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# ENGLISH AND INDIGENOUS LOANWORDS IN CHILE: A LINGUISTIC ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

Tesis para optar al grado de Magíster en Lingüística con mención en Lengua Inglesa

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Para todos; los que estuvieron, los que estarán, pero, sobre todo,

para los que *están*.

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**Abstract**

This study addresses the phenomenon commonly known as loanwords under two novel perspectives. On the one hand, it looks at lexical borrowing from the point of view of linguistic anthropology. On the other, it abandons the traditional usage of terminology like *borrowing* and *loanwords* in favor of the term *lexical code-copies*. This concept belongs to the code-copying framework, an alternative to the traditional linguistic paradigm that gives more attention to dominance relations between languages in contact. Instead of following the traditional methodology of quantifying instances of loanwords in written texts, the linguistic anthropological perspective that this study takes entails that the main source of data will be the thoughts and beliefs of speakers about words in their language that have a foreign origin. In this study, the social representations of 16 speakers of Chilean Spanish about lexical code-copies from English and the indigenous languages of the region will be addressed. In addition to this, attention will be given to other related concepts such as language ideologies and language attitudes, which contribute to the portrayal of language as a socially, historically and politically situated practice.

**Keywords: linguistic anthropology, loanwords, code-copying framework, social representations, language ideologies.**

## Introduction

Lexical borrowing is a heavily frequent phenomenon that happens when language contact takes place (Castillo, 2002; Garrett, 2004), one that has been thoroughly studied throughout the years. However, most of the studies that address loanwords follow a quantitative tradition of data collection and data analysis, i.e. collecting data from printed sources for a subsequent analysis and classification.

I find this traditional approach to be both overly simplistic and short-sighted. Simplistic in the sense that staying within the boundaries of the lexicological level only allows to give a morphological account of loanwords, ignoring that language is a social endeavor; and short-sighted in the sense that this perspective omits the fact that written texts are not a faithful representation of the language that is actually used by its speakers. For example, newspapers, one of the primary sources of data collection used for the study of loanwords, are permeated in its linguistic choices by things such as editorials (Arrueta, 2013) and, much like other genres of written text, are carefully written and revised before publishing.

For this reason, I intend to study loanwords from a linguistic anthropological perspective, viewing language as a form of social action that is inseparable from the construct of culture. This will mark another departure from the traditional study of loanwords. since interviews with speakers of Chilean Spanish will be used as the sole source of data collection instead of printed sources. Additionally, I will address the whole phenomenon of lexical borrowing rather than focusing my attention on specific instances

of lexical borrowing. By doing so, I can more easily focus on what the speakers of a language—the individuals who are living and constantly engaging in a situation of language contact between Chilean Spanish, English, and the indigenous languages that remain in Chile—have to say about the loanwords they perceive and use in Chilean Spanish.

The main theoretical concept of interest in this regard is thus social representations, along with other concepts that will allow to further understand speakers' ideas and thoughts about the language they speak, namely language ideologies and language attitudes. The intention of this study is then to look at the underlying social representations that Chilean Spanish speakers exhibit when they discuss the subject matter of loanwords from both English and the indigenous languages of the region, and what this might say about the speakers' thoughts and beliefs about the source languages themselves.

In addition to this, I will depart from the traditional body of literature concerning lexical borrowing and will use Lars Johanson's code-copying framework to refer to what is commonly referred to as loanwords. This framework, which describes loanwords as lexical code-copies, puts more emphasis on the situation of language contact and brings a new perspective to look at lexical borrowings, one that also offers less theoretical constraints for the linguistic anthropological perspective adopted herein.

The linguistic anthropological perspective thus sheds light into two main elements: First, on the importance of what speakers have to say about the language they speak, and second, on language as a socially, historically, and politically situated practice.

# CHAPTER 1:
# PRESENTATION OF THE STUDY

## 1.1 Problem statement and justification

Research on the phenomenon typically known as loanwords or lexical borrowing typically follows quantitative methods of data collection and data analysis. The lack of qualitative approaches towards this phenomenon undermines the likely importance of extra-linguistic factors such as culture, politics, history, and relations of power in the usage of Chilean Spanish words that come from other languages. In addition to this, research on lexical code-copies is typically conducted in relation to one source language in isolation and not comparing the differences that may arise when two different origins of lexical code-copies are studied and compared.

Studying the phenomenon of lexical code-copies from an anthropological perspective will allow for things such as culture and relations of power to be at the forefront of the analysis of this study, providing valuable information about not only the process of lexical code-copying, but also about the perceptions of the source languages themselves.

