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PARENTAL LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES:
The case of indigenous and non-indigenous bilingual families in the Chilean context

TESIS PARA GRADO DE MAGÍSTER EN LINGÜÍSTICA CON MENCIÓN EN LENGUA INGLESA

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Table of Contents

I.   Table of Figures

II.   Abstract

Many different definitions of bilingualism have been proposed by researchers over the years. Some, like Bloomfield (1933), saw bilingualism as an equal mastery of two languages; others have opted for more general definitions, like using two languages interchangeably (Mackey, 1962; Weinreich, 1953); while others completely rejected the idea of named languages (Otheguy et al., 2015). With such a variety of definitions among academics, it is impossible to expect non-linguists to agree on a definition either. Thus, this study aims to characterize both indigenous and non-indigenous parents' conceptualizations of bilingualism. The focus on parents is because they are the primary caretakers of their children, while also being the main source of socialization during the infants' first years of life. Not only that, but parents tend to be the main linguistic planners of the family unit, which in turn results in the development of their children's bilingualism (Wilson, 2020a). Furthermore, the contexts of these families have not been widely studied in Family Language Policy research. Indigenous families are usually at the forefront of studies that focus on language practice, not on their language ideologies, and the English language is usually studied in the context of a majority language, not when it is positioned as a minority/heritage language. So, these families' language ideologies have been invisibilised in FLP research. These two sociocultural contexts are particularly interesting due to how their different languages are perceived by the majority society, and how they represent two extremes on a spectrum. English being a desired and encouraged language, while Indigenous languages have survived after a history of oppression. This thesis asks whether there are any differences or similarities between the language ideologies and conceptualization of bilingualism between parents of bilingual indigenous and non-indigenous families in Chile. In order to answer this question, ten parents were asked to meet with the researcher in order to go through an interview, create a language portrait, and narrate their linguistic biography. Five parents belonged to a Pewenche community located in the south of Chile, and had Chedungun and Spanish in their repertoires. The other five, lived in the city of Valdivia, Chile, and had at least English and Spanish in their repertoires. The answers given by the participants showed that, due to their different life experiences and sociocultural backgrounds, the different groups of parents had different understandings of what bilingualism is, among other contrasting attitudes and ideologies.

Keywords: Bilingualism, family language policy, language ideologies, parents

1. Introduction

Even though the idea of monolingualism being the default is pretty spread out throughout society, the reality could not be more different. It is known that at least half of the population uses another language on a regular basis (Francois Grosjean, 2008). This number grows even more if we add learners who have contact with an L2 only in a school context, making monolinguals more of a rarity than a mainstream occurrence. These monolingual ideals can be traced back to European Imperialism (Rosa & Flores, 2017), like how the Spanish crown would force the use of Castilian (Spanish) not only in the European territory but in the American colonies too. For this, minority speakers in these territories were cast as needing to change. The world was bounded by homogenizing standards in culture, economy, and of course, language.

Yet, this was not always the case. In Roman times, language practices are described as much more fluid (Flores, 2017), and pre-colonial Africa and India challenged the perspectives of Western society (Gumperz, 1976 in Otheguy et al., 2018). Nowadays, due to the increase in global communication and globalization, bilingualism is not only [perceived as] a more common occurrence, but it is also seen as a valuable ability to have. Nevertheless, this newly desired bilingualism is also tainted with monoglot ideas (García & Otheguy, 2019; Kirsch, 2020). Languages are needed to keep separate and pure, and the need of equal mastery of the languages are some prevalent ideas by current speakers of two languages (Hirsch & Kayam, 2020; O'Rourke & Nandi, 2019; Zubrzycki, 2018).

Nevertheless, this does not reflect the reality of the numerous bilingual speakers around the globe. Hence, many authors have defined the term in a variety of ways (e.g., Grosjean, 2008; Haugen, 1953; Mackey, 1962; Weinreich, 1968). Not only that, but there is a number of different criteria and classifications that could make someone bilingual (Li, 2000). Since there is such a variety of definitions, it is hard to talk about a consensus in the academic world, thus agreement within the lay person cannot be expected either. Issues regarding language are highly ideological. Attitudes towards certain practices (like code-switching), languages, and people have an effect on ideologies, which are dependent on our life experiences and being a member of different social groups (Hirsch & Kayam, 2020).

An important, and until recently neglected, place to find and study bilingualism is in the family domain. The field of Family Language Policies focuses mainly on bi/multilingual families, and highlights ideologies, decisions and maintenance of languages in the home, and how this affects the language acquisition process and use of the children (Wilson, 2020a). Language ideologies have been regarded as central in processes of family bi/multilingualism. These are understood as a set of beliefs about language (Ajsic & McGroarty, 2015) which are shaped due to the different social experiences of the individual (Dinamarca & Henríquez, 2019). Parental language ideologies are one of the major foci of FLP, since it is parents who are the main language planners of the home, and their views and attitudes will influence how languages are managed at home (Wilson, 2020a).

There are still some contexts that have not been widely addressed in FLP research. Such is the case of parental language ideologies of indigenous bilingual families. Though multiple studies have shed light on parental language ideologies (e.g., Costa Waetzold & Melo-Pfeifer, 2020; Hirsch & Kayam, 2020; Soler & Roberts, 2019), the focus is almost always on transnational families. Even when indigenous families are at the forefront of a study, it is usually to describe the language use within the home (e.g, Makihara, 2005; Smith-Christmas, 2014) not their ideologies, or focus only on a particular type of speaker (e.g., O'Rourke & Nandi, 2019),.

Similarly, English has not been the focus of many studies when it is in a context in which it finds itself minoritized (not the dominant language of the society). Usually in FLP studies, English is considered the majority language that endangers the generational transmission of the heritage language at home (e.g., Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; Frese et al., 2015; Hua & Li, 2016; King & Fogle, 2006; Peace-Hughes et al., 2021; Pérez Báez, 2013; Piller & Gerber, 2018; Smith-Christmas, 2014; Surrain, 2018; Wilson, 2020b). Leaving yet another type of family invisible in the academic discourse.

Additionally, the study of ideologies is relatively new in Chile (Contreras et al., 2018) and though research surrounding how indigenous people perceive their own language (Dinamarca & Henríquez, 2019) exist, their perception of bilingualism has not been discussed yet. Likewise, in terms of exploration into language ideologies (especially in Chile) regarding the English language, researchers tend to focus on English as a Second

9

Language (ESL). Thus, making studies outside education few (Contreras et al., 2018), and those regarding the family domain even fewer.

These environments (indigenous languages and English-as-minority language) are particularly interesting because they represent two opposites sides of a spectrum. English, on the one hand, a desired and prestigious language, usually associated with better job opportunities and international communication (Arellano et al., 2020; Park & Wee, 2012). Indigenous languages, on the other hand, are perceived as less advantageous and territorialized (Arellano et al., 2020; Gardner-Chloros, 2008)

In order to reduce this gap in the literature, this research focused on English-Spanish and Chedungun-Spanish bilingual families in the Chilean context with the intention of exploring parents' conceptualizations of bilingualism and the parental language ideologies present in these different contexts. So, the current study looks to characterize both indigenous and non-indigenous parents' conceptualization of bilingualism, thus asking what their ideas, beliefs and attitudes are and whether there are any differences between the language ideologies and conceptualization of bilingualism between parents of bilingual indigenous and non-indigenous families. In other words, since language ideologies are influenced by social interactions, experiences, and belonging to a community, do the different contexts of the participants result in different understandings of bilingualism? Issues such as experiences, attitudes towards languages and different practices, and how they define the term bilingualism, among others, were taken into consideration. To address these issues, the two groups of parents were

10

interviewed about their opinions about different language subjects, asked to create a language portrait, and had to narrate a bilingualism event in their lives. The data was later analyzed and coded, taking into consideration what was said, what was omitted and contradictions that could occur.

This thesis work is divided into a theoretical framework, in which the key concepts, such as bilingualism, FLP, and language ideologies, in addition to previous studies regarding the issue of FLP and parental language ideologies will be discussed. This will be followed by the methodology section, where the approach taken in the research will be presented, in addition to a description of the participants, tasks and method of analysis. In the results section the different definitions of bilingualism and ideologies of the parents will be reported by group, for them to then be compared in the discussion section. Finally, the conclusion will consist of summary of the study, with some closing remarks, as well as some limitations.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1. Family Language Policy

Family Language Policy (or FLP) is a multidisciplinary field, encompassing language policy, child language acquisition, language socialization, and literacy studies (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009, 2013; K. King et al., 2008; K. A. King, 2016; Pérez Báez, 2013). As with any other language policy, it consists of the analysis of language beliefs and ideologies, language practices and any efforts to modify them (by means of intervention, planning, or management) (Spolsky, 2004), while also focusing on

understanding its shifts as part of cultural, social, and ideological systems (Ricento, 2000). The present study aims to shed light on parental language ideologies as part of these family language policies (King et al., 2008).

Even though some define FLP as "a deliberate attempt at practicing a particular language use pattern and particular literacy practices within home domains and among family members" (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009 in Gogonas & Maligkoudi, 2020, p. 2), this definition does not cover all the possible types of FLP. Since many times there is no explicit language management at home, which in turn does not mean there is not one in place, a more accurate definition would be the overt and explicit, and covert and implicit language planning within the home, among family members (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; K. King et al., 2008; Soler & Roberts, 2019).

LP in the family domain has the three components any speech community possesses: language practices or "the habitual pattern of selection among the varieties that make up its linguistic repertoire", beliefs or ideologies or "the beliefs about language and language use", and management or "any specific effort to modify or influence that practice" (Spolsky, 2004, p. 5). Additionally (Spolsky, 2004), being a language choice situation, three conditions end up affecting the choice of language in the family: proficiency, the desire to achieve an advantage by using their "stronger" language, and the advantage of accommodating the wishes of the audience. In other words, FLP deals with language ideologies and decisions within a multilingual home, and how they shape the all family members' language(s) acquisition process and use (Wilson, 2020a).

12

FLP is sometimes placed as a key requirement for the maintenance and preservation of languages (Gogonas & Maligkoudi, 2020; Hirsch & Kayam, 2020; Schwartz, 2008; Schwartz & Verschik, 2013; Smith-Christmas, 2014; Soler & Roberts, 2019). FLP aids in providing valuable insight into how language shift occurs and what practices help stop or encourage it, since the family context influence knowledge and valorization of both languages from the parent's side, especially the mother's (Cenoz & Valencia, 1995). Additionally, it "sheds lights on broader language policy issues at societal levels" (Curdt-Christiansen, 2013, p. 1), making the relations between the private and public spheres visible, revealing the realities in which families have to negotiate (Curdt-Christiansen, 2013).

Given that language planning can both promote and constrain bi/multilingualism (Liddicoat & Taylor-Leech, 2015) and that FLP emphasizes, among other things, the lived experiences of speakers of multiple languages in the context of the home (Busch, 2015) the field tends to focus on multilingual families and communities (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009, 2022; Hirsch & Lee, 2018; Indriani et al., 2021; Soler & Roberts, 2019; Wilson, 2020a, 2020b), since it is precisely in these contexts where the attention to planning language form, function and instruction is found (Wilson, 2020a). So, as expected, most of the knowledge available about FLP comes from ethnographical research of multilingual homes (Schwartz & Verschik, 2013; Spolsky, 2004).

There is also an intrinsic relationship between bi/multilingualism and transnationalism, and the overall increase of transnationalism and worldwide

communication in our post-modern era (Hua & Li, 2016). Hence, a considerable amount of the research thus far has revolved around families who have moved from a place where their home language was the majority language to a context in which it has become minoritized.

Though it is clear why there has been such a focus on transnational families, since they have to face challenges unique to them, such as the creation of new identities (Hua & Li, 2016), and others that are common to other types of multilingual families (Edwards, 2004), emphasizing the realities of only this type of family leaves other types of bilingual families invisibilised in the conversation. Such is the case in homes in which indigenous languages are spoken, which though having some similar issues, also face difficulties unique to them (Gardner-Chloros, 2008) usually from a history of oppression.

Similarly, when it comes to transnational families, specifically when English is involved, it is almost always as a majority language (i.e. Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; Frese et al., 2015; Hua & Li, 2016; K. King & Fogle, 2006; Peace-Hughes et al., 2021; Pérez Báez, 2013; Piller & Gerber, 2018; Smith-Christmas, 2014; Surrain, 2018; Wilson, 2020b). I argue that it is necessary to study how a language that has such level of prestige unfolds at the family level in a context in which it is not widely spoken by the majority.

There are many practices that are common within multilingual families in order to manage the languages in the family (Lanza in Wilson, 2020a). These include the 'minimal grasp' approach, the 'expressed guess strategy', 'adult repetition', the 'move on strategy', and the 'adult codeswitching'. Another popular strategy is the one-parent/person one-

14

language strategy, also known as OPOL (Wilson, 2020a). These practices are examples of how beliefs and language ideologies (for example, languages should not mix) affect the way in which FLP is managed at home (Liddicoat & Taylor-Leech, 2015). In fact, many authors (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009, 2013; Gogonas & Maligkoudi, 2020; King et al., 2008; O'Rourke & Nandi, 2019) seem to agree that "language ideology is often the underlying force in family language planning and decisions on what language to practice and what measures to employ in order to influence or control family members' language behaviors" (Curdt-Christiansen, 2013, pp. 2–3). For this reason, the current study will focus on parental ideas about bilingualism, which necessarily connects with the operation of language ideologies from different sociocultural contexts.

2.2. Language Ideologies

As previously stated, parents' beliefs are crucial to FLP, this is especially true when it comes to parental language ideologies. Language ideologies can be understood in multiple ways, however, for the purpose of this study, language ideologies will be understood as "sets of beliefs (or ideas/conceptualizations) about language" (Ajsic & McGroarty, 2015, p. 182) which have their origin in the multiple social experiences of the individuals (Dinamarca & Henríquez, 2019). Research centered around the description and examination of language ideologies work as a bridge between linguistic theory and the social scope (Dinamarca & Henríquez, 2019). Due to this representation of different perspectives, all views on language are ideological by nature. Thus, the study of language ideologies is crucial to understanding "the joint (re)production and (trans)formation of

15

social and linguistic structures in context" (Rosa et al., 2017, p. 104), in this case, in the family context and bilingualism.

Kroskrity (2010) highlights the use of the term 'language ideologies' in plural, due to it being a "cluster concept, consisting of a number of convergent dimensions" (p. 195). He also proposes four layers of overlapping significance that are analytically recognized as so to identify language ideologies:

> "Language ideologies represent the perception of language and discourse that is constructed in the interest of a specific social or cultural group" (p. 195) meaning that a member's notion of what is 'good' or 'aesthetically pleasing' about language is both influenced by experience and usually tied to political-economic interests.

> "Language ideologies are profitably conceived as multiple" (p. 197) because of the different identities an individual possesses (gender, class, generation, etc.).

> "Members may display varying degrees of awareness of local language ideologies" (p. 198) due to this, ideologies cannot be just found explicitly in the utterances of the individual, but also implicitly in their actions.

> "Members' language ideologies mediate between social structures and forms of talk" (p. 200) so language users "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" (p. 200).

As layer number three explains, language ideologies are not only explicit but also (and most of the time) implicit in language use and practices (Farr & Song, 2011; Irvine, 2021; Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994; Kroskrity, 2010; Rojas & Avilés, 2014), understandably, however, these are harder to identify and study (Irvine, 2021). Therefore, it is important to also focus on the absences, at what people are not talking about (Irvine, 2021).

16

Since being a 'cluster concept', we will also understand language ideologies as encompassing beliefs, attitudes, and opinions. According to Goodenough (1990, in Wilton & Stegu, 2011) a belief is "a proposition and a commitment towards this proposition" (p.3). The proposition is based on the individual's experience and relation to the world, and the belief itself does not propose any sort of evaluation towards the proposition. When the evaluation of the beliefs becomes a crucial part of the construct, we understand them as attitudes. A positive or negative view of any object or phenomena has a clear influence in the actions regarding that object (Rosa et al., 2017; Wilton & Stegu, 2011). Finally, when these attitudes are expressed or verbalized, they become opinions. Being able to express opinions enables the individual to share them with others. This act of sharing and shaping opinions through social interaction result in 'widespread beliefs'. Language preconceptions then, support the decision of what languages should be protected, promoted, or abandoned (Rosa et al., 2017), affecting necessarily different types of bilingualsim.

Though the systems in power have many strategies to ensure and enforce these ideologies (such as the design of language education and standardized tests) (Farr & Song, 2011; Zavala, 2019), an issue with institutional contexts being the sole focus is that they tend to be dominated by official, top-down discourse and ideologies, which often exclude the bottom-up processes that challenge and complicate this institutionalized discourse and policy (Ajsic & McGroarty, 2015). So, it would be naïve to believe all ideologies are prescribed in a top-down manner. As a matter of fact, bottom-up ideologies resist, confront, or just ignore top-down policies (Farr & Song, 2011). The negotiation between

17

these two is not only common, but necessary for the adjustment of policies to different parts of society (Farr & Song, 2011), thus greatly influencing legislators and educators (Ricento, 2008).

Furthermore, while ideologies may be reflected in language practice and management, it is also interesting to see how and to what extent managers are able to have an influence in the language-ideological profile of a particular speech community since the success or failure of any managing efforts or policies within a community depend widely on how congruent with the dominant language ideologies they are (Ajsic & McGroarty, 2015). Thus, since language planning can be found in all societal domains, scholars have moved away from a strict focus on top-down policies, as so to emphasize the importance of bottom-up processes (Catedral & Djuraeva, 2018). One of such processes is the one of FLP and parental ideologies.

Showing the relationship between mind and language, with the different aesthetic and moral values of the community, while also indexing their political and economic interests (Fuller, 2009; Rojas & Avilés, 2014), language ideology is seen as the bridge between social organization and language use, including bilingualism. Of course, within a community, including families, it is possible to find multiple ideologies. In this study I will only concentrate on bilingual parents' understandings of bilingualism and the language ideologies involved. There is no doubt that children's understanding should also be described. However, due to the exploratory nature of this work, a focus on parents

seems to be an important first step as they play an important role in the language policies in their homes.

2.2.1. Parental Language Ideologies

It has been theorized that the different ideas a parent has over the nature of the child, parenting, and the family also play a role in the developmental outcomes of children, and parenting practices (King et al., 2008), including, of course, the promotion and understanding of bilingualism. This is because their beliefs and attitudes will shape their linguistic choices and interaction, which in turn will affect the child's language development. Additionally, when FLP is planned, the different views caregivers have about bilingualism and how children develop said bilingualism may influence the way in which languages are managed at home (Wilson, 2020a). It is important to investigate these ideologies in order to understand the influence of macropolitical decisions on parental beliefs regarding the status of languages (Wilson, 2020b). Such a focus on parents is due to their apparent responsibility in developing their children's bilingual skills, since the societal majority and school will not aid in this journey (K. King & Fogle, 2006; Piller & Gerber, 2018). Hence, raising a bilingual child is not only seen as 'good parenting', but as a big source of anxiety (King & Fogle, 2006; Piller & Gerber, 2018; Wilson, 2020b). Not only that, but this responsibility tends to fall on mothers, since they are the once who are considered the primary caregivers (Gogonas & Maligkoudi,2020; Hirsch & Kayam, 2020; Piller & Gerber, 2018; Soler & Roberts, 2019), even when they are not bilinguals themselves (Piller & Gerber, 2018).

19

Taking this into consideration, there are three kinds of parental attitudes that influence the linguistic practices in bilingual families (King et al., 2008). Firstly, parents have clear beliefs about what languages should be used for particular purposes. Secondly, they also have ideas on certain types of interaction, like code-switching or the use of slang. Lastly, the parents' ideas about bilingualism and language learning affect the way in which they strategize interactions. Additionally, the way in which the parents see their own abilities to shape their child's linguistic abilities (King et al., 2008), or whether they believe their children have the aptitude to learn two languages simultaneously (Surrain, 2018) may influence home language practices.

