently has along the globalized world, English has been used as an empowering linguistic tool.

In terms of the contributions that this investigation provides, it is essential to mention that the current research increases the scope of the English language field in non-English speaking settings that are not necessarily related to academic environments. Moreover, this study gives different opinions, beliefs, and ideas about the English language provided by listeners, non-listeners, and artists of the Chilean trap music scene. In this sense, it is also important to consider that most of these participants have not studied English in a formal, academic way.

This study can provide a fresh approach of how to deal with English language in Chile. As this research exposes how the use of the English language in Chilean trap music is perceived by some citizens of this country, it encloses a deeper understanding of the perception of English language as a whole. In addition, it also helps to create a clearer answer to what English language does mean to Chilean people, and therefore, to other Spanish-speaking people. In relation with the previous point, along with the contribution of establishing different opinions of what the English language means to different individuals

from Chile, this investigation exposes both the perpetuation of English as a hegemonic language and the power that English-speaking countries have over Spanish-speaking countries such as Chile.

Another important contribution which this study can provide is related to the trap scene. Since this genre has succeeded in several aspects in terms of contributing new elements to Chilean culture, it has helped to include cultural tendencies coming from English-speaking countries such as the United States. Despite of the recent recognition of this genre on the musical scene, there are not many studies regarding trap music culture in relation to its impact. Thus, this study can motivate other investigations about the use of English language in this specific musical genre, and/or within other genres too.

One the other hand, this study sheds light on the role of the English language within the cultural industry—that is to say, out of the teaching sphere, as in the Chilean entertainment industry. Since this language is hegemonic and crucial in the context of globalization, it has a deep impact on the economic realm of the country, as it boosts the society's consumption not only in Chile, but in several other countries.

Moreover, throughout this investigation it has been exposed the imperialistic character of the English language within the digital era background. Here, its omnipresence that has changed the way in which people interact with each other is worth considering. Thus, it has created an immediate type of communication which has allowed a broader interculturality regarding many communities around the world.

It is worth mentioning that in the globalized society context people are exposed to the language even unintentionally, since an important amount of information and services on the internet are expressed in English. Hence, English is the most taught and spoken language worldwide, a scenario that has spread it throughout the world now more than ever. Therefore, it is of utmost importance to manage linguistic skills regarding this specific language, in order to be benefited by its socio-political, economic status.

CHAPTER VI

LIMITATIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH

6. Limitations and Further Research

Even though an attempt to make this study as holistic and complete as possible was made, there are several factors that limited the development of the current research. The main aspect that affected the investigation was the worldwide COVID-19 pandemic context. As it is well-known, this situation has forced citizens to remain in lockdown, quarantine, and social distancing, factors that have completely altered the way people socialize. Considering this context, the process of collecting data had to change from face-to-face interviews and focus groups to virtual meetings. In this sense, the participants' online-delivered answers may have been affected in terms of internet connection and stability, poor quality of audio and video, interference, and issues with the management of virtual platforms such as Zoom Meeting.

Besides the limitations related to technical aspects of remote communication, there are certain elements alongside the virtual world such as comfortability, fluency, and a proper setting of environment that could affect the participants' behavior, and therefore the quality of their answers. These factors not only affected the participants' performance but also the moderators' one in terms of their lack of control on both the commitment of the participants and the environment regarding the varied realities behind virtual encounters. In other words, online interviews are often taken less seriously than face-to-face ones as the former take place in a less controlled setting where there is no guarantee that the participants will be fully focused on the meeting.

However, it is also worth considering that the virtual world encloses certain remarkable perks which were very helpful regarding the availability of the participants, especially with Chilean trap artists when it came to agreeing on a particular date. Therefore, in practical terms, it was helpful in arranging meetings without going to a certain place. The internet, thus, has provided both interviewers and participants the convenience to rely solely on interviews from virtual platforms such as Zoom Meeting.