## 1.2 Research questions

This study thus aims to answer the following questions:

1. Which are the social representations that Chilean Spanish speakers have about lexical code-copies of English origin in Chilean Spanish?

2. Which are the social representations that Chilean Spanish speakers have about lexical code-copies of indigenous origin in Chilean Spanish?

3. Which are the social, political, and cultural implications that emerge from the comparison between the social representations that underlie the presence of lexical code-copies from English and the indigenous languages of the territory in Chilean Spanish?

## 1.3 Objectives

### 1.3.1 General objective

The general objective of this study is to characterize the different social representations that Chilean Spanish speakers have about lexical code-copies that come from English and the indigenous languages of the territory.

### 1.3.2 Specific objectives

The specific objectives that this study intents to accomplish are the following:

1. Describe the social representations that Chilean Spanish speakers have about lexical code-copies of English origin in Chilean Spanish.
2. Describe the social representations that Chilean Spanish speakers have about lexical code-copies of indigenous origin in Chilean Spanish.
3. Analyze the social, political, and cultural implications that emerge from the comparison between the social representations that underlie the presence of lexical code-copies from English and the indigenous languages of the territory in Chilean Spanish.

## 1.4 Methodology

### 1.4.1 Methodological approach

The methodology of this study follows a qualitative approach, as it will be focused on the description of social representations and other akin concepts of speakers of Chilean Spanish and not the quantification of hard data.

### 1.4.2 Design and level of study

This study follows a cross-sectional design in order to identify and determine the most prevalent social representations of the participants in a specific point in time. Since this study can be understood as a preliminary application of the social representations theory and the code-copying framework to obtain insight about the extra-linguistic factors of language in Chilean Spanish, this study is framed under the exploratory level.

### 1.4.3 Participants

The population of participants for this study consisted in 16 Chilean Spanish speakers from different academic and ethnic backgrounds. These backgrounds were divided so there were two male and two female participants per group, with said groups being the following: people with a tertiary education degree on linguistics or another social science; people with a tertiary education degree on an area not related to the social sciences; people with no experience in tertiary education; and urban indigenous speakers of Chilean Spanish. They were all between 20 to 30 years old. They were selected through non-probabilistic or convenience sampling methods.

Table 1. Participants of the study.

| Identification | Participant group | Occupation | Gender |
|---|---|---|---|
| D. A. | Degree on linguistics or social sciences | Poet | Male |
| I. H. | Degree on linguistics or social sciences | Anthropologist | Male |
| C. N. | Degree on linguistics or social sciences | Linguistics teacher | Female |
| C. A. | Degree on linguistics or social sciences | Psychologist | Female |
| G. P. | Degree not related to social sciences | Electronics engineer | Male |
| D. R. | Degree not related to social sciences | Nutritionist | Male |
| G. T. | Degree not related to social sciences | Industrial designer | Female |
| M. M. | Degree not related to social sciences | Midwife | Female |
| R. S. | No tertiary education | Retail worker | Male |
| O. V. | No tertiary education | Musician | Male |
| N. C. | No tertiary education | Unemployed | Female |
| J. B. | No tertiary education | Unemployed | Female |
| G. H. | Urban indigenous speaker of Chilean Spanish | English pedagogy student | Male |
| C. S. | Urban indigenous speaker of Chilean Spanish | Unemployed | Male |
| P. C. | Urban indigenous speaker of Chilean Spanish | Anthropology student | Female |
| F. T. | Urban indigenous speaker of Chilean Spanish | Preschool teacher | Female |

### 1.4.4 Data collection

The data was collected by means of individual semi-structured interviews to each participant. Each interview started with questions about their familiarity with the process of lexical borrowing (the classical terminology was used throughout the interviews to ensure the participant's familiarity with the concept of lexical code-copying). If participants were not familiar with lexical borrowings, the interview was thus guided towards a clarification of the concept. Afterwards, a sample of different types of recognizable and widely used lexical code-copies from English was presented to the interviewees, asking them if they were familiar with the words. A discussion about said code-copies followed, asking participants if they knew the origin of the words presented, if they used them on a daily basis, why they used them, why lexical code-copies from English were used in Chilean Spanish, how they felt using them, and if their usage was different in Chile than in other countries. Given the semi-structured nature of the interviews, the discussions often presented interesting insight from the participants and included other perceptions from them. When this happened, follow-up questions were asked in order to elicit a more detailed response before continuing the interview.