In general, multilingualism is seen as a positive asset to transmit to children (K. King & Fogle, 2006; Kostoulas & Motsiou, 2020; Piller & Gerber, 2018; Schwartz, 2008; Surrain, 2018), usually described as a 'gift' (Piller & Gerber, 2018). Yet, the culture of the monoglot standard is still present despite this acceptance of multilingualism. Parents tend to opt for keeping languages completely separate (i.e. OPOL), showing not only a monoglossic view, but a strong focus on 'native-like' proficiency (Piller & Gerber, 2018; Wilson, 2020b), mimicking the idea that language speakers should always strive to be like a native speaker (Zubrzycki, 2018). This glorification of the native speaker is also present on the idea that, for example, only native speakers are able to transmit a language to the children, since it is out right 'dangerous' for an L2 speaker to do so (Wilson, 2020b). These monoglossic ideas are so prevalent in current society, that even when parents raise their children in more translanguage-friendly approaches, focusing more on

20

communication than on perfect grammar, they still believe that keeping language separated is the best course of action (Wilson, 2020b).

This last point highlights how, even though ideologies may be reflected in practices, they are not a prediction (Curdt-Christiansen, 2015; Piller & Gerber, 2018; Schwartz, 2008; Wilson, 2020b). This is because an individual can possess a variety of ideologies, and congruence and coherence between them are not a given (Dinamarca & Henríquez, 2019). Yet one ideology may still hold more significance over the other. Another great example of this is while many parents believe bilingualism will be a valuable ability, there is still a fear of the supposed handicaps that growing up with two or more languages may bring (such as confusing languages, delay in language development, problems in early socialization, etc.) (King & Fogle, 2006; Kostoulas & Motsiou, 2020; Piller & Gerber, 2018; Schwartz, 2008). Still, many parents downplay these fears, since the positive aspects of bilingualism outweigh the negatives (Piller & Gerber, 2018; Schwartz, 2008).

Parents' ideas about language and multilingualism can be seen as a type of folk knowledge as they show "what the folk know in linguistics regardless of the empirical accuracy of this knowledge, what they feel about such topics, and potentially, how that knowledge and belief is enacted to perform linguistics" (Albury, 2014, p. 87, emphasis from the original). In general, folk beliefs have been seen as the counterpart of scientific knowledge, yet this strict division between 'folk' and 'academic' is not as clearcut, becoming a folk belief in itself (Wilton & Stegu, 2011). Parents, in this case, fall within

21

this spectrum since in the vast majority of cases they are nonlinguists. Yet, their inexperience in the field does not prevent them from drawing on their folk knowledge and language beliefs in order to carry out their language policy (N. Albury, 2014) as 'experts'.

parents' ideas are a type of local knowledge, understood as "context-bound, community-specific, and nonsystematic because it is generated ground-up through social practice in everyday life" (Canagarajah, 2005, p. 4) and despite efforts to view local knowledge in a nonpejorative way, in many circles it is still seen as "received wisdom and unexamined beliefs that are parochial, irrational or backwards" (Canagarajah, 2005, p. 4), in contrast to scientific knowledge. Yet, modernist science itself also comes from a specific tradition. This orientation is not neutral in culture, value-free nor pure rationality of universal relevance, since modernist knowledge is a form of European local knowledge (Canagarajah, 2005).

With all this being said, family language policy research takes into consideration the beliefs and cultural experiences of parents and family members as non-linguists language 'experts' and asks how these different parental language ideologies affect FLP decisions within the home (Curdt-Christiansen, 2015; K. King & Fogle, 2006; Piller & Gerber, 2018; Schwartz, 2008). Though not being the only factor that affects practice, their study is crucial to understand how languages are transmitted within the family domain, and the role they have in the developmental outcomes of children, and parenting practices.

2.3.　Bilingualism

There is an ongoing debate regarding what being bilingual is. Since the definition is often based on experiences and ideologies, and speakers´ different abilities, dominance, and age, it is impossible to find a consensus about the meaning of the term (Cenoz & Valencia, 1995; Costa Waetzold & Melo-Pfeifer, 2020; Hirsch & Kayam, 2020; Kirsch, 2020). Furthermore, bilingualism is not a static state, since an individual's linguistic repertoire will change as they add and remove resources based on their life experiences making it extremely dynamic (Cenoz & Valencia, 1995; Costa Waetzold & Melo-Pfeifer, 2020; Kirsch, 2020).

There is also a number of criteria in which someone can be labelled as bilingual. Some of these dimensions include age of acquisition, and competence (Cenoz & Valencia, 1995; Kirsch, 2020). These lead to different ways in which bilinguals can be divided. In terms of age there are simultaneous (learning both languages from birth), late (learning the L2 after puberty), or early (leaning the L2 during childhood) (Cenoz & Valencia, 1995); and in terms of competence, there are balanced bilinguals (equal mastery of both languages) and dominant (one language is stronger than the other) (Cenoz & Valencia, 1995). These are only a few examples since there is a wide range of how bilinguals can be classified depending on different factors (Li, 2000).

As one of the main aims of the current study is to describe parents' understanding of bilingualism and the linguistic ideologies involved, in the following paragraphs a

number of academic definitions of *individual*[1] bilingualism will be presented which will aid on the analysis and comparison of the results. However, it is important to highlight that the research itself will not take a stand on a definition of bilingualism as so to provide participants with the opportunity to define the term themselves and not to judge them for their answers. This does not mean that the researcher herself does not have her own interpretation of the term and, due to the nature of being a human with her own ideologies, may be reflected on the choice of words.

From a monoglossic perspective, bilingualism is said to be only achieved if a speaker presents a native-like monolingual proficiency in both languages. In the words of Bloomfield (1933, p. 56), "in the cases where this perfect foreign-language learning is not accompanied by loss of the native language, it results in 'bilingualism,' native-like control of two languages". These ideas still prevail in current society (García & Otheguy, 2019; Kirsch, 2020). This can be witnessed in how language competence is estimated from monolingual standards (Kirsch, 2020) and how bilinguals are tested under these standards and their 'native-likeness' (Birdsong, 2005; Contreras et al., 2018; Cook, 2016; García & Otheguy, 2019; Kirsch, 2020; Zavala, 2019). In fact, the bilingual status of an individual cannot be measured directly, thus researchers usually rely on a combination of (observable) indicators, like proficiency, to decide whether someone is bilingual or not (Kremin & Byers-Heinlein, 2021). This balance in proficiency results in ambilinguals, or people who are 'equally fluent in all possible topics' (Beatens Beardsmore, 1986). They

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[1] Though societal bilingualism will still be addressed further on the theoretical framework, the research itself focuses on bilingualism at the individual level.

24

contrast with equilinguals (or balanced bilinguals) because even them will show their true colours once stress, fatigue or other highly emotional reaction is involved, showing thus deviations from the monoglot norms. Not achieving this 'nativelike control of two languages' results in what some call semilinguals, alinguals, or *nilingües*, alluding to not having 'properly acquired' either language (Flores & Rosa, 2015; Otheguy et al., 2018).

In contrast to such a strict view, academics have proposed definitions that are deliberately vague. Such is the case of Mackey, who stated "we shall consider bilingualism as the alternate use of two or more languages by the same individual" (Mackey, 1957 in Beatens Beardsmore, 1986, p. 1), or Weinreich who proposed "the practice of alternatively using two languages will be called BILINGUALISM and the person involved BILINGUAL…" (Weinreich, 1953 in Beatens Beardsmore, 1986, p. 2, emphasis from the original). Similarly vague definitions were proposed by Thiery, "a bilingual individual is someone who controls two or more languages" (1992 in François Grosjean, 2022, p. 10); Li Wei, "someone in the possession of two languages" (2007 in François Grosjean, 2022, p. 10); and Dewaele, Housen, and Li, "the presence of two or more languages" (2003 in François Grosjean, 2022, p. 10). These definitions however, do not precise how well you must know the two (or more) languages or whether there are any levels of bilingual usage on the four main abilities (Beatens Beardsmore, 1986).

Haugen (1953) tried to concise his definition to the speaker who can produce complete, meaningful sentences in two (or more) languages. This definition was also contested because learning how to say sentences by heart in another language, arguably

does not make someone bilingual. Luna, Ringberg and Peracchio state that bilingualism is the "ability to communicate relatively well – including the ability to speak, understand, read, and write – in two different languages" (2008 in François Grosjean, 2022, p. 10). This understanding excludes receptive bilinguals, those who can only manage on written or oral abilities, and even those who can speak a language that does not have a written form. Grosjean (1992) believes a bilingual is someone who uses two or more languages on a regular basis. However, this definition does not take proficiency into consideration, so a language learner who has regular lessons may be considered bilingual from the very beginning. Yet, Grosjean also proposes two other interesting ideas.

Firstly, we have the complementary principle. This concept suggests that the different languages are used for different contexts (i.e. one language for family and friends, and another one for work). Secondly, the language modes, which refer to the level of activation each language has in the brain. A monolingual mode means that one language is way more active than the other (yet the other is never completely dormant), and a bilingual mode in which both languages are similarly activated and thusly allow to draw from both languages resulting, among other practices, codeswitching.

Due to all of the multiple measures mentioned (and not mentioned), it is easy to assume that bilingualism is a multidimensional construct (Kremin & Byers-Heinlein, 2021) and because it can be of concern for so many disciplines, coming up with a universal definition may be difficult (Beatens Beardsmore, 1986). In fact, another issue that makes

defining bilingualism so complex is that there is no hard criteria to differentiate between languages and/or dialects (De Bot, 2019). Which takes us to translanguage.

Coined by the linguistic minority of Welsh speakers (García & Otheguy, 2019), this concept came from the Welsh term *trawsieithu*, originally conceived to teach Welsh in Wales by using both Welsh and English as so to produce so-called balanced bilinguals (Jaspers, 2018). The reason behind this was due to the fact that separating Welsh from English did not reflect the learners' language practices (García & Otheguy, 2019). Thus the concept was coined from the term 'languaging', which describes the constant cognitive process of negotiating and producing meaning (J. Jaspers, 2018; Li, 2021), and the prefix 'trans', meaning to go beyond (Li, 2021; Otheguy et al., 2018), translanguage has disrupted the concept of bilingualism as the mastery of two (or more) languages (Otheguy et al., 2018) by referring "to all speakers' innate linguistic instinct" (Jaspers, 2018, p. 2).

Though having its roots in language education, translanguage nowadays "is to be seen […] as not only a theory of bilingual education and bilingualism, but more generally also as a language theory" (Otheguy et al., 2015, p. 284), and in fact, it has not been sufficiently extended in educational practice (García & Li, 2015).

It is important to highlight that translanguage does not dismiss the idea of named languages entirely. It acknowledges them as social realities (Li, 2021; Otheguy et al., 2018), and supports the desire to socially act as bilinguals and to have more than one cultural and socio-political identity (Otheguy et al., 2018). Named languages are a collection of partially overlapping idiolects of people with similar cultural identity

27

(Otheguy et al., 2015). So translanguage takes an insider's perspective, cognitively there is no separation of language, but this separation is valid from an outsiders' perspective (García & Otheguy, 2019; Otheguy et al., 2015). In other words, a named language is a social construct, not mental or psychological (García & Otheguy, 2019; Otheguy et al., 2015, 2018).

Thus, translanguage should be understood as "the deployment of a speaker's full linguistic repertoire without regard for watchful adherence to the socially and politically defined boundaries of named (and usually national and state) languages" (Otheguy et al., 2015, p. 283). This is because language use and perception do not always correlate with the idea of the conventionally distinct languages (eg. Spanish, English, French) and, that these distinctions, can vary greatly between different idiolects (Jaspers, 2018).

As a way to summarize, translanguage rejects the idea of named languages as a grammatical and mental division, stating that what we understand as named languages are all part of each speaker's personal idiolect. That is, all the linguistic (and sometimes non-linguistic) resources of our linguistic repertoire.

Thanks to these authors Nowadays, "at least some departures from monolingual nativelikeness are [seen as] inevitable reflexes of bilingualism" (Birdsong, 2005, p. n.n.), and some more dynamic and flexible practices are perceived as normal and part of the bilingual experience, like with the case of code-switching. Making, thusly, "the linguistic fluidity that was once positioned as inferior and undesirable is now being positioned as ideal" (Flores, 2013, p. 509).

2.3.1. Linguistic Repertoire

Originally associated with Gumperz (1964), the idea of a 'verbal repertoire' (also known as 'linguistic repertoire' or 'code repertoire'), relates to one particular speech community (Busch, 2012) and contains all possible ways in which a message can be formulated in an acceptable way (Gumperz, 1964). However, it is understood that no speaker will necessarily control all of the repertoires of their community, but each code has a marker that is crucial for how individuals function in society (Kachru, 1982), therefore it may be more useful to understand repertoires at an individual more than at a communal level (Pennycook, 2018). In short, a bilingual's repertoire includes all of their possible named languages and dialects since it is up to the speaker to decide what resources to use (Gumperz, 1964).

Multilingual speakers use their different resources in communication. This includes their different languages, therefore, their repertoire tends to be wider than that of a monolingual (Cenoz, 2013). This decision is mostly subjected to social and grammatical constraints, so "the power of selection is limited by commonly agreed on conventions" (Gumperz, 1964, p.138). The idea that "speech style not only refers indexically to social categories but that it can also be employed by speakers as a means of moving beyond normative and constraining categorizations" (Busch, 2012, p. 504) is also embedded in Gumperz's proposal. Nonetheless, the idea of a fairly stable speech community has been contested due to the increased mobility and migration, and overall participation in transnational groups (Busch, 2015).

Since linguistic repertoires (nowadays) tend to focus on the individual (and not on societies and communities), they have been intrinsically attached to the person's life story (Pennycook, 2018). As a result, the awareness of the subject is a key component, which includes the perception, experience, feeling and desires of the speaker (Busch, 2012). The multicompetence and exposure an individual has to the different languages in their repertoire is not a fixed and stable phenomenon, it will vary throughout their life and lived experiences (Cenoz, 2013), and language shift, switch, and/or alteration are all part of the linguistic repertoire (Kachru, 1982) possibilities. For this, linguistic repertoires reflect language ideology, since speakers´ beliefs will affect whether they accept or reject, learn or unlearn, certain aspects within their repertoire.

Similarly, the multicompetence and exposure an individual has to the different languages in their repertoire is not a fixed and stable phenomenon, it will vary throughout their life and lived experiences (Cenoz, 2013). Language shift, switch, and/or alteration are all part of the linguistic repertoire of a multilingual member of a speech community (Kachru, 1982). The limits between languages are not as well defined as some may believe, giving multilinguals the possibility to have these different languages at their disposal (Cenoz, 2013). Resulting in language interaction in different directions and an overall creative way of communication. There is also a 'code hierarchy' which is highly dependent on the context of communication, therefore it is not a permanent matter (Kachru, 1982). This hierarchy is determined by what a particular code may accomplish for the speaker, as in status, identity, mobility, etc. Because of this, sociolinguists have

adopted the term to refer to the accumulation of not only linguistic but semiotic resources at the individual's disposal (Pennycook, 2018).

2.4.   Literature Review

A number of authors have focus specifically on parental language ideologies. However, both indigenous families and English as a minoritized language are surprisingly underrepresented. In this section, relevant past research will be listed in order to paint a clear picture of the current situation. Starting with Juliane Costa Waetzold and Sílvia Melo-Pfeifer (2020).

2.4.1. FLP and Parental Language Ideologies

The authors (Costa Waetzold & Melo-Pfeifer, 2020) focused on how parents perceived their children's acquisition of their heritage language (in this case Portuguese) in a German context. The study took an ethnographic approach, having interviews with the caregivers of the families who attended a non-formal socio-educational project that looked to expand the children's knowledge of Portuguese. The results showed a variety of answers. Many agreed with Bloomfield's (1933) idea of balanced bilinguals, while others focused on more translingual practices by being able to accommodate different communicative practices which should be considered normal among families in such context. Among their findings, they noticed that the role of transferring their heritage language to their offspring often relied on the mother's desire to do so. Similar results were found by Josep Soler and Tim Roberts (2019).

31

In their study, Soler and Roberts (2019), focused on two families in which both parents (or grandparents in the case of one of the families) had different L1s between themselves and the majority language of the country, Swedish. In their findings, it was possible to appreciate how the different sociobiographical backgrounds of the participants had an effect on their language ideologies, and therefore, the family language planning. The men of both families were brought up in multilingual contexts in which they witnessed a number of translingual practices. Due to this, their use of language was much more flexible and had blurred lines between them. However, the women grew up in far more monolingual contexts, and even though they encountered more multilingual communities further in life, their ideas were strengthened whether by family ideologies or personal hardships. As a result, they had a strong monoglossic view of language. Similarly to Costa and Melo-Pfeifer's research (2020), the mothers were also the ones who were the most eager to pass down their languages to their offspring, which had been a point of conflict within the families. Due to this, Soler and Roberts (2019), proposed that a focus on gender in FLP studies should be emphasized.

Thus, Tijana Hirsch and Orly Kayam (2020) decided to focus on the mothers of the family, specifically on academic mothers. Aiming to find the ideologies and experiences that lead mothers to either pass their language or not, Hirsch and Kayam focused on their definitions of bilingualism and the effects of language contact on the individual. The researchers were able to note that the vast majority of the participants focused on oracy. Also, similarly to the other research shown in this section, a variety of definitions were found. While some focus on function, like being able to survive daily life

32

without the need for perfect fluency, most definitions were stricter and reflected more monoglossic views. This made these participants delimit bilingualism by fluency, frequency of use, and age of acquisition.

These studies, though very interesting, focus on European languages that are considered majority languages in some places (i.e. Portuguese is the majority language of Portugal). Though (in reference to this current study) it may also be the case of English, it is not the case of indigenous languages, that despite being autochthonous to a geographical area, nowadays are not only more spread out, but also rarely considered a majority. Regardless, these research take an ethnographic (or netnographic, in the case of Kirsch and Kayam) approach, which is best to uncover ideologies and attitudes, give an insiders' perspective.

Again, all the studies mentioned so far have one thing in common. They focus on transnational families that have been put in the position of bilingualism because of marriage, academics, or migration. This leaves a considerable part of bilinguals out of the picture, the speakers of indigenous languages. Including this type of multilingual is crucial since their sociobiographical stories may differ from those of transnational families, since their languages are, more often than not, marginalized and minoritized outside their respective communities. Nevertheless, the majority of studies focusing on indigenous bilingual families focus on language use more than on ideologies.

2.4.2. FLP and Indigenous Languages

When it comes to indigenous families, ethnographical approaches are the norm. This is because, since approaching the issue from more of an insider's perspective, it works as a great tool to witness and understand the language practices and ideologies of the participants. However, as previously stressed, most FLP studies regarding indigenous families, thought they may shed some light on ideologies, are focused on language use.

One of such research is the one by Miki Makihara (2005). She focused on Rapa Nui-Spanish bilinguals on Easter Island. In the Chilean context, the Rapa Nui language has gained symbolic value and it is seen as a legitimate language choice in expanding spheres. This is because the Rapa Nui people have dominated the heritage tourism economy and the struggles and victories of an active indigenous movement. Nevertheless, many children have opted to speak Spanish. Roughly two-thirds of the Easter Island population speak the Rapa Nui language, yet most of them are adults. Makihara witnessed a general preference and dominance of Spanish over Rapa Nui, in which children presented a more passive knowledge. So children would understand their parents' Rapa Nui, but opt to answer in Spanish. Yet, their use of Spanish is marked by Rapa Nui, creating thus a Rapa Nui Spanish. Children use grammatical features such as phonological and syntactical interference and simplification, and conversational codeswitching.

Similar results were found by Cassie Smith-Christmas (2014) on the Isle of Skye in Scotland. However, Smith-Christmas goes a bit further, by focusing on how extended family may socialize children into language shift (Makihara also included family members

outside the nuclear family concept, however, her goal was mainly to examine their linguistic practice). Being at one point the majority language of modern-day Scotland, Gaelic is the focus of Smith-Christmas' study. Nowadays the language can mostly be found in the Highlands and the Hebrides, where the Isle of Skye is located. Similar practices were witnessed among the first-generation speaker (grandmother) and the second-generation speakers (parents, aunts and uncles), than the ones shown in Makihara's (2005) study. The only exception was the first-born second-generation speaker, who was brought up in Gaelic and used it throughout his education. Third generation speakers (the children) were intended to be brought up in Gaelic (again, a desire that came from the mother). However, due to the previously stated dynamic, aunts and uncles only resorted to Gaelic when interacting with the children and not among themselves or their parents. Similarly to the second-generation speakers, the eldest third generation child was more exposed to the native Scottish language than his younger sister. The younger sibling had even expressed her dislike for Gaelic during one of the recordings. Due to Gaelic being the primary language spoken to the children (though it was not a rule that was always enforced), there was one context in which that was stressed, discipline. Adults would switch to Gaelic when reprimanding the children, which left the language with a somewhat negative connotation.