Furthermore, another interesting aspect which limited the scope of the data collection was the inaccessibility for reaching artists that are considered to be more successful within the trap music scene. What just mentioned, can be mostly explained by multiple and

diverse reasons related to their professional and personal availability for public matters. On the other hand, it is remarkable that trap is considered to be relatively recent, therefore few pieces of research about the topic have been made. This issue affected the extension of authors and studies collected for both the literature review and the Theoretical Framework sections.

Following with the previous idea, the Chilean trap artists' inaccessibility is also an invitation for further research to have more artists involved who could provide broader and deeper analysis of the English use in Chilean trap music. Additionally, in possible future research it would be interesting to analyze in detail the songs' lyrics, as well as their content and attitudes used when making use of English. Moreover, it would be thought-provoking to investigate the name choices of Chilean trap artists, as many of them chose to be recognized under an English pseudonym.

Additionally, as the present research investigates the use of English in the trap genre, it would be of much interest to study the use of this language in other musical genres, in order to demonstrate the use of English language in contexts that do not belong to the academic sphere. In that sense, it would be interesting to pay attention to the use of this language in other cultural expressions, such as film industry, television programs, internet platforms, and social media. Another expression could be the use of English words in social movements, as in the well-known Chilean social protests during 2019. This could bring new studies related to the impact that English has, as a hegemonic language, has in our country.

Finally, as graduated students of the English Linguistics and Literature program of Universidad de Chile, our social role is to look out for a clearer comprehension of the English language use in areas beyond the classroom. As this language encloses many cultural aspects and it challenges current and potential speakers to take responsibilities of being part of the English-speaking community around the world, it is of utmost importance considering English in a wider sphere. The current investigation, moreover, shed a light on the responsibilities that we, as speakers of English, have in our future projects. In final place, this investigation may bring a contribution to the construction of our own defined Chilean-English identity, as it was solely based on Chilean individuals' perspective on the use of English in trap music made in the country.

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Appendix

DOCUMENTO DE CONSENTIMIENTO INFORMADO

THE SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS ABOUT THE USE OF ENGLISH IN CHILEAN TRAP MUSIC

I. INFORMACIÓN

Usted ha sido invitado(a) a participar en la investigación sobre “Las representaciones sociales del uso del inglés en el trap chileno” Su objetivo es caracterizar desde una perspectiva antropológica-lingüística, las representaciones sociales que tienen diferentes actores sociales, los cuales son hablantes nativos del español, acerca del uso del inglés en el trap chileno.

Los investigadores responsables del estudio son Francisco Becerra, Camila González, Melina Guzmán, Gregorio Legassa, Valentina Medel, Valentina Restrepo, Pilar Vásquez pertenecientes a la carrera Licenciatura en Lingüística y Literatura Inglesas, de la Facultad de Filosofía y Humanidades de la Universidad de Chile.

Para decidir participar en esta investigación, es importante que usted considere la siguiente información antes de confirmar su asistencia. Siéntase libre de preguntar cualquier asunto que no le quede claro:

Participación: Su participación consistirá en participar en un grupo focal junto con cinco participantes más, donde tendrá que responder de manera abierta preguntas específicas que nosotros le proporcionaremos al momento de la discusión.

El grupo focal durará aproximadamente 45 minutos, y abarcará preguntas a discutir sobre el trap Chileno y el uso del Inglés en este mismo.

La entrevista será realizada por vía Zoom, en el día y hora que el anfitrión lo estime conveniente.

Para facilitar el análisis, este grupo focal será grabado. En cualquier caso, usted tiene el derecho de interrumpir la grabación en cualquier momento, y retomarla cuando quiera.

Riesgos: En la presente investigación no se enfrentará a ningún riesgo o daño colateral tanto físico como psicológico debido a la materia y medio de estudio que se utilizará en la investigación.

Beneficios: Usted no recibirá ningún beneficio directo, ni recompensa alguna por participar

en este estudio. No obstante, su participación permitirá generar información para indicar el uso potencial de la información en términos de beneficio social.

Voluntariedad: Su participación es absolutamente voluntaria. Usted tendrá la libertad de contestar las preguntas que desee, como también de detener su participación en cualquier momento que lo requiera. Esto no implicará ningún perjuicio para usted.