As seen here, both of these papers focus on the linguistic practices of bilingual indigenous families in the home. Though they may touch upon some ideologies, their objectives are not to uncover them, which seems to be the norm on FLP indigenous

35

studies. Though rare, this does not mean that ideologies studies do not exist. Such is the case of O'Rourke and Nandi's (2019) research on new speakers.

This term refers to minority language speakers who did not acquire their language through family or community, but from an educational setting or as adult learners (O'Rourke et al. 2015 in O'Rourke & Nandi, 2019). Galician new speakers were the target participant of O'Rourke and Nandi, (2019). This research is one of the few that focuses on the ideologies of indigenous speakers, even if it is a very specific kind of indigenous speaker. These Galician speakers were brought up in Spanish, but for one reason or another (stereotypically a political or nationalistic motivation, but that is not always the case) decided to shift their communication to the non-Castilian language. The study consisted of discussion groups of families with at least one new speaker parent, however, in most cases both parents fell under this description. The participants expressed very prescriptive views on language. Many corrected their children's use of Galician so it could be kept 'pure'. This purist view of the language was shared among a number of participants. One family, for example, admitted to enrolling their child into Galician-English bilingual education because "it was better to have [their] child's Galician 'corrupted' by English than by Spanish" (p. 501). Nevertheless, participants are aware of the stigma speaking a minority language still has, and that their offspring will probably stir towards the majority language as they grow up.

After all of this being said, it is possible to appreciate that even though not nonexistent, the study of linguistic ideologies in an indigenous context has not been

36

studied as thoroughly as is the case of transnational bilinguals. The main focus of indigenous FLP studies is on language use, which, though important, does not express the different beliefs that could be behind those decisions. Even in the cases in which ideologies are at the forefront, such as O'Rourke and Nandi's study, it is only to highlight a specific type of indigenous speaker, the new-speaker. Additionally, due to generally being less prestigious languages, it is important to see whether their sociobiographical backgrounds affect their ideas and beliefs about language and bilingualism.

2.4.3. The Case of English as a Minority Language

Somewhat contradictorily, another context that appears to be ignored in FLP studies is when English, arguably one of the languages with the highest prestige, finds itself as the minority language. In most of the cases, when English is at the forefront of a study, it is in the context of a majority language (i.e., Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; Frese et al., 2015; Hua & Li, 2016; King & Fogle, 2006; Peace-Hughes et al., 2021; Pérez Báez, 2013; Piller & Gerber, 2018; Smith-Christmas, 2014; Surrain, 2018; Wilson, 2020b). Despite the widespread of English, it is still possible to find contexts in which English is not spoken by the vast majority, thus minoritizing it.

A study that does find English in a minority context is that of María Soledad Sandoval (2006). Though not focusing precisely on FLP, the authors study the interactions of two children brought up bilingually with their mother and older sister. All kids were born in the United States and raised bilingually by their Chilean father and Irish mother. Though initially Spanish would be the home language, this would change once they

37

moved to the South American country. The authors wanted to witness the preferred language of each child. They observed that, depending on who started the interaction and in which language, the following conversation would take place in either Spanish or English. This study, though focusing on a family, did not really have FLP as its focus. It only passively addressed the practices maintained by the mother and sister and did not dive into ideologies in any way.

In the case of Gloria Ruiz's (2003) research, it is possible to appreciate the language strategies implemented by parents of Spanish-English bilingual families in Spain. She described how most parents, though valuing bilingualism, did not have any knowledge of different strategies they could use, most resorting to a *laissez-faire* approach. The parents agreed that bilingualism was important for them, and that that would need a significant amount of input. However, they also expressed that, and prioritized, they did not want to make their children feel pressured to acquire the, in this case, English language.

These two studies, though still mentioning some ideologies, similarly to most of the indigenous language studies, focused mainly on language use within the home domain. Ruiz's results contrast with the ones of Indriani, Silvhhiany and Mirizon's case study. These authors (2021) studied how parental language ideologies affected the acquisition of English in an Indonesian family. Overall, their results reflected the ones mentioned before, like placing bilingualism as a positive asset, or being under the responsibility of the parents. Yet, it differs in that the parents opted for more flexible approaches, such as

codeswitching and did not maintain both languages completely separate. Also, they were not worried about the children not acquiring or having trouble acquiring Indonesian, so they opted to introduce English first. Also, there was more support from the community, whether that be from English teachers, the government, or even the headmaster of the school.

As it can be appreciated, both the context of indigenous languages and English as a minoritized language have not been widely explored in FLP studies. Especially when it comes to parental language ideologies. Yet, some differences start to arise in what has been presented. For example, how there seems to be more support for bilingual English children than for their indigenous counterparts. For this reason, the current dissertation looks to narrow this gap by focusing on language beliefs on parents of bilingual families of these precise contexts.

2.5.   English and Indigenous Languages in the Chilean Context

Thanks to globalization, migration, and new technologies, multilingualism has become more visible and valuable (Cenoz, 2013). Yet, certain languages are still tainted by a negative light in certain communities. At one end of the spectrum, we can find English, a highly desired language (Arellano et al., 2020), and indigenous languages at the other (Gardner-Chloros, 2008). Due to this contrast, the lived experiences of a bilingual speaker of an indigenous language may vastly differ from the ones of a bilingual speaker of two majority prestigious languages (English and Spanish, for example), since one is frowned upon and the other is not only desired but encouraged. Moreover, language

ideologies are a result of being a member of different social groups and experiences, language politics and valorization, and social capital associated with different languages and personal goals (Hirsch & Kayam, 2020). So, in this section we will focus on how English and indigenous languages are regarded in the Chilean public context.

2.5.1. Bilingualism in Society

Bilingualism can be found at a societal and an individual level (Cenoz, 2013; Kirsch, 2020), yet they cannot be completely divided (Cenoz, 2013), since individual bilingualism does have an effect on the communal one (Kirsch, 2020). We have already discussed what individual bilingualism is, being one of the main foci of this study. However, societal bilingualism is important in order to situate the English and Chedungun languages into context.

There are some definitions of bilingualism that focus specifically on communities. For example, Aucamp states "bilingualism is the condition in which two living languages exist side by side in a country" (1926 in Beatens Beardsmore, 1986, p. 2), or Thiery who said that "a true bilingual is someone who is taken to be one of themselves by the members of two different linguistic communities at roughly the same cultural level" (1978 in Grosjean, 2022, p. 10). Societal bilingualism places its primary accent on understanding what different linguistic forces are present in a community and their interrelationships. In fact, many factors play a role in language contact (which in turn results in societal bilingualism) such as politics, religion, culture, economy, education, technology, etc. (De

40

Bot, 2019). Therefore, investigating this results on a wide scope and that can have implications in language policy and planning (Beatens Beardsmore, 1986).

It is possible to find two types of approaches to manage language diversity (Cenoz, 2013; Cenoz & Valencia, 1995; Flores, 2017; Flores & Rosa, 2015; García & Li, 2015; Kirsch, 2020; Otheguy et al., 2018). These being additive and subtractive multilingualism, originally proposed by Lambert (1974). The former values the different varieties an individual may have already acquired (Flores & Rosa, 2015), while also their L1 continues to develop (Cenoz, 2013), aiming to create balanced bilinguals (Flores, 2017; Flores & Rosa, 2015). While the latter looks to teach the majority language and its standard version in order to replace any other dialect or language that may be considered less valuable by society (Cenoz, 2013; Flores & Rosa, 2015) which are completely excluded (or widely misrepresented) in public spaces (Flores, 2017; Flores & Rosa, 2015). Thus, placing monolingualism as the norm.

2.5.2. English in Chile

It is said that English allows access to a considerable number of speakers around the globe, phenomenon that comes with work, study, and cultural exchange possibilities (Arellano et al., 2020). Knowledge of English is seen as significant, if not crucial, resource for climbing the socio-economic ladder (Park & Wee, 2012), so many countries create policies in order to foment the spread of English. Chile is not the exception, since Chilean governments have supported the idea of the country becoming bilingual (Arellano et al., 2020). Yet, this discourse only includes the foreign language, not indigenous ones, so the

41

teaching and promotion of any other second language is constantly being eclipsed by English as a second language (ESL) (Arellano et al., 2020).

The emergence of the neoliberal economic system (Chile being its birthplace), coupled with the rise of the internet and information-communication technology, have led to a period marked by an intensifying globalization and awareness of a current globalized world (Park & Wee, 2012). The spread of the English language does not only reflect how the world is becoming increasingly overconnected, but also the problems and dilemmas globalization exacerbates (Park & Wee, 2012), like fostering inequality by supporting and renewing relations of power. This can be witnessed in how individuals with higher social and economic status tend to have better and easier access to English, thus creating a vicious cycle.

As previously stated, English is highly regarded in the Chilean context. Considered a language that will 'open doors', many policies are in place in order to encourage the learning of this language, such is the case of the *Programa inglés abre puertas* (n.d.). In other words, having English as part of one's repertoire is very much desired. However, despite Chile performing better than other countries in the region in terms of the ESL policies that have been and are being supported, the country is still falling behind international standards (Cronquist & Fiszbein, 2017). This happens because, generally speaking, ESL lessons tend to either be indicative of the learners' social status and restrictive in terms of the social trajectories they are expected to follow (Park & Wee, 2012), or decontextualized from the lived experiences of the learners (Zavala, 2019).

42

Additionally, the English language taught in Chile is based on the idea of 'globalized English', which supposes to be homogenous and homogenizing, but only takes into consideration the standard language of the so-called 'native speakers' (Coolidge Toker, 2012). Nevertheless, the English language still holds a privileged and desired position in work and education.

2.5.3. Indigenous Languages in Chile

Indigenous languages, on the other hand, are not considered as beneficial or required as English. Indigenous people have suffered from discrimination throughout history. Due to this, there have been a lot of demands for rights and recognition, which includes not only territorial issues, but also the preservation of local languages (Arellano et al., 2020). Speaking an indigenous language can be perceived as disruptive and dividing since Spanish has been the de facto language in the country since its colony days. Due to this, the usage of local languages outside defined geographical and socio-cultural area usually has a strong political purpose, and therefore, an equally (if not stronger) political reaction.

Despite being overshadowed by the increasing influence of English, the government has still looked to amend past injustices by creating policies for the teaching of indigenous languages. The Ministry of education, along with the *Corporación Nacional de Desarrollo Indígena* (CONADI), created what is known as *Programa de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe* (PEIB). This program looks to generate intercultural education so children can learn about and the languages of indigenous peoples (PEIB, n.d). Currently,

43

the languages that can be taught are Aymara, Quechua, Mapuzungun and Rapa Nui. Nevertheless, this is not a universal program. Only public schools with a minimum of 20% of indigenous students can opt to join in (PEIB, n.d.). Furthermore, the *lengua indigena* course is not mandatory, contrary to English as a subject, and parents can excuse their offspring from attending the lesson. It has been argued that this, along with the lack of real support from the government, is doing more harm than good, by further stigmatizing these languages (Lagos, 2015).

Another contrast with English is that indigenous languages in Chile are not standardized. Yet, during the process of writing the draft for the (now rejected) new constitution, some have argued that standardization is necessary for native languages preservation (see Loncón & González, 2022; Loncón, 2021). This is a topic that causes tension even within the indigenous communities, since there is still no consensus and is still a point of discussion (Lagos, 2015).

One of the problems of creating a standard is that this one is usually based on an idealized rural public which is monolingual in a 'pure' version of the language, however, this does not reflect the experience of indigenous speakers in the country (Lagos, 2015; Zavala, 2018). In reality, most of the speakers are found in urban contexts (Lagos 2015), and tend to use translingual resources (Zavala, 2018). Their linguistic context can be as a passive bilingual of a native language (being able to understand it, but not to produce it), a bilingual whose L1 is indigenous and L2 is Spanish or having acquired them

44

simultaneously, or even as a Spanish monolingual (Espinoza, 2016). Making the indigenous speaker experience a complex and heterogenous one.

As it can be appreciated, both Indigenous languages and English have very different contexts in the country. For this reason, it would be interesting to see how language ideologies differ from these opposite backgrounds, especially how bilingualism itself is conceptualized. The family setting is a great environment to investigate this, particularly when it comes to parents. This is because parents act as language experts in their own home domain, even when they are not linguists themselves, thus making language and bilingualism an issue that has to be faced at one point or another. Will there be a difference? Or are some language beliefs spread out no matter one's culture or life experiences? This study aims to dive into such questions.

3. Methodology

3.1. Approach

This is an exploratory qualitative study. This is due to the interpretative nature of the study, which focuses on the meaning participants themselves give to their daily life interactions and experiences in the contexts they inhabit (Marshall & Rossman, 2016). Also, the focus is not on numeral data, but on ideas and opinions discursively presented by the participants.

The study seeks to understand the participants' conceptualization of a certain concept (in this case bilingualism), or as Stebbins (2001) puts it, it "searches for generalizations leading to a detailed and profound understanding of the group, process, or

45

activity under study" (p.21), but it also explores in order to discover an issue that may have not been widely studied. "Social science exploration is a broad-ranging, purposive, systematic, prearranged undertaking designed to maximize the discovery of generalizations leading to description and understanding of an area of social or psychological life" (Vogt, 1999, in Stebbins, 2001, p. 3). Additionally, exploratory research differentiates itself from qualitative research since "the first emphasizes development of theory from data, whereas the second emphasizes methodology and the actual collection of data by which this development is accomplished" (Stebbins, 2001, p. 4). Thus, by mixing both approaches it is expected to delve deeper into the different experiences and ideologies of participants who have not been widely studied yet.

The current study also uses biographical and speaker-centered approaches. Speaker-centered approaches do not focus *on* languages, but on how speakers conceive of, are interested in, and live with or experience language (Flubacher & Purkarthofer, 2022) since language research is also concerned about experiences, ideologies and repertoires (Purkarthofer, 2022). Furthermore, language biographical research links to multilingualism in a broader way, by assuming speakers employ more than one language/form/modality throughout their lifespan (Purkarthofer, 2022).

Different speaker-centered biographical methods were used in order to collect the data: an interview, a language portrait, and a short linguistic biography. These are considered speaker-centered since they focus on the complex repertoire of speakers "whose lived language experiences act as the structing forces of language

(auto)biographies" (Purkarthofer, 2022, p. 26). In other words, these methods focus on the language experience of the individual and how these affect their language repertoire and ideologies, which is the focus of this study. As it is hard to gauge someone's biography and lived experience just by conversation alone., this study will take a multimodal approach by implementing a language portrait activity in addition to the more traditional interview, and linguistic biography.

3.2. Objectives and Research Questions

The current research has the following objectives:

- The general objective is to characterize both indigenous and non-indigenous parents' conceptualizations of bilingualism.

The specific objectives are:

- To characterize indigenous and non-indigenous parents' language ideologies, attitudes, and emotions in relation to both their languages.

- To determine the extent to which parents' experiences influence their conceptualization of bilingualism.

- To characterize indigenous and non-indigenous parents' reported language use in the family.

- To compare and contrast the parents' understandings of bilingualism in terms of whether they are speakers (besides Spanish) of an indigenous or foreign language.

In accordance with these objectives, the current study will answer the following questions:

- What are the attitudes, ideologies, and emotions indigenous and non-indigenous parents have towards their languages?

- To what extent have parents' experiences influenced their conceptualization of bilingualism?

- How do parents manage languages at home according to them and what does this reveal about their understanding of bilingualism?

- Are there any differences or similarities between the language ideologies and conceptualization of bilingualism between parents of bilingual indigenous and non-indigenous families?

3.3. Participants

In order to collect the data needed, a total of 10 parents were interviewed. They come from two types of bilingual families, 5 belong to Chedungun-Spanish bilingual families, and 5 to English-Spanish bilingual families. Their names have been replaced by pseudonyms to maintain their anonymity.

The focus on parents is because they are the primary caretakers of their children, while also being the main source of socialization during the infants' first years of life. Not only that, but parents tend to be the main linguistic planners of the family unit, which in turn results in the development of the bilingualism of the children (Wilson, 2020a). Usually this task is left to the parents since the majority society will not aid in the

acquisition of languages other than the majority (K. King & Fogle, 2006; Piller & Gerber, 2018). By focusing on parents, we shed light on the linguistic knowledge of the non-linguist which give us an important window into their culture (Preston, 2005) and, in this case, their attitudes towards different linguistic phenomena and practices, which in turn will affect the bilingualism of their offspring.

For the purpose of the study, a bilingual family will be any family in which two languages are spoken, no matter its configuration. In other words, as long as one member of the family speaks one of the languages in question (alongside Spanish, the majority language in Chile), they will be considered a bilingual family.

3.3.1. Chedungun-Spanish Bilingual Families

The Chedungun-Spanish bilinguals come from a Pewenche community located in Alto Biobio, in the Andes mountains in the south of Chile. These families were contacted because of previous and current participations in research projects of the present study's supervisor and thus the interviews were carried out by him. All of them (Pablo, Mauricio, Isabel, Aurora, and Stephany) had acquired Chedungun as an L1, and later Spanish through schooling. However, this does not mean that Chedungun was everyone's main language.

Table 1: Indigenous parents' context

Name	N° Children	Known Languages	Occupation	Languages used at home
Mauricio	4	Chedungun, Spanish	Town councilman	Chedungun, Spanish
Isabel	3	Chedungun, Spanish	Traditional educator	Chedungun, Spanish

49

Aurora	2	Chedungun, Spanish	homemaker	Spanish
Pablo	3	Chedungun, Spanish	Raises animals	Chedungun, Spanish
Stephany	1	Chedungun, Spanish	Secretary	Chedungun, Spanish

These families live in a Pewenche community in the south-central Chilean Andes. (A community of around six hundred people). There are very few non-Pewenche Chileans living in the community. Intra-ethnic marriages are still the norm as is the case in these families (although the interviews were with one parent, the other parent is also Pewenche and with a similar bilingual profile). Chedungun is the community language and still widely learned and used by most members of the community of all ages. All the parents interviewed were born and raised in the community and grew up speaking Chedungun. They started to learn and use Spanish upon entering school. These families are part of a larger research project conducted by this thesis' supervisor (Marco Espinoza) who administered the instruments I designed for the study.

Mauricio works at the city council. He lives in the community with his wife (a homemaker) and two children (one newly born and a girl 9 years old). His two other sons finished school in the community (which goes from 1st to 8th grade) so they are now studying in a city and only visit the family on weekends or on vacations.

Isabel works in the school as the traditional educator (she teaches Chedungun). Her husband works in the community taking care of the animals (the traditional activity of most men in the community). One daughter still attends the school in the community.

50

Her son is a university student (and spends most of the year away in the city where he studies) and the second daughter works in a town nearby.

Aurora is a homemaker, originally from another community married a man from the community where she lives now. She is the only participant who speaks more Spanish on a regular basis. Her husband works occasionally as a seasonal fruit picker. Their two children go to the school in the community and speak little Chedungun.

Pablo also works with his own animals raising and taking care of them. His wife is a homemaker who occasionally does small works for some teachers at the school. Two daughters finished school in the community and are now studying in a different city, visiting the family on weekends and on vacations. Their son still attends the school in the community. The children typically use Spanish when communicating between them and with their parents, but they understand everything they parents say in Chedungun.

Finally, Stephany has one son who is just starting school. He is bilingual. As Stephany works in a nearby city, the boy is being cared for by Stephany's mother (a bilingual speaker).