Confidencialidad: Todas sus opiniones serán confidenciales, y mantenidas en estricta reserva. En las presentaciones y publicaciones de esta investigación, su nombre no aparecerá asociado, ya que se utilizarán sólo sus iniciales para fines analíticos. Luego de concluir la investigación, los datos serán eliminados completamente.



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Conocimiento de los resultados: Usted tiene derecho a conocer los resultados de esta investigación. Para ello, indicar la forma en que se le hará llegar los resultados o podrá acceder a ellos.

Datos de contacto: Si requiere mayor información, o comunicarse por cualquier motivo relacionado con esta investigación, puede contactar a la/el

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II. FORMULARIO DE CONSENTIMIENTO INFORMADO

Yo,, acepto participar en el estudio “Las representaciones sociales del uso del Inglés en el trap chileno”. Declaro que he leído (o se me ha leído) y (he) comprendido, las condiciones de mi participación en este estudio. He tenido la oportunidad de hacer preguntas y estas han sido respondidas. No tengo dudas al respecto.

Firma Participante

Firma Investigador/a Responsable

Lugar y Fecha: _____

Este documento se firma en dos ejemplares, quedando una copia en cada parte.

Gantt chart

First semester	Month/ Week distribution.															
Activities	April.				May				June				July			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
1. Definition of the topic/ problem	■	■	■	■												
2. Objective					■	■	■	■								
3. Methodology									■	■	■	■				
4. Research Outline										■	■	■				
5. Lit Review													■	■	■	■
6. Theoretical framework																

Second semester	Month / Week distribution.																			
Activities	August				Sept				Oct				Nov				Dec			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
1. Singers' Interviews	■	■	■	■																

Pablo Chill-e & Julianno Sosa	Dale tu Kolin	8.69%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - We stunt - Ballin' - see - Honey (3) - money (14) - Got a bitch calling - I just pull up in my whip - Fuck - shooter - Nigga, you snitch - Lobby - Molly - Hunnits - Never killing nobody - Gang (9) - stripclub - make it rain
Pablo Chill-e & Polima Westcoast	My blood	4,7%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Shout out (2) - My blood (2) - Yeah - Free - Gang (9) - Hey - Percocet

Lizz	Chacal	74,2%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Drippin' so fast, I got gold in my eyes (24) - que no sabí ná who fuckin' rules this land - Countin' money like mad, I'm the real queen chacal - and I don't give a fuck, I don't know you, so it's done - You better see me when I do the thing - Spinnin' around like I'm twistin' in - like a Buda chi - everyday - gang - bling - gangsta pimp - wins
Polima Westcoast	Brokeboi	13,13%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Brokeboi (44) - Sometimes, I'm feeling like a dead - Dicky - yeah (4) - money
Polima Westcoast	BZRP Music Sessions, Vol. 19	27.55%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - flow - hoe, Old Town Road (2) - fetty(2) - Call - Let's get it (2) - money (2) - bank (2) - dripping(2) - Flow, show, wow, hoe, trap life,

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> worldwide (4) - Money and crib - enemy - beat - VV's on my neck - On my back, la money - Money top, Lambo top - flex, bae - BrokeBoyz - Oh, I-, up - Life style, life style, yeah, yeah
Polima Westcoast	Rodeo	21,1%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - I fall in love (10) - Wait, I give fuck, don't pain - Looking at you all day - Body, no, your world - Called - Baeh - Gang - Bitch, I fall in love (2)
Big Yellow x BiggTimmy	BIGGMAC	8,2%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - bullshit - on this trap shit - chill - vikings - smoking - Hardcore - beat - flow
Paloma Mami	Not Steady	68.99%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - You call I dub, I don't pick up (3) - I don't give a f***, I think it's done already(3)

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - get lit and have some fun, and meet no one(3) - my heart is gone, you know I'm not steady (3) - Shorty - Boy you been wasting your time - don't try to front I ain't callin you mine - lying on my name I don't know why you try - baby tonight I plan on leaving you dry - Holding you there lying in bed while I'm kissing your neck - the shit unsaid - sorry if you misunderstood what I said - Got me second thinking - bout you and me linking - then I realize real quick - who the f*** I am - I don't change for no dick - please don't get me twisted - I ain't with that lame shit
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			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - have me trippin man - You know I'm not steady (4)
Paloma Mami	Don't worry about me	51,91%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Don't worry about me (8) - Don't talk about me (8) - Said I won't succeed, don't ever doubt me (4) - And you still gonna hate while I'm in this Audi (4) hoe - You'll still be hatin' - I keep the haters waitin' - Don't wanna hear my name roll off your tongue - Boy, I've been winning with thirty to none
DrefQuila	Goosebumps	4,6%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Fire (7) - Sky (3) - Party (3) - Baby - High (3)
DrefQuila	Up	1,9%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Baby (2) - All the things - Jigglypuff
Pablo Chill-e	These weones	36,6%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Hey, niggas want to be famous and shit - I just want the mula - (fuck up fuck

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> up)(2) - Fuck - I just want the mula (my nigga)(2) - I am real flaite I stay with the heat (pah pah pah) (2) - Nigga you ain't flaite, you ain't about the street (3) - All these niggas talking, talking, talking, talking about mula - But they don't coming to my hood if I tell them: "nigga, pull up" - I gave a nigga bitch sucking my - But she don't understood when I say be watching to - Hey, and you know, gang - Shot-out (2)
Pablo Chill-e & Julianno Sosa	Fetty	37.33%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Wavy (2) - Ready (2) - Tomando hennes smoking weed and I got planty (2) - My bitches hot 'n your bitches look like Betty (2) - I pop the molly, pull up like pery (2) - I pop the molly con tu bitch estamos sweaty (2)

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - I write like Ice Cube, I live like Errie - histeric (fuck that bitch) - I fly like Jordan, I shoot like Derry - Lean - Xani - my - it's like the runnin' - all that shit for me is funny - Shit - Anyway - Gangster - Niggas one play no tienen bake - I can go shoot a tu molly tu place, hey hey
Lizz	Mercurio Lento	9%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - I'm going lento (4) - Baby don't know what's going on (2)
Harry Nach	Tak Tiki Tak	8.3%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Magic on the beat - yeah (9) - call (3) - Gyal (3) - Clock - I don't give a fuck - pump - glock - Stock - Dizzy Boy - Nasty - Baby

Cease	Dance	29%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Yeah (8) - Booty - Baby (4) - Do you wanna dance with me? (8) - Dembow (2) - Again (2)
Princesa Alba	Baby Papi	51.25%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - floor (6) - love (6) - baby (44) - this is true (4) - I love the way you do (6) - I love the way you do love me (2) - 'Cause there's no one who can make love like you do (2)
MiopiaShit	Blue Shawty	27%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - I know she mad at me (2) - I know she hates me (2) - I know she wants some more (2) - my hoe aint basic (2) - why you do me like this - repeat - skeet - squirt - playlist - she they way that i jugg walk - shorty (3) - you my wodie my love (2) - baby - season vogue

Cease	Veneno	13.98%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Bazooka (2) - Highway (6) - Bounce (2) - No signal by Cease - We're sorry, the number you have dialled is not in service at this time. - Is like (2)
Princesa Alba	Boy tu no me haces bien	42.19%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - boy (14) - when you wake up (7) - you have to learn, boy, you have to understand (7) - I won't be your girl, so you have to stay away (7) - You better watch and learn from me (2) - 'Cause I'm feeling fine, 'cause I'm feeling great(2) - maybe - baby (2)
MiopiaShit	Money and Dreams	16%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - steel - bitch is fucking real - there's money in the air so imma go get it - so we fucking made it - I don't know - chasing money (2) - chasing dreams (2) - money

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - flow - shorty - what up bro - views - crews - I got 2 knives each pocket no straps - I wanna a milli como Wayne my jigga no cap
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