3.3.2. English-Spanish Bilingual Families

As for the English-speaking families, they were all established in Valdivia, a city located in the south of Chile, due to their proximity to the researcher. They (Teresa, Hector, Guillermo, Sandra, and Ava) were contacted due to either having some previous connection with the researcher or through a snowball effect. All the parents had been married at one point but were divorced at the time of the interviews. Some had new

51

partners, but there were no stepchildren involved. All but one of the participants were of Chilean nationality, with the one (Ava) being of Persian origin while also possessing the status of American citizen. Two had also had a transnational marriage, one woman (Sandra) to an American man, and a man (Hector) to an Italian woman. In contrast to the Chedungun-Spanish bilingual parents, the English-Spanish Bilingual participants had acquired English as a second language. Some decided to transmit their L2 to their children out of their own will, others because of it being a heritage language of one of the parents, or because of migration. All participants had, at least, English and Spanish as part of their repertoire. On Table 2, a short summary of the participants' background can be found, which will be expanded in the following paragraphs.

Table 2: Non-indigenous parents' context

Name	N° Children	Known Languages	Occupation	Languages used at home
Guillermo	2	Spanish, English	Telecommunications	Spanish
Teresa	1	Spanish, English	University Professor	Spanish, English
Hector	2	Spanish, English, Italian, French, Dutch	University Professor	Spanish, Italian, English
Ava	2	Farsi, Spanish, English	English Teacher	Farsi, English, Spanish
Sandra	1	Spanish, English	University Professor	English, Spanish

Guillermo, a father of two daughters (23 and 27 at the time of the interview) works at a telecommunications company. He does not consider himself bilingual, despite using English regularly at work, and having lived in the US for around 2 or 3 years. His oldest

52

daughter spent her early childhood in the North American country, place where she learned how to speak both English and Spanish. Thus, despite not speaking English with one another, this language is still an important part of the family's repertoire.

Teresa, a mother of one 13-year-old girl. She is a professor and head of the English teaching program at a university and is currently studying neuroscience, thus she uses English regularly at work. Despite having never lived abroad, she decided to use English (exclusively) during the first five years of her daughter's life. Nowadays, though they mostly speak Spanish among themselves, English is still used.

Formerly married to an American man, Sandra has an 8-year-old son with which she uses the OPOL method (though admittedly, she sometimes uses English with him too, despite Spanish being her language). Also a university professor, she uses English on a regular basis in her lectures. She lived in the US as a student, and currently holds a PhD status.

Hector also formerly took part in a transnational marriage, but in this case with an Italian woman with which he had two daughters (14 and 18), also implementing OPOL practices, with English sprinkled in. He has lived a particular multilingual life since when he was very young his parents got sent to France due to the political context of the country. Here, Spanish obtained a heritage status, while French became the majority language. He also would frequent Italy, where he learned the language, and would live in The Netherlands where he acquired Dutch. English was also present throughout his life. While living in the US, he married his former wife and had his eldest daughter. Nowadays, he

has decided to settle in Chile. He has achieved postdoctoral studies and currently works as a professor.

Finally, Ava, a Persian mother of two sons (28 and 29). Farsi is her first language, though English was always part of her repertoire as a foreign language through her schooling. She would later move to Zimbabwe and then to the US (obtaining an American citizenship), where she had her children, yet while they were still very young, they moved to Chile where they have stayed since. Currently she uses English to work as an English teacher, Spanish in everyday conversations, and Farsi with friends and family.

3.4. Data Collection

Research regarding beliefs and ethnotheories (or beliefs and conceptualizations parents may have about a number of issues relating childrearing) are best done through the use of multiple methods (Harkness & Super, 2006). In this study, data was collected through three different tasks: an interview, a language portrait, and a linguistic biography.

These particular tasks were selected because, as previously stated, they are inherently speaker-centered and biographical, hence they focus on the lived experiences and emotions of the participants, which we regard as central to understand how they conceptualize, in this case, bilingualism. The interview worked as a base for discussion of different linguistic and bilingual topics, so parents had the opportunity to explicitly state their ideologies, but also allow for more implicit answers as the discussion progressed. The portrait allows us to also observe parents' rationalizations but, additionally, and this is their contribution, the emotional aspects relating to their repertoire, by relating body

54

parts to languages in their repertoire. Additionally, how they decide to portray those languages reflects the way in which they perceive their own bilingualism and language itself. Finally, the linguistic biography, as the name suggests, lets us see in a more explicit way the language biography of the participant. However, since this biographical narration is of a specific event, it also reflects the emotions of said event while also highlighting what, according to them, made it an example of their bilingualism.

Some pilot interviews were carried out before the ones being presented here in order to refine questions, materials and gauge the time needed. Also, all of the interviews but one were carried out in Spanish (Ava's interview was carried out in English to ease the interaction).

Participants met up with either the author or the supervisor of the thesis, the non-indigenous participants met with the former, and the indigenous parents with the latter. This is due to the non-indigenous participants being in closer proximity to the thesis author and because the indigenous participants were already participants in the ANID/CONYCIT project number 11200571, of which the thesis is part of. Furthermore, the supervisor had already established a researcher-participant relationship with this groups thus making it easier for all involved if it was him who conducted their meeting.

3.4.1. Interview

The interview section was divided into two parts, a sociolinguistic background questionnaire, and an open-ended semi-structured interview about their opinions surrounding different language topics. The questionnaire and interview were used since

they are usually implemented in the study in ideologies due to their open-ended nature that requires respondents to report and elaborate on their own personal experience (Ajsic & McGroarty, 2015).

The first set of questions consisted of a linguistic background questionnaire, which has been adapted from the Language Experience and Proficiency Questionnaire, or LEAP-Q (Marian et al., 2007). Though the LEAP-Q is usually used to gauge multilingual individuals' proficiency by self-report, we focused on the E (experience) part because the main goal of these questions was to understand the participants' experience with their languages and general background.

The second section of the interview consisted of semi-structured questions about their own experiences and opinions surrounding bilingualism. The open-ended enquiries varied from their opinion on bilingualism and codeswitching, to how they see it reflected in their lives or how their perception has changed, based on their experiences.

As a way to gather more information in order to triangulate the data, participants were also asked to fill in a language portrait and write a linguistic biography.

3.4.2. Language Portrait

Though a deceivingly simple tool (Singer, 2022), language portraits are an instrument that helps understand day-to-day language practices, bodily representation, and emotions (Sánchez, 2019; Yoshida & Nichols, 2022), while also shedding light on attitudes and ideologies about language (Sánchez, 2019), allowing a visual representation of multilingualism (Yoshida & Nichols, 2022). The body image works as a reference to

create interpretations of the world (i.e. if they paint the hands is a way of representing salutations or mouth for speaking) (Busch, 2018 in Sánchez, 2019). Additionally, due to the hands-in creative process, participants are made aware of their own linguistic repertoire (Busch, 2019 in Muller, 2022), providing them with more interactional agency that the reaction to questions is unable to provide, thus creating a more evenly balanced interactional ground (Muller, 2022).

In order to carry out this task, participants were handed coloured pencils and a sheet of paper depicting some simple instructions and the drawing of a blank silhouette, as can be seen in Figure 1. With this, the researchers would elicit them to represent their linguistic repertoire with the different colours, symbols, words, etc. as the participants deemed feat.

Yet, if researchers are not familiar with the participant's biography, it is possible to have no expectations about what languages could or could not be included in the portrait, leaving a gap in the interpretation (Muller, 2022). Additionally, though the portrait helps researchers bring the speaker's stories to the fore, it is important for them to be cautious when drawing conclusions, since only some parts are shown, and these parts while incomplete, are still perfect parts of the story (Purkarthofer, 2022). Given that there are no universal ways of representation, and some of the relations may be overlooked by the authors, it is not possible to draw conclusions without the explanation of the portraits' authors (Busch, 2018 in Sánchez, 2019). For this, participants were asked to explain what they had drawn to the researchers orally.

Piensa en tus variedades, idiomas, dialectos, etc.
Representalos en la silueta.
Puedes usar diferentes colores, figuras o lo que encuentres necesario
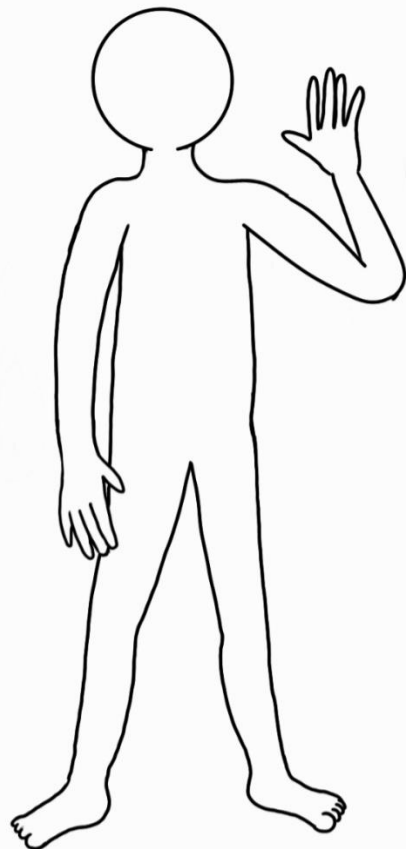
Figure 1 Language Portrait

The aim of the language portrait is to get a glimpse of someone's linguistic repertoire by representing what languages are relevant to their (present or past) life, how they think of them in relation to their body and emotions, and how they experience the language (Flubacher & Purkarthofer, 2022). A person's repertoire includes all their history

of language learning, acquisition and use, metalinguistic knowledge, registers and their contexts, ideologies and attitudes (Purkarthofer, 2022).

The language portrait can aid in collaborative approaches, since participants are not mere 'informants', but are actively analyzing their own repertoire and how it connects to their life history, thus supporting the development of shared understandings (Singer, 2022). Thus, portraits can help translate the inner self into the outer world (Purkarthofer, 2022), something in which a language biography will aid too.

3.4.3. Language Biography

In order to have a better understanding of the participants' linguistic background, a linguistic autobiographical narration was asked of them. Language biographies can be prompted by a language use-related question, but they may also be elicited as someone's more general story (Purkarthofer, 2022). So, participants were invited to orally describe one instance that they think reflects their bilingualism accurately. Similarly to Busch, Aziza, and Tjoutuku (2006), participants were expected to focus on a well-remembered incident and retell not only the chain of events but also their feelings and emotions. This narration will not just contextualize their background further, but also reflect some of the experiences that led them to have certain ideas about bilingualism.

The term language biography refers to "individual's linguistic journeys that disclose the language with which they have come in contact, and where and at what stage in life" (Purkarthofer, 2022 in Anthonissen, 2022). However, biographical narratives are not only descriptions of event, but transformed instances of these lived experiences of language,

59

retold in diverse ways and relating memories to present discourse and future development (Purkarthofer, 2022), thus their main focus is "to group the socially mediated meaning-making inherent in each and every life story" (Flubacher & Purkarthofer, 2022, p. 6). Neither languages nor biographies are fixed entities owned by a single individual. They are social texts and practices (Pennycook, 2010 in Anthonissen, 2022; Purkarthofer, 2022) that change across life, while maintaining with the ever changing image of self (Purkarthofer, 2022). Language biographies are thus considered a critical entry point to the multilayered narratives of speakers (Flubacher & Purkarthofer, 2022) and, as such, to the ways in which they conceptualize the language experiences, including bilingualism.

3.5. Analysis

The answers of the interview, linguistic biography and language portrait were all looked at as a whole. This is because, despite being different tasks, it is not possible to separate them as they are different entry points to the complex lived language experience of the parents, and only by taking them together can we produce a more complete picture of these parents' conceptualizations of bilingualism. Though it is impossible to completely appreciate the linguistic experience of these parents, seeing these tasks together allows us to get a clearer picture of the participants' experiences and ideologies, than seeing them as completely separate entities. This way, connections and contradictions can be more easily perceived, and the experiences and ideologies of the parents seem more apparent. In cases were certain bits of information become salient as part of any particular task, these will be highlighted.

60

Once all the information was gathered, the audio recordings of all tasks were transcribed. Firstly, a thematic approach was taken. Thematic analysis is

> …a method for systematically identifying, organizing, and offering insight into patterns of meaning (themes) across a data set [and thus] allows the researcher to see and make sense of collective or shared meanings and experiences […] This method, then, is a way of identifying what is common to the way a topic is talked or written about and of making sense of those commonalities. (Braun & Clarke, 2012, p. 57)

So, different codes were created in order to differentiate the topics (i.e., work, sense of being, language purism, etc.). With this, a picture of each individual participant was easier to be perceived. This method also allowed to find similarities, differences, and contradictions between the participants of each group, and then amongst the two groups.

After doing this, different categories were created in order to be able to answer the different research questions. These different analytical categories were selected based on the objectives of the study, thus some of them mimic certain questions made on the interview section since the objectives also guided the collection of the data. These categories in question were:

1. Definition of Bilingualism: the first and most general section. This part creates a base that can be built upon with the following ones. The basis of this section emerged from the interview question that explicitly asked for a definition of bilingualism, yet it was also complemented with other comments made throughout the interview in addition to the portraits and biographies.

2. Advantages/Disadvantages of Bilingualism: Again, taking one of the interview questions as a base, this section builds upon the last one by

61

shedding light on several issues. Firstly, what participants consider advantages or disadvantages, and whether they focus on one language or on bilingualism itself. It also highlights the attitudes participants have towards the languages in question.

3. Attitudes Towards Code-Mixing: Though taken again from a question from the interview, this section gets expanded not only by comments made further in the interview, but from the language portraits and their reported linguistic practices. This section sheds light on linguistic ideologies that are intrinsically related to bilingualism, by discussing their attitudes towards certain bilingual practices.

4. Language and Identity: This section focuses on a more personal issue. It highlights not only how participants related the issues of language and identity, but also the emotional bond they may or may not have with the languages, and the experiences that led to these conclusions.

5. Family: Because of dealing with parents, it is expected for them to speak about their children and overall families. This section will focus mostly on participants' reported practices. It is important to highlight that it is understood that what parents *say they do* is not necessarily what they *do*. However, that is the reason why their *reported* practices are more attuned to the current study, since they will show the linguistic ideologies of parents. Thus, not focusing only on what they do, but what they believe they do and why they consider that that is the best alternative.

6. Emerging Topics: A couple of issues were found while analyzing the data that was prevalent, but only in one of the groups. It was deemed important to give these issues their own section, and they were added in the places where they seemed fit.

The results section will feature similar divisions.

Because one of the aims of this study is also to find out whether there is a relation between being an indigenous or non-indigenous bilingual and their definition of bilingualism, the answers were analyzed as a whole and as two separate groups. Thus, the opinions and explanations of the participants were described regarding the theoretical framework previously stated, and conclusions were also drawn based on the background described by them. Then, an overall definition was taken for each group, by taking the most repeated themes per group.

Finally, these definitions were contrasted among the two groups (Spanish-English and Spanish-Chedungun) in order to find out whether there is a relationship between the type of bilingual family or not. It is important to point out that this study only showed a representation of the participants' thoughts and does not look to criticize or change their perception in any way. The goal is to witness and understand the parental language ideologies of our participants and see if they may correlate to some of the views of bilingualism stated in the literature review. As Hirsch and Kayam (2020) put it "it is important to first learn how the participants define what we are interested in studying.

With little consensus on definitions within the academic communities, diversity of definitions among participants is to be expected" (p.33).

4. Results

In this section, participants' conceptualizations of bilingualism and language ideologies will be presented. Firstly, each group will be analyzed separately, to then move on to the comparison. Note that different quotes from the participants will be shown. Most of them are in Spanish, yet some of them are in English. This is because the interview with one participant (Ava) took place in said language. Similarly, only four portraits will be shown for each group as Ava and Stephany did not complete one, but they still gave their oral descriptions.

4.1. Non-indigenous Parents

4.1.1. Definition of Bilingualism

Generally speaking, all non-indigenous parents shared a similar view of bilingualism, yet some significant differences were found as the interviews progressed. Overall, all participants defined bilingualism as being able to communicate in two languages. However, different nuances were highlighted by each participant.

In terms of abilities, two participants explicitly talk about how literacy is not needed in order to consider oneself bilingual. Guillermo expressed that bilingualism only implies oral communication, being able to produce and understand oral language. Teresa goes even further, by explaining how there is no need to be proficient in all abilities. She

is the only participant in this group that took passive bilinguals (bilinguals who can understand the language but cannot produce it) into her definition as she states "*yo veo que hay personas que no son...fluidas por ejemplo en el writing o, no sé po en-hm eh,* production, maybe, mainly. *Pero aun así se considera bilingües porque puede entender el idioma por ejemplo*". Ava actively contradicted this idea, since she admitted to having two other languages in her repertoire once she described her portrait

> So I was exposed to Turkish language and also I watched the Turkish, uh, soap-operas. I understand some, I don't speak it, but I could understand a lot of it. And my father came from an area in Iran that they spoke a certain dialogue that when I was a child, I was exposed to that.
>
> However, she does not consider these languages as languages she 'knows'

since she is unable to produce in them.

This is also related to another aspect she also added, that of feeling confident in the language. This highlighted how Ava herself did not feel fully confident in Spanish, therefore she did not consider herself trilingual, since she only felt confident in English and Farsi, removing Turkish and the Iranian dialect completely from the picture. Despite Ava still considering herself bilingual, this was a common sentiment since both Guillermo and Sandra expressed similar reasons for not considering themselves bilingual. Though this 'confidence' is never defined, it can be assumed that it is a matter of self-doubt due to not achieving a certain standard, or more accurately, not achieving that 'native speaker' level. Though they may have not mentioned the concept of native speaker explicitly, there are still some comments that allow us to deduce what they are referring to.

65

Sandra, for example, stated how she thought being 'fluent' in both languages was needed, which she felt was not her case. Though again the term is not defined by her, she goes on to explain how despite getting good scores on standardized tests and having a high level in the four abilities (reading, writing, listening, and speaking) her proficiency in English does not match the one in Spanish, the language she considers her native language. Thus, it is possible to assume 'fluent', for her, means to achieve native-speaker abilities. However, during her linguistic biography she mentions a woman who she considers bilingual, yet she "*de repente tiene como que se equivoca en unas cosita en español porque pasa del inglés algunas- las traduce literal al español*", thus not really achieving that 'native speaker' ideal.

Guillermo shares the sentiment regarding his proficiency. Though he does not go too much into detail about it, he underlines how being bilingual for him means managing oneself 'very well' in two languages and that he is far from achieving that. He considers that he has 'one language and three-thirds'. He also adds the issue of interaction with native speakers and foreigners, since one of his daughters is considered bilingual (while the other is not) "*porque una tiene más experiencia, se ha desarrollado más en el extranjero, y ha trabajado precisamente con gente de habla inglesa*". Either way, for the majority of the non-indigenous parents being bilingual meant having the proficiency of a native speaker in all the languages.

The remaining participants opted for a less strict definition. While, similarly to the others, they highlighted the need of being able to communicate in the language, the extent

66

to which that communication needs to be 'fluent' or 'proficient' is not equal to the level of their mother tongue. As previously written, Teresa was the only participant who took passive bilinguals into consideration, however, she also shows some ideas related to native-speakerism (Holliday, 2017). She mentions how she communicates "*no perfectamente en inglés, tengo un montón de errores porque no soy nativa- me imagino que por eso*". Thus, despite having a more open idea of bilingualism, Teresa still sees the 'native-speaker' as the ideal speaker-hearer that does not make any mistakes. Hector, on the other hand, included Dutch within his 'spoken' languages, even though he is in the process of losing that language and highlighted several times how his languages were not at the same level in different contexts.

Bilingualism, however, was not only related to one's fluency in the language, but also to different ways of perceiving or relating to the world. Whether it was something related to thought as Hector put it, bilingualism "*es pensar y comunicarse en otro idioma*"; or maybe the ability to not only think but feel in the other language like it can be seen in this quote from Teresa "*esto de ser en un idioma, de poder…tener pensamientos, sentimientos ¿no cierto? poder tener emociones desde ese mismo idioma, y algún momento traspasar ese idioma a alguien más o conversar con alguien*". Hector also added "*tener otras maneras de decir, de reconocer otras expresiones*" to his previous quote. A sentiment that seems to be shared by all participants (except maybe for Guillermo, since he did not refer to the topic). Ava relates this to understanding other people's culture, which is intrinsically related to language, which in turn aids in being a better person it can be seen in the answer "*I think it has helped me to understand people*

67

better and to accept people better and not to judge. I think through language, you understand people's culture and their way of thinking, and that helps you become more patient, more understanding and less judgmental". Teresa goes as far as to highlight how different personalities may arise when speaking different languages and that, on a personal note, it helps one see the world through '*the colours of another language*'.

Bilingualism, then, is also perceived as dynamic. Hence, one is not necessarily born bilingual. One's repertoire gets expanded and reduced through one's life, which in turn reflects changing language ideologies. Only two (Guillermo and Ava) stated that they had perceived bilingualism the same way throughout their lives. The remaining three, because of different reasons, had at one point changed their understanding. Sandra, for example, explained she had a much broader understanding of bilingualism. She believed bilingualism was being able to produce sentences in the other language, however, as she continued learning English, she realized that just knowing some sentences does not make one bilingual. As she puts it "*pero después me di cuenta que, claro saber, eh*, this is a door, this is a pencil *y como hablar super fluido español eso no es bilingüe*", so she opted for the stricter definition of bilingualism previously stated. Here, it can be appreciated how the term 'bilingualism' changes throughout someone's lifespan due to different experiences. It can be appreciated how Sandra's definition of bilingualism changed because her own experience as a bilingual made her perceive it as different.

This can also be appreciated in how Teresa originally had a very strict definition of bilingualism, but through reading and studying she ended up with the least strict

68

definition of the five. She highlights how, similarly to Sandra, as she learned more, her definition changed. However, Teresa also adds the issue of language attachment into this dynamism, seen in how she states that English, though still very present in her life, it does not have the emotional bond it once had. This can also be seen in Hector's answers, since his languages have had different emotional significance, and their uses have also changed throughout his life. Also, he realized through his own experience that bilingualism is reflected through context. In other words, how each language is connected to certain contexts. He exemplifies how he swears and counts in French, but that he thinks of science in English.

This last issue of context was also present in all the other non-indigenous parents. Everyone from this group, despite all having it as part of their family repertoire, related English to work. Though families were sometimes mentioned too, it was always a second thought. In fact, it can be appreciated in the two portraits seen in Figure 2 and Figure 3 (Teresa and Sandra) how English is placed in the head for being more 'intellectual' and the hands for 'making/doing', or how Hector places it outside the silhouette because of him feeling it more in the environment, and not as a part of him. Though it can have some emotional value because of a former spouse or the children, its role is first and foremost for work.

Figure 2 Sandra's Portrait
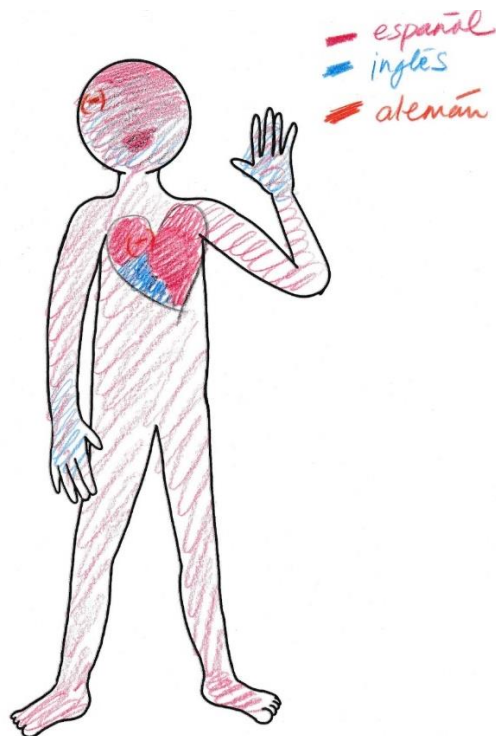
Figure 3 Teresa's Portrait

Spanish, on the other hand, was for more daily occurrences. Sandra related it to the stomach, which was the centre of emotions. She also explains how Spanish is 'her being'. Teresa does something similar, by painting the whole silhouette red to represent the Hispanic language. Spanish does not only represent her but those closest to her. However, these two were the exception. The other three participants did not show such an emotional bond with Spanish. Though the fathers agreed that it was their main language, Spanish was mostly taken for granted. They even went as far as to not represent it at all in their portraits. Guillermo was asked about it, but he did not add it nor make any comments. Hector realized himself how he had not represented Spanish and commented on it, yet he did not add it after the fact.

Furthermore, English (and, thus, bilingualism) was often referred to as a 'tool'. This not only highlighted the 'job' aspect of the language, but how impersonal it was for them. In this sense, English was seen as an object to be owned or acquired, not so much as 'felt'. Though feelings and emotions regarding English were expressed throughout the conversations, it was usually to contrast the lack of connection they had with English, contrary to that of Spanish. Teresa, for example, highlights how English does not give her the 'warm feeling' it once provided, and that Spanish keeps offering. She also mentions how, because of this, if she were to have another child, she would be reluctant to transmit this language as she did with her daughter. However, if she did, it would be only for this 'tool' as she explained "*por la herramienta, pero si hoy día tuviera un hijo hoy día, no te puedo decir si esté tan segura de- a menos que sea por el tema de la herramienta ¿cachai? como la herramienta*". So, even if English had at one point had an emotional significance to Teresa, it does not anymore. This 'toolification' of English was something that was continuously mentioned when it came to the advantages of bilingualism and the reasons behind transmitting the language to their children.
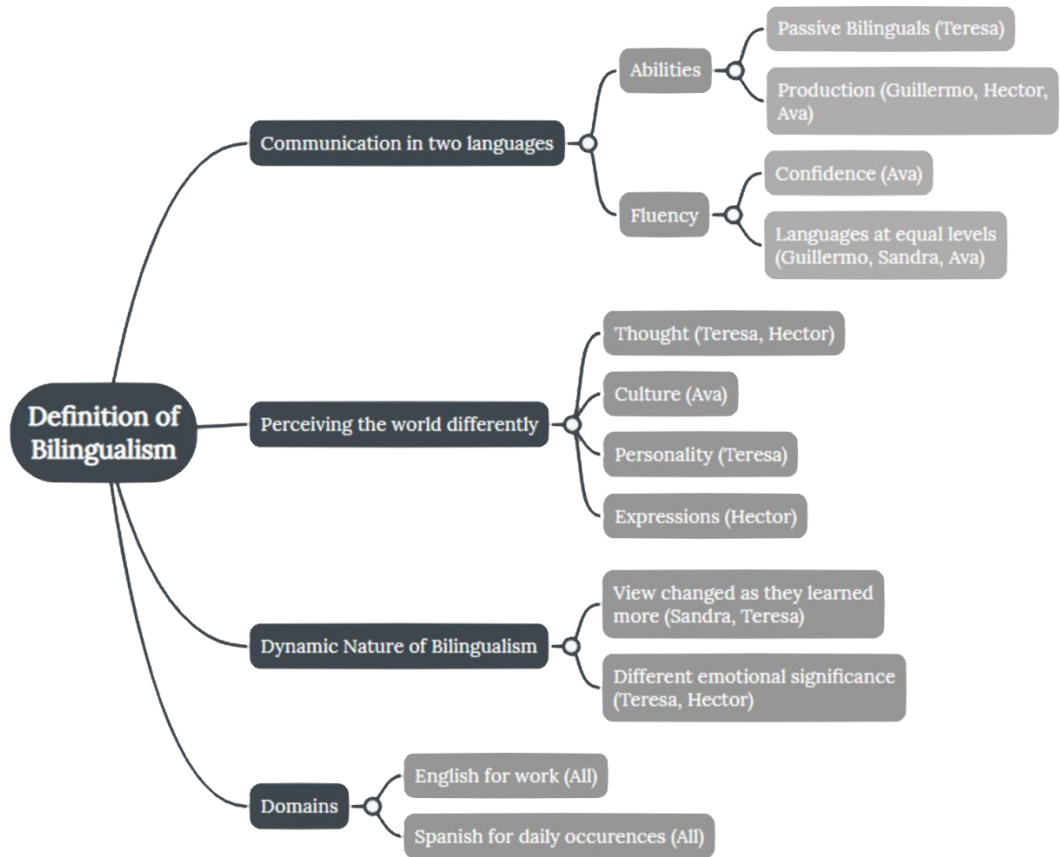
Figure 4: Definition of Bilingualism by non-indigenous parents

As it can be appreciated in Figure 4, there was an overall consensus on bilingualism being the ability to communicate in two languages, however, as the conversations progressed, different nuances appeared. Most parents seem to agree that being bilingual also comes with a difference in perception of the world; be that a different way of thinking, other personalities, expressions or culture. Moreover, most non-indigenous parents thought that being able to produce in both languages (especially orally) was crucial in order to call oneself bilingual. It was also expected that the languages would

73

be at a similar level, most likely to that of a native speaker. Yet, each language is used in different contexts. English for work, and Spanish for more daily occurrences and relations. Finally, bilingualism and its definition are not static states, as most participants expressed how their experiences had influenced their understanding about the concept and on their own bilingualism.

4.1.2. Advantages of Bilingualism

The two main topics that kept reappearing in this group when it came to advantages were work and international connections. Though other reasons were addressed, these two were highlighted by all participants.

In terms of work, all participants related English to job opportunities in some way. The only one that did not highlight it as much was Hector. Participants saw bilingualism in English specifically as a way to encounter new and better job opportunities, especially abroad. Which relates to the idea of communicating with people of other nationalities.

Also drawn from their own experience, participants underline how speaking other languages will aid in making connections of any kind with people who do not share the same L1. This can also be appreciated in their biographical narratives since all but one are related to speaking with people of different nationalities. Sandra highlights that English and Spanish are particularly useful in this sense, by also complaining about how German does not bring the same opportunities as an example. This correlates with Guillermo, and Teresa's answers, since they focus on bilingualism that includes English in their repertoire since, according to them, it is 'even better'.

74

Cognitive advantages were mentioned by two participants, Ava and Teresa. Ava speaks about how bilingualism helps prevent diseases such as Alzheimer's. While Teresa highlights how knowing more than one language helps certain cognitive abilities develop quicker in comparison to monolinguals. However, it was not developed any further.
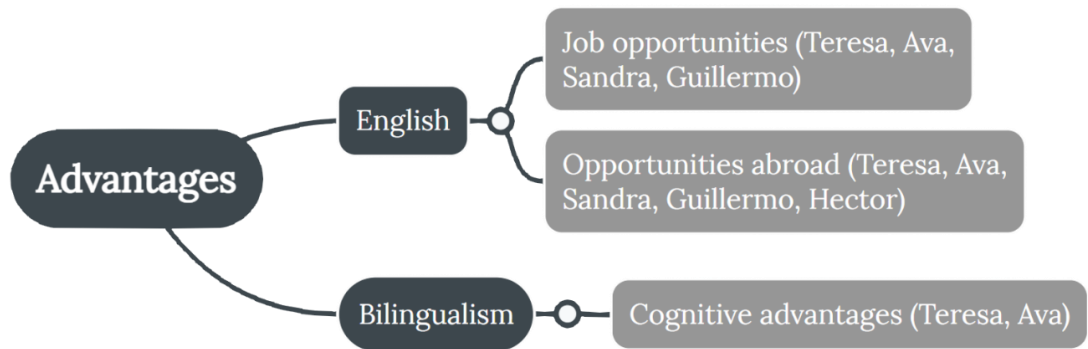

Figure 5: Advantages of Bilingualism by non-indigenous parents

As seen in Figure 5, though some cognitive advantages may exist, for this group the main advantages of bilingualism were job opportunities and communication with foreigners. However, these advantages were mostly associated with English, and not to bilingualism itself.

4.1.3. Superiority of English

Even though English was mostly a 'job' language, some participants still highlighted how important it was to know the language. This may not have been a topic as recurrent as some of the others in this section, but it was mentioned enough times to be somewhat salient. This was also an issue that was only present in the non-indigenous participants since the English language was barely mentioned by the indigenous

interviewees. The idea in question is that having English in your repertoire is better than having any other language.

This issue can be seen in Sandra's, Guillermo's, and Teresa's interviews. These participants at one point (usually around the discussion of advantages of being bilingual) mentioned how English was the most useful language to learn. The one participant that explained it the furthest is Sandra, who said

> *la verdad es que, a ver- saber otros idiomas, sí, pero depende del idioma. Eso quiero aclarar porque en el caso del inglés y del español también te abre muchas puertas. Ahora hay otros casos como por ejemplo, el chino mandarín igual te abre puertas como en otra parte del planeta. Pero en general, el inglés, eh, claro, te permite acceder a muchas cosas o a otras culturas […] Así que eh… pero no así por ejemplo, eh, que siempre criticamos como al alemán, es como ya te lo machacan a los pobrecitos con alemán alemán y ¿dónde te sirve el alemán? es como ya anda la gira Alemania y listo. Por eso entonces, como por eso depende del idioma. De la uti- del idioma y en este caso, inglés muy útil y español también.*

Sandra here does not only highlight the 'usefulness' of English, but of Spanish and even Mandarin too. It is interesting also, how she considers German, another majority language, as 'not useful'. German is particularly striking because the Valdivia area and further south are regions that had seen a number of German immigrants in the XIX and XX centuries, thus there is a significant Germanic influence around. She makes reference to the German schools in the area, which have a strong emphasis on the teaching of the language and usually have a school trip to Germany during their last years of secondary school. By her comment and tone, it can be deduced that she is completely ignoring the fact that German can be a heritage language for many people around the area, and that its only use is for the one school trip to Germany.

Overall, it is noteworthy to see how despite having addressed the idea of encouraging learning other languages, English is still seen as the superior option, even over other big languages that also have an international reach. It would have been interesting to dive deeper into the issue and discuss their opinion on indigenous languages

76

since, as Teresa puts it, "*se habla aquí en Chile y no en otra parte más*", thus not having the 'usefulness' they mentioned.

4.1.4. Disadvantages of Bilingualism

Again, all participants seemed to agree on this topic, finding no real disadvantages of bilingualism. However, Teresa, Hector, and Sandra, since prompted with the question, still decided to discuss what may be some hardships.

In terms of entertainment, Teresa speaks about how knowing English has made her more critical of certain things, especially translations. She explains that while watching a subtitled film with her monolingual partner, she has the necessity to comment and explain that the subtitles are not accurate. An issue that is not of importance to her partner, but a sentiment shared with her bilingual daughter.

Teresa highlights an issue of discrimination. She explains that when one finds oneself in a context where nobody knows English, some people may react negatively by staring or making negative remarks. As she explains "…*a uno la miran así como ¿qué se cree? o como usa la lengua del imperio, las cuestiones*".

Though these disadvantages were mentioned, both participants were not very convinced about them and highlighted before that they could not really find disadvantages, the case of Hector is slightly different. Though also expressing that he could not find any disadvantages at first, he gives two personal hardships he has dealt with in his life. Due to his repertoire including such a variety of languages (especially French, English, and Spanish) he says that it is hard for him to find himself unable to communicate, so when these rare occasions appear they are extremely daunting. Yet, the biggest disadvantage mentioned was how he feels a lack of belonging. Though more related to the fact that he had lived in multiple countries, the issue of language is still present. He admits to not feeling like he belongs 100% to any particular place, and that even in multilingual contexts that may include the same languages he speaks, just because they share languages does not mean they share the same contexts.

77

Thus, real drawbacks to being bilingual were not found by the participants. The answers given were only mentioned because of being prompted with the question.

4.1.5. Attitudes towards Code Mixing

There was more variety to this topic than with the previous ones. Both Sandra and Teresa had very positive views about code mixing, which was not the case for Guillermo, Hector, and Ava. This was also the part of the meeting where the most contradictions appeared. It is important to point out that the question itself used the term "*mezcla*", meaning mix. This was as a way to generally refer to this bilingual practice. The terms 'spanglish' and 'frenglish' were used as examples of the practice for this group.

Starting with the ones with a positive attitude towards code-mixing, Sandra and Teresa both agreed that it was not only fun but also practical. Sandra explains how she found certain ideas easier to say in English, and that speaking to her son, some things just 'make more sense' to him in English. Teresa shares this sentiment, as she uses English in a similar way with her daughter. Additionally, as an English teacher, she highlights how mixing the two languages works as a facilitator for the learning and acquisition of an L2. Moreover, these two participants codeswitched multiple times throughout the interview. However, despite being the only ones who expressed a positive attitude, they were not the only ones who used such practices.

Ava, whose interview was carried out in English, added Spanish filler words in the conversation such as '*sí*' when consulting with herself, or when referring to her sons' job posts. As previously explained, she said that language mixing was not of her preference.

Yet, she considered it inevitable, especially with younger generations, but, in her own words "I think it's good to be able to speak a good, pure language sometimes".

More than absolute rejecting, Ava's positioning is more of a reluctant acceptance. This is similar to Guillermo and Hector's answers. Guillermo, on the one hand, focuses specifically on a business perspective. He exemplifies the term 'tiger market' as an "*esnobismo*" (an Anglicism itself) and, though he sees English as an international language, he does not like when it is used in such contexts. Still, he does find some practicality, especially for transnational corporations, since, as he puts it "*hay empresas transnacionales que sí, necesitan mantener parte de sus definiciones, de sus ehm…cosas, ya, contextos, en su idioma original*".

Hector, on the other hand, expresses that he did not like code-mixing and that it has been a point of argument with his sister (who grew up in a similarly multilingual context and went on to study linguistics). Nowadays, he finds it valid but does not practice it. He explains that he views code mixing as an issue related to communities that find themselves in (cultural) borders, which is something he has not experienced. However, he then explains how the neighbourhood in which he lived in France did have this present since there was a considerable Arab and gipsy influence, which was reflected in the way his neighbours spoke, and how he also lived on the US and Mexican border where a specific kind of 'archaic' Spanish was used. Yet he still expresses that he has not been 'lucky enough to have encountered those types of culture nor practice code-mixing'. Another contradiction is that he comments several times on his translingual use of the

languages in his repertoire with his daughters. He explains that having conversations in which the daughters would speak one language and he would answer in another are fairly common, and his biographical narration focused highly on changing languages within one conversation which in turn made the occasion much more 'intimate'. Clearly, he does not consider this wrong or mixing, mostly because each person still 'compartmentalizes' each language by not mixing within the sentence. This could be an issue with the wording of the question, since this could align better with the term 'code-switching', which can occur at any level.

Furthermore, the language portraits show how Sandra, Guillermo, and Hector create hard divisions between the languages. Guillermo does not even represent other languages besides English as seen in Figure 6. Hector, Figure 7, restricts each body part to only one language. Sandra does place English and Spanish among similar parts in the body, however, she still makes a harsh line to divide them. The only one who actively did not separate the languages was Teresa, who even addressed in a short comment how the languages overlapped at some points. It is hard to tell with Ava, since she did place all the languages in the brain, but since we do not have a visual representation of it, it is hard to draw conclusions.
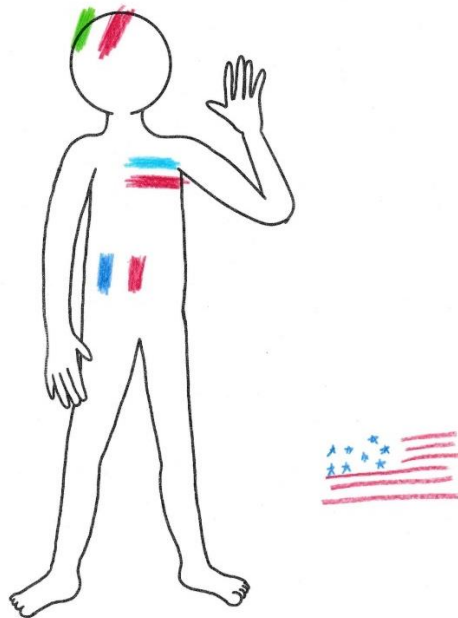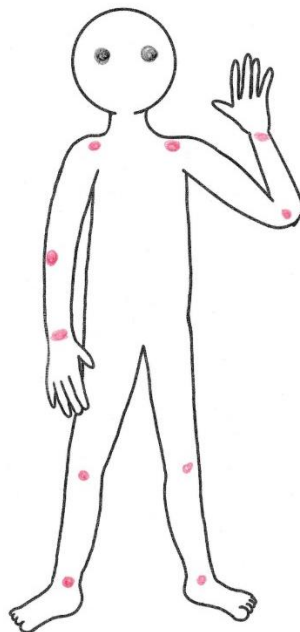
Figure 6: Hector's Portrait

Figure 7: Guillermo's Portrait

In other words, for non-indigenous participants, languages should not be mixed and are perceived as separate entities. As seen in Figure 8, there are different judgments associated with the practice, such as snobbishness or a cultural matter. Yet, some situations may call for such practices, and these parents reluctantly participate in them.
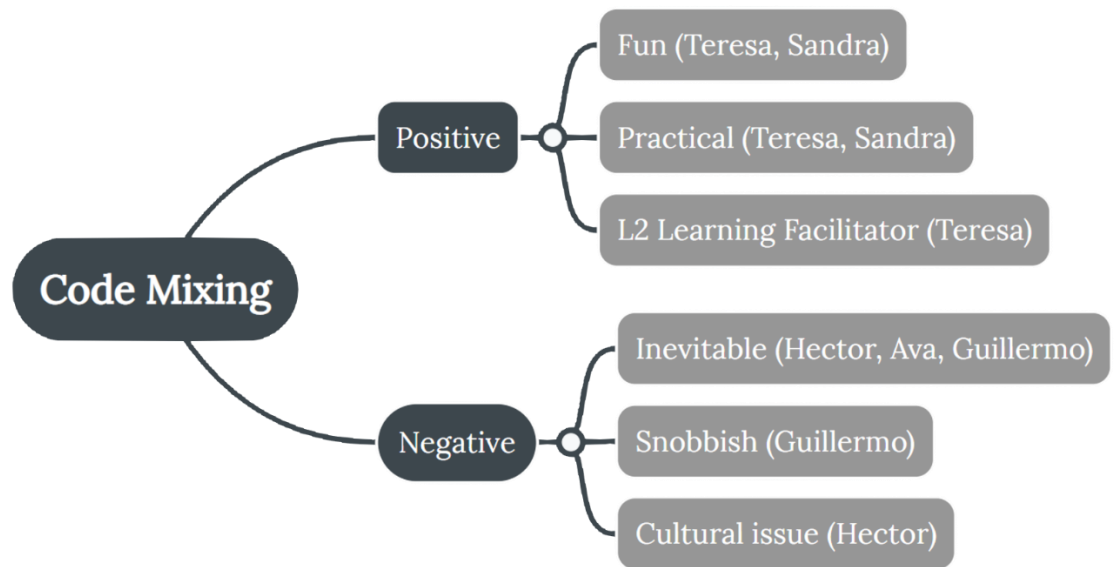

Figure 8: Attitudes towards code-mixing by non-indigenous parents

4.1.6. Language and Identity

Again, it is possible to see participants resoundingly agree on this issue, but to different extents. The five parents concurred to language being a part of one's identity but differed in terms of what role language plays in identity in general, and in a personal manner.

Two participants, Ava and Sandra, said that language was 'everything' in terms of identity. Since it is related to culture, identity shows not only that, but your origins. Ava

highlights that "a lot of things we do, we express it with our languages". This is not a vision shared by all. Teresa agrees to a certain extent, especially when it comes to cultural identity, yet she expands on the idea.

Being the only participant of the non-indigenous group that mentioned indigenous languages in any way, Teresa explains how cultural identity may be 'more radical' for indigenous peoples since the languages (specifically Mapudungun) "*se habla aquí en Chile y no en otra parte más*". This contrasts with English (and Spanish to a certain extent), having its role as a more international language. She argues it is possible to appropriate the language to then turn it into a personal identity. She goes on to say that at the end of the day, since the language has become so globalized, it is up to the individual to use it as they please, and following native-speaker models is not necessary nowadays. There is a slight contradiction in this last point, since earlier in the conversation she exclaimed that her English was not perfect, and she made numerous mistakes still because 'she is not a native speaker'.

Guillermo did not dive too deep into his explanations, yet he included the factor of race in the conversation. As he says "*es difícil, por ejemplo, imaginarme a una persona que no sea blanca completa hablando ruso*". Yet, he himself admits to having tried to learn Russian at one point, which he thinks 'would have looked strange', being that he does not represent the stereotype he was alluding to. He also explains that, though an important part, language is not everything, place of origin has a big role. So, if Spanish

was not his mother tongue, it would have been because his birthplace was not Chile, thus completely changing his identity.

Hector shares the sentiment that language is just a part of one's identity. He argues that speaking four languages does not imply four different identities, nor that if he runs into someone who speaks the same languages as him, they will share the same identity. He argues identity is a melting-pot of different ways of communicating and expressing oneself.

Though participants differed on how intrinsically linked language and identity were, there seems to be a correlation between language and nationality. It is clearly stated in Teresa's, Guillermo's, and Ava's answers since they all speak about *place* of origin (as opposed to *culture* of origin, for example). However, the participant that reflects this idea the clearest is Hector. This is because not only the disadvantage he mentioned is inherently related to nationality, but he also decided to represent his languages with country flags in his language portrait; and referred to 'Chile' when he highlights how he did not include Spanish in his portrait.

This is what participants had to say about identity and language in a general manner. When it came to their personal identities, participants tended to parallel their ideas and topics mentioned once more.

Hector did not go too deep into his answer, expressing how the languages he knows have been very useful tools. Ava explains that the languages she speaks represent her culture, since for her, acquiring a new language is acquiring new aspects of a culture

too. Guillermo, Sandra, and Teresa all agreed that English mainly reflected their professional identity. Teresa and Sandra also added family (mainly their kids) to their answers, but work was still English's main focus. Spanish, on the other hand, was seen as 'everything else', more personal and emotional. Yet, the only ones who stated a strong emotional bond with Spanish were, as previously stated, Sandra and Teresa, all others taking it for granted. Even Ava, whose first language was not Spanish, did not highlight a strong emotional bond with either language, but she did emphasize the cultural aspect of knowing Farsi.
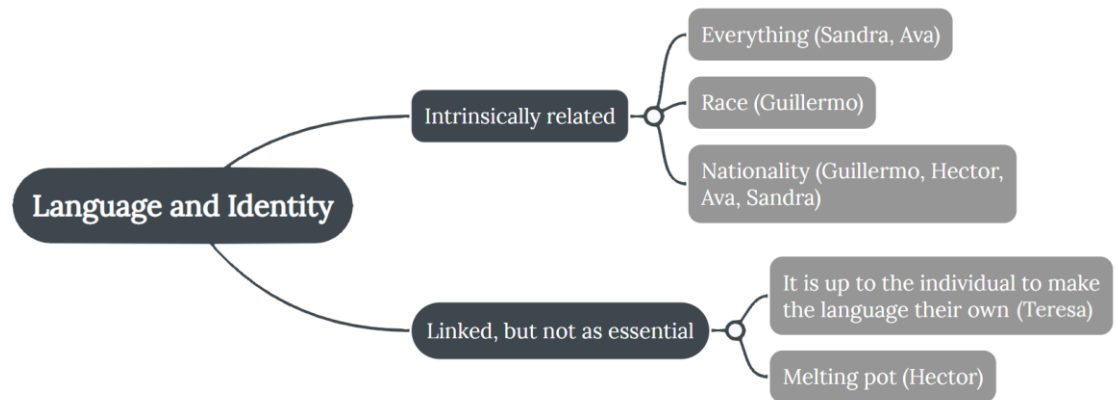

Figure 9: Language and Identity by non-indigenous parents

As can be appreciated on Figure 9, most parents of this group though there was an inherent relationship between language and identity. Furthermore, most non-indigenous parents related language to nationality.

4.1.7. Family

Because bilingualism is an important part of all families, comments about the family's language management and practices of the children came out more than once. The comments around bilingualism and their children did reveal more of their linguistic ideologies, which were also reflected in the language management used at home.

Though it is understood that language management does not always reflects parents' ideologies, it is still an interesting window into how these ideologies can affect the way languages are transmitted. In the case of these participants, their ideologies and home policies seem to correlate.

Sandra and Hector used the OPOL method at home. Hector states that the languages were so compartmentalized that now her daughters refuse to speak Italian to him, thus most of their interactions are in Spanish. Sandra, on the other hand, admits that she sometimes uses English with her son when she feels Spanish will not convey the message the way she intends to. This reflects their ideologies since Hector does not like the mixing of the codes, thus compartmentalizing them; whereas Sandra considers that a bilingual person is someone who has a native-like proficiency in both languages, yet she still uses (and enjoys) code-switching.

While also using OPOL during the first five years of her daughter's life, Teresa stopped and started a more *laisser-faire* approach afterwards. She says she stopped due to her daughter reaching an age in which more complex thoughts and discussions started to happen, and she would try to tell her things in one language but would not be effective.

Nowadays, they sometimes speak English and code-switch, but their communication is mostly in Spanish. Again, this relates to her ideologies because not only did her definition of bilingualism change from that of equal mastery of two languages to simply using two languages, but her emotional bond with the English language faded over time.

Ava took a different approach, restraining the use of the three languages at different times. English would be spoken in the mornings, Spanish in the afternoons, and Farsi in the evening. If she was addressed with any other language besides the one that was set for that time, she would not respond. Again, this reflects Ava's ideologies, since she not only agrees with Bloomfield's idea of balanced bilinguals but also rejects code-switching.

Lastly, Guillermo, though his oldest daughter learned to speak both English and Spanish at the same time, he does not have a particular method in his home. As a matter of fact, he explained that he thought it was the responsibility of the school, thus English is not used at the home. He does not explain either how they managed the languages while they lived in the US. Yet, this highlights the recurrent pattern seen in Guillermo's answers, that of English being intrinsically related to work. Even though all participants in this group related English to work, Guillermo is the one that reflects this idea the most, since all of his answers are related in one way or another to his professional life. Thus, it is not surprising that he left the transmission of the language to school.

Sandra also placed certain emphasis on school, by enrolling her son on a school with an emphasis on English. This is so the boy can have interactions in English with people other than his father, and that are also his age.

Though Guillermo and Sandra were the only parents that agreed on school having an important role on the children's acquisition of the language(s), all other parents still enrolled their children in schools that had some emphasis on the English language (or German and English, in the case of Hector). Despite that, Ava, Teresa and Hector agreed that languages are acquired at home with the family.

Interestingly, this issue was only thought of regarding English. Non-indigenous parents did not discuss the acquisition of Spanish, at any moment. Following the already established trend of taking Spanish as a given, when asked about the importance of the children knowing the same languages as them, Spanish was not mentioned. In fact, only two parents expressed the active desire of their children knowing the same languages as them, and both highlighted languages other than Spanish. Ava, on the one hand, said it was important for her children to know Farsi since it was their roots. Sandra expressed a similar sentiment, but with English, since her son is an American citizen by right of blood from the father's side.

4.2. Indigenous parents

4.2.1. Definition of bilingualism

Again, participants generally agreed on a definition. That is that being bilingual is being able to use both languages, specifically Chedungun and Spanish. Yet, some small differences became apparent.

Aurora and Pablo both agreed on the previously stated definition. Furthermore, Pablo even seems hesitant at understanding the word in the first place but settles on this explanation. Mauricio, on the other hand, seemed to have a stronger view of what bilingualism is. For him, being bilingual is some who "*tiene que manejar la lengua*". Though he does not further develop on what he means by 'mastering' the language, due to further comments on other questions it is possible to deduce he has a more monoglossic view of bilingualism. Stephany states that bilingualism is Chedungun plus another language, not stating Spanish per se. She also highlights how English has intervened since it is always taught at school. Finally, there is Isabel who defined the concept as cultural exchange. Meaning, that sometimes she will 'be' in Chedungun, and in others in Spanish.

Thus, up until now, there seems to be a wide variety of definitions of bilingualism. However, there still seems to be an agreement when analyzing different comments given throughout the interview.

Participants in this group were much more eager to include receptive bilinguals in their definition, like how Stephany explains "*te hablan en castellano y uno le responde en chedungun. Sí, pero se entiende, sí entiende. Nosotros igual le entendimos. Así como*

89

mezcla de castellano y chedungun". Though she may not be too accepting of people who do this, she still considers them bilingual. Pablo also considers his children bilingual, though similarly, they are not able to produce much, and only understand. Furthermore, Pablo, Aurora, and Isabel mentioned how they do not feel 'confident' in one of the languages. This is because they consider that they make a lot of mistakes while speaking or may be lacking in vocabulary or grammar. Yet, they still considered themselves bilingual.

Another aspect in which this group resoundingly agreed was on the idea that both languages are used in different domains. Chedungun, on the one hand, seems to be the most widely used for them. It is used within the family and community. Whereas Spanish, on the other hand, was mainly related to outsiders of the community and some aspects of work.

In terms of what a language is, most relate it to an issue of culture and belonging. Thus, bilingualism also means to in a way, to move between cultures. Yet, there is also the issue of separation mentioned by this group. Overall, there is also a shared sense of ownership of the Chedungun language. Always being referred to as 'mother tongue' or 'our/my language'. Moreover, Mauricio, focuses on the national aspect when he states "*una lengua cultural po. De un grupo de un país así*". However, this is later contradicted, since the ideology of one nation, one language does not reflect the reality of the indigenous parents. Thus, a sentiment that reflects more accurately the issue of culture is seen when

90

Isabel expresses "e*s una lengua propia. Por ejemplo, los wingkas*[2] *tienen su propio idioma, y nosotros nuestro propio idioma*" and later adding "*muchas diferencias. La costumbre; la forma de hablar*" to then talk about the difference between Chedungun and Spanish (like Chedungun being an agglutinant language, contrary to Spanish). Stephany goes even further, not only stating that a language is a form of communication, but also explaining the difference between Chedungun (used to speak with people), and Mapudungun (used to communicate with nature).

There is also an issue of respect. Isabel, for example, explains a situation of a girl greeting two elders by saying '*hola'*. She explains that this is extremely disrespectful, especially for the older generation, and they should be greeted with '*mari mari*'. Stephany also explains that the use of Mapudungun in order to request and communicate with nature is a way to show respect to the earth. So, by learning both languages and knowing when to resort to each one makes bilingualism a way to politely communicate with others by being mindful of their context and identity. Furthermore, all participants emphasized respecting both languages.

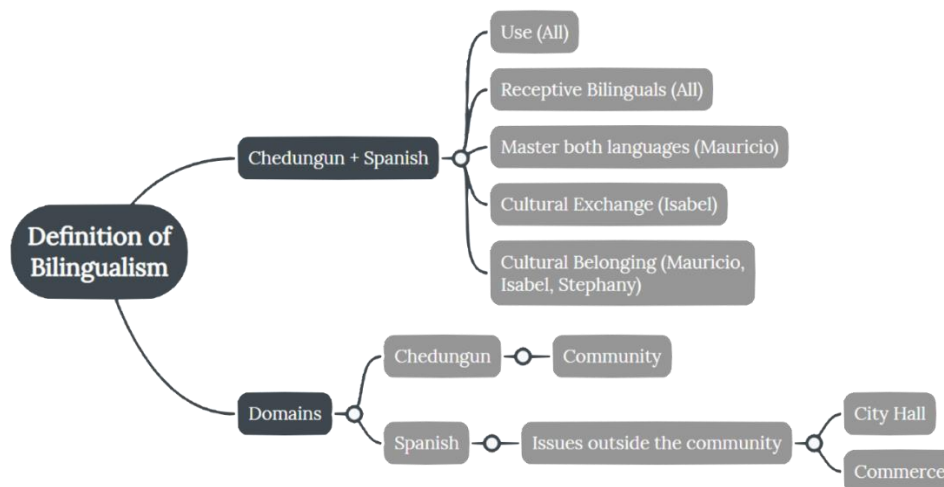[2] Word used to refer to Non-Mapuche Chileans

Figure 10: Definition of Bilingualism by indigenous parents

So, as seen in Figure 10, bilingualism for indigenous people is the use of two languages, specifically Spanish and Chedungun. Both languages are used in different contexts, Chedungun being for the community and Spanish for outsiders. There is an intrinsic relationship with culture, which can also be denoted in displays of respect.

4.2.2. Advantages of Bilingualism

All participants agreed that bilingualism is advantageous, giving different reasons for learning each language. However, Spanish is always tainted with obligation and necessity. Yet, no disadvantages were mentioned.

Aurora explained that knowing Chedungun allows speaking with the older generation who does not speak Spanish. Spanish, on the other hand, enables conversations with people with 'higher education' and who live outside the community. Pablo shares the sentiment of Spanish being required in order to communicate with people outside the

92

community, highlighting how it is a necessity. The knowledge of Chedungun, for him, is more related to one's roots. Mauricio took a slightly different approach, by highlighting the disadvantages of not knowing the languages. He states how doing paperwork or going out of the community is very hard for those who do not know Spanish. "*Cuesta, yo he visto que cuesta y y para que sea más fácil, más transparente, igual tiene que manejar para todo uno*", he says, agreeing with Pablo's sentiment of Spanish being a necessity at this point. Not knowing Chedungun, on the other hand, is hiding a part of oneself, one's root. Mauricio explains how not learning the language, as a Pewenche, is a mistake and a lack of self-recognition. This last response was shared with Stephany and Isabel. The former states that a Pewenche who does not learn Chedungun is ashamed of their roots, making them less of a Pewenche. The latter expresses a more extreme view by asserting "*Ya no son mapuches ni son wingka. No son nada*" because they lost the most important thing.
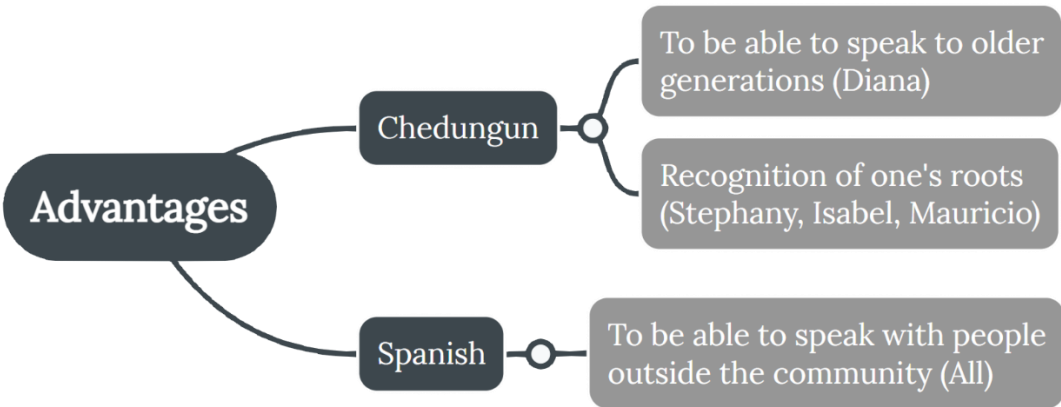

Figure 11: Advantages of Bilingualism by indigenous parents

The advantages given by these parents all reflected what was previously stated as part of their definition of bilingualism. Chedungun being tied to their culture as Pewenche,

93

and it appears that more than an 'advantage' it is a duty to learn it. Spanish, on the other hand, is related to outsiders again. Its main advantage is as an aid in moving through Chilean society, as can be seen in Figure 11.

4.2.3.   Attitudes towards Code-Mixing

Opinions were more divided in this section, having either very positive views of code-mixing or very negative ones. Yet, the majority had a positive attitude towards the practice.

Isabel, Pablo, and Aurora agreed on how it was a positive practice since it helps to learn both languages at the same time. Aurora highlights how, sometimes, Chedungun may be missing some words needed, so resorting to Spanish is a good option. She also expresses that she finds mixing somewhat 'backwards' and 'funny', but she still believes is a good thing to do. Pablo also adds that he perceives it as something normal. Isabel also finds this exercise useful, mainly because it helps her communicate when she forgets or does not know how to say a word in Spanish, thus resorting to Chedungun. Hence, all three expressed a very positive outlook on the exercise.

Mauricio and Stephany, on the other hand, are against it. He explains how he thinks that the people who speak '*champurria*' (the name they give to the practice) do so because "*no manejan las dos*", again highlighting the idea of having to be able to 'master' both languages. Yet, he also expressed before that "*además trato de combinarlos pa no…nunca discriminar otra gente igual*", highlighting how he does combine both languages in order to avoid discrimination, thus contradicting himself. Stephany explains

94

how she prefers when both languages are spoken 'purely', and that even when a word does not exist in Chedungun, instead of just borrowing from Spanish, the whole utterance should be in this language or explain the lack of equivalence. However, similarly to Mauricio, she admits to mixing both since 'it is hard' not to do so.
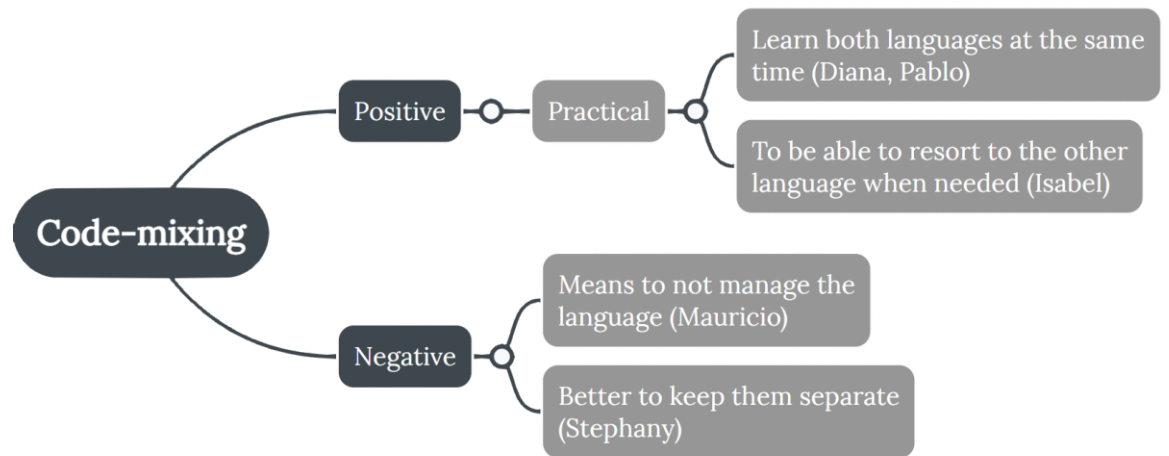

Figure 12: Attitudes towards code-mixing by indigenous parents

So, in general, the Pewenche parents accepted and even encouraged mixing the languages. Furthermore, even those who were not as accepting of the practice, still openly participated in it.

4.2.4. Chedungun as a Form of Rebellion

This was an issue that only appeared in the indigenous participants, maybe for obvious reasons. Stephany, and Mauricio mentioned that in order to, in a way, challenge the majority society they spoke Chedungun in spaces in which Spanish was expected, Isabel agreeing to a certain extent. That way they could not only differentiate themselves from the *wingkas*, but also show how they would not perform under the majority standard.

This was witnessed in Mauricio's narration when he states that he would always include some aspects of the culture and language in his school presentations, even saying "*Ahí se ve- Se distingue. Ahí va uno con lo cultural*". Stephany, on the other hand, talks about how in the present she speaks Chedungun in places in which Spanish is expected. She states that she speaks the language "*en todos lados. Nosotros, no estamos así- vamos a Los Angeles, vamos a comer, hay puro un chileno wingka, digamos. Bah, no estamos ni ahí, puro chedungun no más*". Isabel also makes this distinction between *wignka* and Pehuenche, yet her political act is mostly about maintaining it in the community since if it got more widely spread then some issues should arise. She explains "*yo creo que está bien así. Por lo mismo, porque anda mucho chileno. Ahí uno igual andaría buscándole al otro que 'ohh, me están pelando'. Mejor hablarlo acá. Qué lo hablen en su familia y en su comunidad*", yet she also states that she changes to Spanish in the city in order to, again, avoid any type of conflict because "*si yo llegara a Concepción, Los Ángeles, o Santiago, y yo hablara puro chedungún, obviamente que alguno se molesta*".

4.2.5. The Forced Acquisition of Spanish

A common factor among all indigenous participants was that of Spanish having been imposed on them once they entered the educational system. Chedungun was always learnt at home, transmitted by the parents, and thus was the first language of the indigenous participants. In fact, all but one of the parents disclosed not having known any Spanish before entering school.

96

Pablo, Stephany, Mauricio and Isabel all stated that they did not know any Spanish before having entered school when they were between 6 and 8 years old. They all mentioned how the acquisition of the language was difficult. "*A porrazos lo aprendí allá*" said Isabel, "*Todo perdido po*" stated Pablo. Mauricio states that in order to learn the language he had to use some 'Pewenche abilities' such as "*Escuchar, tratar de no meterse mucho igual… Como no te entendían ni entendías. Observaba no más*". This went as far as Isabel changing her language management at home since her first daughter went through the same experience because of being a Chedungun monolingual.

Aurora was the only participant who said she knew at least a bit of Spanish before having enrolled in school. She also states that learning the language was not particularly hard for her. Yet, she agrees with all other indigenous participants about there not being proper Spanish lessons but having to accommodate themselves to the Spanish-speaking class.

The five parents agreed that, even when attending little schools in and around the community, most teachers would only speak in the majority language. The one who suffered the consequences of this the most was Isabel, since it appears she attended a school that had very few other Chedungun-speakers. She highlights how they were treated poorly for not speaking the language, she states "*igual que se burlaban de nosotros. Si queríamos ir al baño, teníamos que aguantar no más. No podíamos hablar el castellano. No podíamos pedir permiso*". Nevertheless, despite all other parents having had a similar

experience, like being formally taught the language or being forced into a monolingual setting in a language they did not understand, they did not mention such discrimination.

Stephany and Mauricio explicitly mentioned that despite being forced to learn the language, they were not reprimanded for speaking Chedungun. This could be because the number of Pewenche students was bigger than that of Isabel, as can be deduced from when Stephany said "*si éramos varias que hablábamos solo chedugun y nos juntaban*". Pablo and Aurora, on the other hand, did not mention whether they were allowed to speak the language or not, however, when asked if they had faced any discrimination for speaking Chedungun, both agreed that it had not been an issue for them.

This forceful acquisition of the language clearly affected most of them, because Aurora, Isabel and Mauricio all shared experiences related to school when it came to their linguistic biographies. Because Aurora acquired the Spanish language easily, which resulted in it becoming her main language, she focused on a situation in which a Mapuche person went to school to highlight how she and her Pewenche classmates should understand him, yet they did not. This situation, understandably, made her feel uncomfortable and shameful. Isabel shares how she was not able to understand her teachers and classmates, which made her feel lost and less-than. Mauricio, on the other hand, shared how him, being Pewenche and speaking Chedungun made him proud, and thus would try to show it and share it whenever he could.

Yet, despite the negative experiences, all participants still have a positive view of Spanish. All of them express that they see the languages as 'equals' and that they 'respect'

98

them both. This does not mean that they could have a stronger emotional bond with one language over the other, or that they have the same uses, but that one language is not inherently superior to the other.

This issue was also mainly present in the indigenous participants. The only non-indigenous participant that shared a similar experience was Teresa, who briefly mentioned her negative experience with a teacher of German, which resulted, contrary to the parents in this groups, in complete rejection of the language. So, this is an example of how the different experiences of the participants result in different linguistic repertoires.

4.2.6. Language and Identity

Again, it is possible to witness how Pablo and Aurora share views on this issue, while Mauricio, Isabel and Stephany have a stronger opposite view from them. However, they do all agree that language can be a part of identity.

Mauricio considers that speaking Chedungun is intrinsically related to the Pewenche identity. If a Pewenche does not speak the language, it is as if they are ignoring or hiding a part of themselves, their roots and origins. He strongly identifies himself with the Mapuche and Pehuenche culture, thus with the language. He speaks poorly of Chileans, actively trying to differentiate himself from them. As previously stated, this is reflected in Stephany's and Isabel's answers too. Both identify as Mapuche Pehueche, but not as Chileans, since, as Isabel puts it

> *Yo no me siento chilena. Es una ubicación no más. Tu vai a tener una identidad no más. Por lo mismo que nos tienen metidos en el mismo saco a todos. Pero decir que soy chilena, no. Yo soy mapuche pehuenche. Por obligación tengo un documento que es chileno.*

99

Aurora and Pablo, on the other hand, both agree that language is not as closely related to their identity as Pewenche. Aurora says she identifies more with Spanish since she feels more confident speaking that language and expressing herself. She explains how, for her, her Pewenche identity includes more than being able to speak the language or not. She does identify as Mapuche, but also as Chilean since she knows both languages. Pablo, on the other hand, feels more identified with Chedungun for the same reasons as Aurora, yet he feels like Chedungun, and Spanish are the same. Thus, he also feels both Mapuche and Chilean. He adds how, not knowing Chedungun, or knowing Spanish in addition, does not affect one's identity as Pehuenche, and how it is "*lo mismo que uno que habla inglés po*".

This can also be seen in their portraits. Isabel (Figure 16) and Stephany both explained how Chedungun was everything to them. Who they are, who they were, and who they will be. This can be seen in Pablo's (Figure 15) and Mauricio's (Figure 13) answers since they both position Chedungun and Spanish in the same places in the body, yet highlight how they have a stronger emotional bond with Chedungun. Aurora (Figure 14), though she relates mostly to Spanish, is still torn on placing both languages in the heart. This is because both languages are meaningful to her and are part of her identity as both a Chilean and a Pewenche.
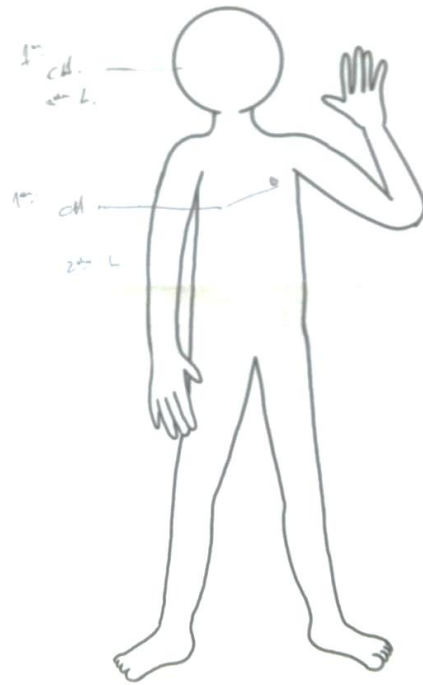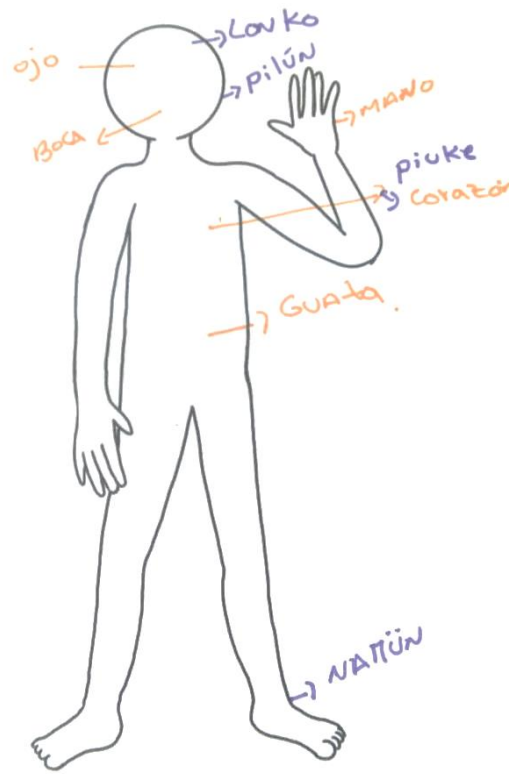
Figure 13: Mauricio's Portrait

Figure 14: Aurora's Portrait

Pilun chedugun — Catellano

Chedugun — Catéllano
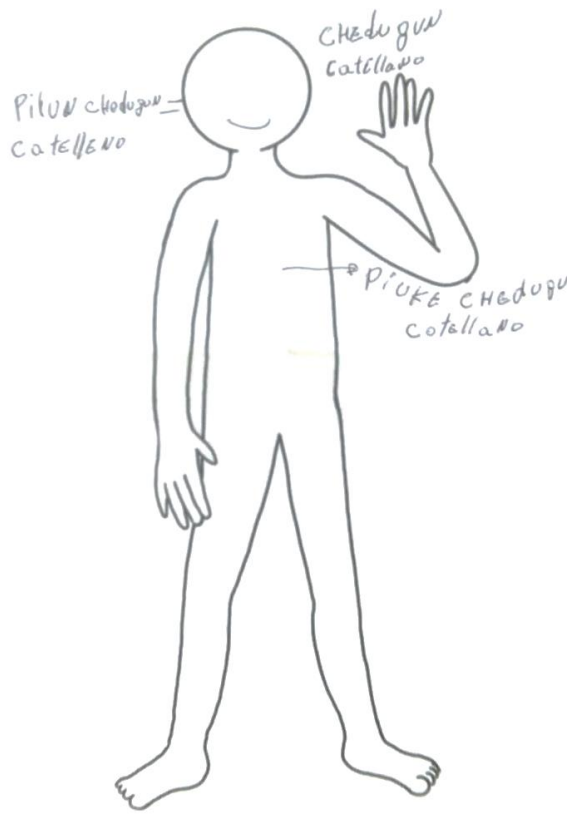
Piuke chedugu — cotéllano

Figure 15: Pablo's Portrait
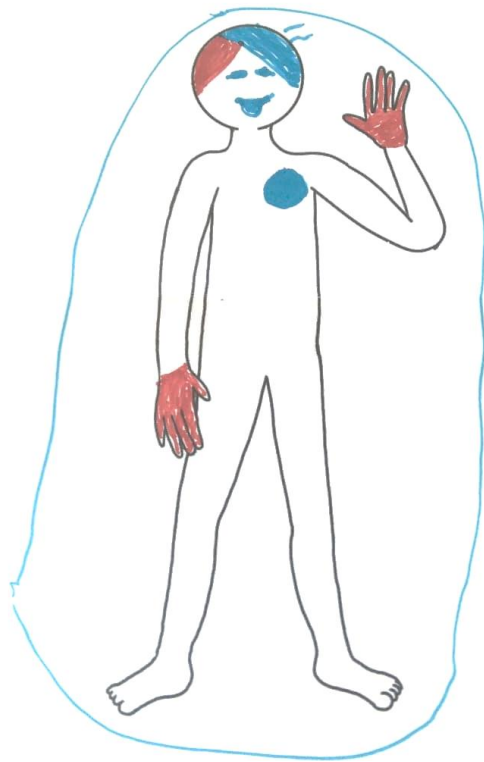
Figure 16: Isabel's Portrait

Even their biographical narrations are a clear example of how this issue has been present throughout their lives. Pablo, Isabel and Aurora all focused on feelings of shame when it came to their experiences. Pablo and Stephany focused on how they would feel ashamed of not understanding or speaking Spanish well. Pablo focused on the present, while Stephany mentioned her years as a school student. Aurora, on the other hand, mentions a situation, also during her school years, in which she feels uncomfortable and embarrassed for not knowing the indigenous language.

Mauricio and Stephany, on the other hand, focused on feeling proud for bringing the indigenous language, and thus culture, to the majority society. Mauricio, on the one hand, mentioned how he would 'bring the culture' to school, and how that made him

104

different from others (in a good way). Stephany, on the other hand, focused more on the present. She mentions how she is sometimes asked at her job to speak Chedungun to an audience. She feels proud when she does, yet she also accepts when she feels it is appropriate, as a way to show her language is not a show to be performed, but a culture that should be respected as such.
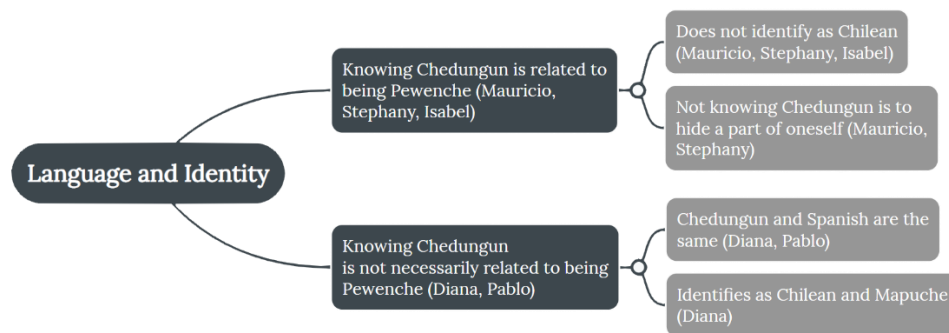
Figure 17: Language and Identity by indigenous parents

In general, it can be seen in Figure 17, that most Pewenche parents do note an intrinsic relation between language and culture. Even those who do not show this idea originally, still reflect it in their narrations.

4.2.7. Family

Indigenous participants did not seem to have planned their family language policy. Most admit to just speaking as they see fit, yet some would opt for one language more than the other. However, all of them agreed that transmitting both languages to their children was of importance.

Isabel, Stephany, Mauricio and Pablo all mentioned that it was important for them for their children to know both Chedungun and Spanish. Aurora did not initially transmit

Chedungun to her children, however, she seems somewhat regretful about this decision and wants to change that.

As stated before, parents did not explicitly share a reason why both languages should be learned, yet through the conversation, different topics kept reappearing that suggest the motive behind this desire. Such as Spanish being needed for education and jobs, for mundane things outside the community (like taking a taxi or buying things at the market), or for simply speaking with people who do not know Chedungun.

Chedungun, on the other hand, was more related to their roots and speaking with elders. It was implied that it is their duty as Pewenche to acquire the language, as a way to show pride and maintain the culture. It is also a show of respect for the elders and for the culture as a whole.

As for how this transmission is done, the parents tended to opt for a more *laissez-faire* approach. For example, Mauricio explains he uses both languages with his children, yet he speaks more Chedungun to them. This is the complete opposite of Aurora, who exclusively speaks Spanish to them, saving her Chedungun mostly for her husband. Pablo falls in the middle, using what he calls a 'natural' approach of just speaking what language feels more appropriate at the moment. Stephany and Isabel both expressed speaking Chedungun exclusively with the family. However, Isabel did start adding some Spanish after her eldest daughter entered school, since she started her schooling as a complete Chedungun monolingual, thus experiencing the negative situations previously stated.

106

Aurora, however, was the only one who highlighted the role of school for her children's acquisition of Chedungun. Though she admitted that it was mostly the responsibility of the parents, school still was of help. This can be appreciated when she says "*A esta altura el colegio- igual ayuda harto pero… yo creo que de uno igual*". This contrasted with the other Pewenche parents, who would associate the acquisition of Chedungun exclusively to the home, and Spanish to school.

The original question was whether language was part of the choice of school for the kids. Because of the different context, these parents did not have as much of a choice in the languages or the amount of language exposure at school, thus parents were asked about whether they would send their children to a hypothetical Chedungun-only school. All participants answered differently to this question.

Mauricio, on the one hand, admitted how he would not send his child to such a school. This is because if he ever wanted to leave the community or pursue higher education, he would need to learn Spanish, which is in turn learned at school. This contrasted with Pablo's answer, since he said he would send his children to the school. He was not afraid about the possibility of his children not learning Spanish. As a matter of fact, he did not think that would happen, and that his children would acquire Spanish either way somewhere else. Aurora, on the other hand, felt somewhat conflicted. She says she would send her children to the Chedungun-only school, however, when asked about what would happen with Spanish, she says she would have to send them to a Spanish school

too. She expresses how she considers Spanish a necessity, so her children need to learn it, which is often the school's responsibility.

Isabel said no because the children need to leave the community. She explains that staying and working in the countryside has become harder nowadays and that being Chedungun monolinguals would impede them from accessing other opportunities. Thus, school is their way to learn Spanish and find other chances. Chedungun will always be learned and used at home with the family.

Lastly, Stephany, also rejects the idea of a Chedungun-only school. This is because her son has already acquired the language at home and does not need school to teach him. However, she also highlights how such a school would help rescue the culture and share it with kids. She underlines children's agency in acquiring Chedungun and learning about the culture, especially when the parents, for one reason or another, did not transmit it to them. She exemplifies this with a 4-year-old daughter of a colleague. She explains how little girl learned Chedungun at daycare and speaks it all the time. However, both her parents do not know the language despite being ´pure Pehuenches'.

However, this was just a hypothetical question, and in reality, all children are attending schools in which Spanish is the majority language. Thus, despite there being some Chedungun lessons at school now (which was seen as positive), they all agreed on the acquisition of Chedungun was mostly related to the community, especially the parents.

5. Discussion

In this section, I will discuss the results presented in the previous section, in relation to both my research objectives and research questions. This discussion will also point to similarities and differences regarding the conceptualization of bilingualism and language ideologies in both types of families.

Starting with the most general view of bilingualism, all non-indigenous parents understood bilingualism as the ability to communicate in two languages. However, as previously stated, the extent to how much the languages are used varies. Guillermo and Ava, being the ones with the strongest idea of bilingualism, understood that a bilingual person is someone who can master two languages at the same level (Bloomfield, 1933). Sandra thought the same. Though her original understanding was more attuned to the idea of creating meaningful sentences in two languages (Haugen, 1953), as she learned the language more, her original understanding changed to the one of balanced bilinguals, which implies strict language separation. The rest of the participants, not only from this group but also from the indigenous group, also agreed with a more general definition, that of using two languages interchangeably (Mackey, 1962; Weinreich, 1953). This appears to suggest that non-indigenous parents do not have an understanding of bilingualism that aligns with more fluid perspectives such as translanguaging. This may be because they start with the distinction of different named languages, an idea that translanguaging perspectives strictly oppose. This view of bilingualism as two distinct and separated languages can be seen even more clearly in the Pewenche participants.

Though indigenous participants overall shared the more general definition of bilingualism, they were also much more restrictive in terms of what languages were involved. This is because all participants of this group agreed on the definition of 'using *the* two languages', specifically Chedungun and Spanish. The only one that diverted from this definition was Mauricio, but not because of the languages, but because he opted for the idea of balanced bilinguals (Bloomfield, 1933). Chedungun speakers would also take receptive bilinguals as part of their definition. Though they may not have explicitly said it, most still referred to bilinguals who were not able to produce sentences in Chedungun but were able to understand it. Thus, the definition of 'using' and not 'speaking'.

Non-indigenous parents inclining towards the idea of balanced bilinguals may not be particularly surprising. This is because this concept is very much related to the notion of standard language. Standard language ideology positions one way of speaking, that of the elite more educated class as the more 'correct', because it is considered more 'refined' and 'complex'(MacSwan, 2020). This in turn is also associated with the concept of native-speakerism. Though it was originally centered around ESL teachers, the concept refers to the belief that the so-called native speaker (NS) is the best model (Holliday, 2017). This ideal places the NS as not only the ideal speaker-hearer, but supposes the L2 speaker as deficient (Cook, 2016), creating what is known as the monolingual bias or "the monolingual native speaker who demonstrates perfect knowledge of his/her language" (Zubrzycki, 2018, p. 2).

These ideologies can be seen in non-indigenous parents, not only in their rejection of code-mixing and idea of balance bilinguals, but also through small comments throughout the interviews. The case of Teresa, for example, who mentions thinking she 'makes mistakes in English' because she is not a NS; or Guillermo, who believes his oldest daughter is bilingual due to having had more interactions with native speakers of English. Indigenous participants do make some comments alluding to this, like how Isabel or Pablo would think they do not speak Spanish 'well enough'. However, these comments were not only much more reduced in number compared to those of the non-indigenous participants, but also focused on the struggle of explaining certain ideas or understanding technical concepts. This contrasts with the NS ideology presented with the English-speaking participants because the focus is not on them making mistakes or 'lacking' because of not being NS, but a personal struggle.

In terms of standard ideology, however, Pewenche parents do not have the idea as present in their reality, because, despite having there been attempts to do so, Chedungun does not possess a 'standard' version. Furthermore, there is even a short discussion about the different graphemic systems, and how the one used by them is only employed in their area; and multiple passive bilinguals were referenced throughout the interviews as being, in fact, bilingual. Up to this point, it is already possible to perceive the difference between both groups. Non-indigenous bilinguals have a more monoglossic idea of what bilingualism is.

However, there is one concept that kept reappearing throughout all conversations, the one of domains, or Grosjean's (1992) complementary principle. This idea of language domains being present in all interviews is not surprising. All participants had learned their L2s because of different necessities, be that school or moving to/living in another country with another majority language, and, as Grosjean's puts it, "[…] it is rare that all facets of life require the same language. If that were so, people would not be bilingual as they could lead their lives with just one language" (2008, p. 22). For these parents, in both groups, their languages seemed to have specific roles that would sometimes overlap. However, it was clear that one language was much more work oriented, and the other related to the home.

Non-indigenous parents all related English to work and communication among people from outside the country, thus also with better opportunities, being these the main contexts in which they would use the language. Because of this, non-indigenous parents did not feel represented by the English language. It was mostly an issue related to work. For this reason, English was put in the head in most cases, which participants related to the intellectual side of the language. Sandra and Teresa also represented the language with the hands, as a way to represent 'doing/making' which was also connected with their professional life. However, Sandra, Teresa, and Hector all admitted to English still having a certain emotional factor due to the relationship with their children or former spouse. However, this last remark was not recurrent, and always came after some reflection after stating English was mostly related to work.

112

Additionally, despite this disconnection with the language non-indigenous participants still considered English as a superior language to possess in one's repertoire. This can be explained, firstly, by the Spanish language having such a majority in the Chilean context that being Chilean (or living in Chile) comes as a synonym of knowing Spanish. Thus, all participants assumed that the interview focused mainly on their English (or other) languages, making Spanish the unmarked language. Secondly, English having such a high reputation in the eyes of the non-indigenous participants is a result of the marketability of the language. The idea of 'climbing the socio-economic ladder' is intrinsically related to English nowadays (Park & Wee, 2012) and the participants answers reflected that idea. Not only that, but Chile, being a capitalist neoliberal country, wants both to reinforce English hegemony and to mold multilingualism into a commodity that serves transnational corporations (Flores, 2013). This was reflected in how participants repeatedly referred to English as a 'tool', which did not happen with the Chedungun parents.

Spanish, on the other hand, was used for home, family, and daily situations (with the exception of Ava who used Farsi with her family). However, this group was also surprisingly distant when describing this language. Two participants did not represent Spanish in its entirety in their portraits, and of the remaining three, only two expressed an emotional connection with the language. These last ones being Teresa and Sandra who explained that Spanish was all her being, and her own and who she is, respectively. Overall Spanish was mostly taken as a given, most likely due to the national context. However, this was not the case for the Chedungun speakers.

113

Indigenous speakers' context, on the contrary, does not allow to perceive any of their languages as a given. This is because Chedungun, being a minoritized language, "is for its own sake – its *raison d'être* is to be an act of identity" (Gardner-Chloros, 2008, p.469). So, it is inherently related to their identity as Pewenche, which differentiates from the majority Chilean culture. Not only that, but Spanish was enforced to them by the majority, and has taken the role of interaction with the society outside the community. This is manifested in their short biographical narrations too, since their experiences mostly related with whether they were able to speak or not one of the languages, whereas non-indigenous participants focused mostly on relationships and situations drawn from speaking English. Because of this, none of their languages can be seen as unmarked since Chedungun is marked among the national territory, and Spanish in the community.

Thus, for the Pewenche parents, Spanish was the language related to work and communication with outsiders, and Chedungun to everything else, including home (with the exception of Aurora). Though Chedungun was still used in working contexts, Spanish was the main language used with vendors and for official paperwork. This relates to the idea that Spanish is used with people outside the community and is seen as the vehicle that will allow their kids to pursue education and better job opportunities, this is because, as Gardner-Chloros (2008) put it, "the country's majority language is almost guaranteed to be more widely spoken, more useful in the job market, more prestigious, and more acceptable for communication with the outside world" (p. 469).

114

This is also reflected in how, for indigenous participants, language did not necessarily relate to a 'country'. This is expected, since there is no country that has Chedungun as its official language. Also, Spanish is not so much related to Chile as a country, but to Chileans (or *wingkas*) as a group of people. Which resulted in an idea of otherness from the indigenous participants. The national (or communal) identity is the capacity of not only defining who is a member of the community, but also who is not (Triandafyllidou, 1998). These identities are "conceived as narratives, stories that people tell themselves and others about who they are, and who they are not, as well as who and how they would like to/should be" (Yuval-Davis, 2010, p. 266). Nations may still need to secure their survival and independence, which exacerbates the idea of the foreign. According to Deutsch (1966, in Triandafyllidou, 1998) "members of the national community are characterized by their ability to communicate with one another better than they do with outsiders […] It means that members share with one another more than they share with foreigners" (p. 598). This can be appreciated on how some of the Pewenche parents differentiated themselves from the mainstream Chilean culture, since not only do they have 'the ability to communicate with one another better than with outsiders' but also the fight for their survival and recognition. It can also unveil "the relationships between private domains and public spheres and reveal the conflicts that family members must negotiate between the realities of social pressure, political impositions, and public education demands on the one hand, and the desire for cultural loyalty and linguistic continuity on the other" (Curdt-Christiansen, 2013, p. 1). This thus resulted in the

rebellious use of Chedungun described by them, used in order to differentiate themselves and show pride in their culture.

This, among other reasons, is why indigenous parents took a more *laissez-faire* approach to their language management at home. This is because they had realized throughout their experiences at school and with the majority society that Chedungun alone will not be enough to prosper in current society. However, exclusively speaking Spanish was not the solution for most. Most Pewenche parents expressed using Chedungun primarily with their children, with the exception of Aurora who used Spanish exclusively, and Pablo who did not highlight any preference.

English speaking parents, on the other hand, opted for compartmentalizing the languages, thus using the OPOL method. Again, with a few exceptions. This is related to the background of the participants since OPOL is usually related to elite bilingual families due to the high levels of planning the approach requires (King & Fogle, 2006).

These language policies reflect the language ideologies that have been previously explained. If we focus on the three kinds of parental attitudes that influence their linguistic practices at home (K. A. King et al., 2008) we can see how both groups' visions differ. In the first place, each group has clear beliefs on when certain languages should be used. Indigenous parents in general agree that Chedungun should be used at home and the community, whereas Spanish should mainly be reserved for outsiders. Non-indigenous parents, on the other hand, think of Spanish as for most contexts, while English takes a more professional role. Secondly, parents' ideas about bilingualism had an effect since,

116

for example, non-indigenous participants take a much more systematic approach that is inline with their perception of English as a tool, but also compartmentalizing the languages in order to develop a 'parallel monolingualism'(Baker, 2003 in Wilson, 2020b) so as to achieve that 'native-like proficiency' in both languages. Indigenous parents, on the other hand, did not separate the languages as much since they consider them as equal. Nevertheless, because of the cultural significance of Chedungun, there was still an emphasis on the indigenous language. Finally, the different ideas parents had about different types of linguistic (especially bilingual) interactions were clear since English speaking parents opted for separating the languages since they were against the idea of codes mixing, contrary to that of Pewenche parents.

As the grand majority of their community is bilingual, indigenous speakers are free to mix their languages knowing that they will be understood by all, thus they are much more accepting of the practice. Thus, indigenous participants were able to stay on their bilingual mode most of the time. Language modes, proposed by Grosjean (2008), refer to the level of activation a language has in the brain depending on the context of the interaction. Bilingual mode is understood as similar levels of activation in the brain from both languages and allows for freely switching between languages and thus for more bilingual practices. This mode is unconsciously activated when one finds oneself in a context in which such practices are accepted and it is known that the interlocutor knows the same languages as one does. The counterpart of bilingual mode is monolingual mode, which is active during the times in which such bilingual practices are not accepted, either socially or because the interlocutor does not know the same languages. There is also the

117

idea of both languages being in contact and speakers (especially young ones) live in a multilingual world in which indigenous languages cannot be isolated from other languages or social processes (Kaartinen, 2020), and "it may show that the [language] continues to be used in a relevant and socially up-to-date manner" (Gardner-Chloros, 2008, p. 471). This is not as common with the English-speaking parents. Being that both Spanish and English have an enforced standard, and that many words coming from English are either adapted or have a Spanish equivalent, non-indigenous participants are more reluctant to mixing their codes. Additionally, people in monolingual societies tend to believe that code-mixing is an unnatural phenomenon (Kim, 2006) and, despite English being mandatory in school, most Chileans only feel comfortable in Spanish, thus making it harder to find oneself in a bilingual situation. Incidentally, the only two English-speaking participants who found code-mixing positive were the ones who worked closely with language and other Spanish-English speakers, thus making their environment bilingual too.

It is interesting though, to discuss how participants defined language as something cultural. Thus, mixing languages could be seen as more than just mixing codes. As Garcia, Otheguy, and Reid (2015) stated, there is no way for a linguist, let alone a non-linguist, to know whether something is a language or dialect without having been entrusted that information first, and these differences tend to be more cultural or social than linguistic. Participants' answers seem to reflect this idea. Additionally, non-indigenous parents touched upon the theory of Linguistic Relativity (Boroditsky, 2006), or how languages affect the way we perceive the world. So, language being related to both culture and

118

perception, it is possible to conclude that using multiple languages "permits people to say and do, indeed to be two or more things where normally a choice is expected" (Heller, 1988 in Nilep, 2006, p. 12), and thus giving a sense of belonging to both cultures. In fact, thinking of code-mixing as abnormal, may make bilinguals feel as if they were lacking in both languages and they do not fully belong in either culture (Kim, 2006). Which reflects a similar issue that the one presented by Hector, when he mentions how he does not feel like he belongs in any culture or place in particular, which he relates to his bilingualism.

However, language was not just related to culture. English speaking parents also linked the concept to the country of origin, whereas Chedungun speaking parents mostly mentioned communities. This is because, as previously explained, there is no country whose official language is Chedungun, so Chedungun is mostly seen as part of their Pehuenche community. While Spanish is seen as part of the Chilean community, but not the country, since the indigenous language is still spoken within the Chilean territory, it is contradictory to associate the country with only one language. Non-indigenous participants, on the contrary, assumed all people living in the Chilean territory are mostly Spanish speakers, so this correlation between language and nationality is plausible. Thus again, arriving to the conclusion that being Chilean means to have a certain mastery of the Spanish language.

As it can be appreciated, the answer to the question 'is there a difference between indigenous and non-indigenous parents' understanding of bilingualism?' is yes. Though some differences may not be as salient, or there might not be a difference at all, it is still

119

possible to appreciate how the difference in socio-cultural contexts affect the understanding of bilingualism of the parents and some of their language ideologies. So, as we were able to see, participants' backgrounds did have an effect on their language ideologies and perception of bilingualism. Due to standard and NS ideologies, non-indigenous participants had views that reflected the idea of two monolinguals in one proposed by Grosjean (1992; 2008). Whereas indigenous participants, due to their experiences and overall bilingual community, were much more flexible on their definitions and practices.

6. Conclusion

The presented study wanted to unveil the conceptualizations of bilingualism that parents in two types of bilingual families expressed and whether the different sociocultural background of these two different types of bilingual families would affect their language ideologies, especially when it came to the understanding of bilingualism. The two groups of families consisted of Chedungun-Spanish, and English-Spanish bilingual families in the Chilean context, which are two kinds of families that are not usually the subject of this type of study. Ideology analyses tend to focus on a reduced number of languages (Rojas et al., 2016), especially when it comes to FLP research. Indigenous people tend to be at the centre of language use in the family, but the ideologies that resulted in the witnessed uses are not extensively discussed. Similarly, though many FLP studies emphasize English among the families' repertoires, it is almost always as the majority language. Few studies have been done in which English is in the minority position. Additionally, this study also served as a way to integrate 'folk' knowledge into the discourse by comparing

120

it to the opinions of the 'experts' and not taking either as being in the right. This section will include some concluding remarks, a summary of the key findings, and a review of some of the limitations of the study.

When it came to bilingualism, an issue that not even experts have been able to agree on, indigenous participants had a less strict view than those who spoke English. Not only not needing to be considered 'balanced' but by also including passive bilinguals in their definition. Non-indigenous parents, however, understood bilingualism as being 'equally fluent' in both languages.

As previously discussed, the ideas parents had about bilingualism were also reflected into other issues, specifically code-mixing and language management at home. For the first case, English-speaking participants were more reluctant to the idea of mixing codes, showing an overall negative opinion of the practice. This contrasted with the Chedungun-speaking parents, who saw it as positive and useful. Still, all participants admitted to code-mixing having some practical uses, regardless of their opinion about it.

Similarly, non-indigenous parents decided to keep the languages as compartmentalized as possible when it came to managing them at home. The majority of this group opted for the highly planned OPOL. Whereas indigenous parents tended to apply a more *laisser faire* approach, even when they admitted to having a preference over a certain language.

Though the division found in their definition of bilingualism trickled down into their other ideologies, there was one issue in which there was agreement among all

121

participants: context. All parents agreed on their different languages being used for different contexts, usually one for work and the other for daily life. Spanish, being the common language among the two groups, was not used within the same domains between them though. English speakers related Spanish to the home, while Chedungun speakers associated it with work and outsiders.

This was not the only issue in which participants agreed, but not it the same way. For example, parents agreed that language was related with culture. Still, non-indigenous participants tended to also make the connection with nationality. Indigenous parents, on the other hand, linked it to community. It was contradictory for them to make the association with a country, since Chedungun does not have the status of 'official' in any nation, contrary to Spanish, which is the *de facto* official language of Chile. This, in turn, made the non-indigenous participants also take the language for granted, despite being the L1 of most of the parents in this group. a phenomenon that was not appreciated in the indigenous participants.

Other issues than were only mentioned by one of the groups were the idea of English being the ideal language to have in one's repertoire, and ownership of the language. For the former, English-speaking parents expressed how English was the best language to possess in one's repertoire due to its international reach and for the possibility of better job opportunities. Whereas the latter, was appreciated in the Chedungun-speaking parents, who would constantly use possessives and compare their language to a

maternal figure. This also culminated in a stronger emotional connection with their 'mother tongue'.

With all of this, it is possible to appreciate how the different socio-cultural contexts of the participants did have an influence on their language ideologies. Yet, it is still crucial to point out that this is a generalization, and that all community groups are complex and heterogenous, and even within the sampled groups differences of opinion arose. Still, this research was able to show how, among a number of aspects, being (or not) part of an indigenous bilingual family is a factor on the language ideologies of parents.

This does not mean, however, that the research was free of any limitations. In fact, the very essence of dealing with two different contexts meant that some of the questions created for the interview section did not translate well into both of them. For example, a question dealing with whether language was a factor of choosing a school did not function in the indigenous context, since there are no schools that teach only, or have an emphasis on Chedungun. Because of this, the question was changed for a hypothetical scenario in which such school existed, and whether they would send their children to that school or not.

Another aspect that proved to be of some difficulty was the language portraits themselves. While the information gathered from them was extremely useful and telling, participants showed some hesitancy and reluctancy to the task. This is most likely because they had not thought of their language repertoires as something visual before, so coming up with the answers on the spot may have complicated some of them. Despite all of this,

123

most participants still decided to try representing their repertoires. Yet, some visual examples, or having prompted them with the instructions before the interview while still carrying it out after the questions in order to give them some extra time to reflect upon the task may have proven fruitful.

Additionally, it would be interesting to carry out similar research with indigenous participants who live in more urban areas of the country, where the language is not spoken by the majority of the community they inhabit, or with other indigenous groups. Non-indigenous participants who do not speak the highly regarded English language would also be of interest since, despite there being multiple studies focusing on transnational families, the Chilean context has yet to be explored.

To conclude this research, there is a difference in the conceptualization of bilingualism. This in itself has an effect on their language ideologies and how languages are managed at home. The importance of this study lied on bringing to light the linguistic understanding of non-linguists, in this case, parents, and compare it with experts understanding, and did not intend on criticizing nor prescribing any of the ideologies presented by the participants. It also shed light on the parental linguistic ideologies of families who have usually been invisibilised in FLP research, thus expanding the linguistic and FLP discourse.

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