Once the discussion about English-based lexical code-copies was finished, participants were presented with another set of recognizable lexical code-copies, this time from indigenous languages of the land, namely Aymara, Mapuche, and Quechua. A similar discussion with the same questions ensued, adding questions that led participants to compare what they thought about the lexical code-copies from English to what they

thought their indigenous counterpart. At the end of the interview, they were given a chance to repeat what they thought about the process of lexical code-copying in general.

### 1.4.5 Data analysis

The collected data was analyzed by using concepts and theories related to speakers' ideas and thoughts about the languages they speak, primarily social representations, but also language ideologies and language attitudes as complementary concepts. In addition to this, Pierre Bourdieu's ideas and concepts about his sociology of language and his analogy of the linguistic market was of special use. Instead of looking at loanwords from the more traditional perspective of linguistics, they will be addressed and analyzed from the point of view of Lars Johanson's code-copying framework.

# CHAPTER 2:
# THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter will delve into the main theoretical approaches and concepts that will serve as a foundation to allow the characterization and description of the underlying social representations that speakers of Chilean Spanish have about lexical code-copies from both English and the indigenous languages that are spoken in the territory.

The first part of this section (cf. 2.1.1 to 2.1.5) will comprise several disciplines and approaches related to the phenomenon of language. Linguistic anthropology is the main discipline under which we can categorize this study, but the perspectives provided by critical language study, glottopolitics, and folk linguistics will help us better understand the relationship between language and several extra-linguistic factors. These approaches highlight the idea that language is an endeavor that is intrinsically related to power relations between different cultural groups, with folk linguistics focusing on how this is understood from the point of view of Chilean Spanish speakers who are non-specialists in the field of linguistics. An account of Pierre Bourdieu's sociology of language will also be given, which will be of special use in this study to understand and analyze the participant's underlying social representations.

Then, the second set of theoretical approaches (cf. 2.1.6 to 2.1.8) described here are often-interrelated concepts that aim to describe the beliefs and ideas that speakers have about their own language. In these subsections, a delimitation of these concepts will be made, explaining how each one of them will serve their own purpose to give a more thorough description of the ideas that Chilean Spanish speakers have about the lexical code-copies from English and the indigenous languages of Chile.

Thirdly, one of the key frameworks for the purposes of this study, Lars Johanson's code-copying framework, will be explained (cf. 2.1.9). This framework does away with the traditional concept of the loanword[1], allowing for a more simplified and constraint-free view of the phenomenon commonly known as lexical borrowing, while also being compatible with the linguistic anthropological perspective of this study.

The next two concepts (cf. 2.1.10 & 2.1.11) will be helpful in this study to refer to how the most powerful political powers in the western world, the United States and the United Kingdom, exert their power and influence beyond their borders, and how this affects the everyday discourse of Chilean Spanish speakers.

Finally, I will refer to another one of Bourdieu's ideas, the linguistic market (cf. 2.1.12). This idea, taken to the context of languages in contact, will shed further light throughout the study to the matter of how one variant within a language is positioned as the legitimate one, commonly to the detriment of dominated language variants.

To conclude the chapter, the state of the art will be described, focused on how what is commonly referred to as loanwords has been studied in Chile thus far. This, as it was stated previously, has often followed a quantitative and lexicological tradition.

[1] I chose to follow the tradition only in the title for this study in order to make the phenomenon at hand easily identifiable by readers.

## 2.1 Key concepts

### 2.1.1 Linguistic anthropology

The field of linguistic anthropology, which has also received other names such as anthropological linguistics, ethnolinguistics, anthropolitical linguistics, sociolinguistics and linguistic ethnography (Ahearn, 2017; Duranti, 2008), is one of the many disciplines that studies language from the point of view of interpreting it as a form of social action, deviating from the structuralist tradition established by the seminal contributions done to linguistics by Ferdinand de Saussure and Noam Chomsky, which dominated the landscape for most of the 20th century. More specifically, linguistic anthropology is described as "the study of language as a cultural resource and speaking as a cultural practice" (Duranti, 1997, p. 2), highlighting an intricate relationship between language and culture.

Duranti (2003) distinguishes three historically related paradigms in order to make sense of the ways in which language has been studied as culture since the 19th century. The first one, kickstarted by the contributions to the field made by Franz Boas and his study of the indigenous peoples of the United States, which resulted in the publication of his *Handbook of American Indian Languages* (1911). This established anthropology as a professional discipline dedicated to the study from a holistic point of view of what makes humans different from other animal species (Duranti, 2011) and more importantly, this brought about the birth of linguistic anthropology as one of four main divisions of anthropology in the US, along with biological anthropology, archaeology, and ethnology. This paradigm, however, was mostly focused on the linguistic description of aboriginal languages in the US and on subject matters such as their grammar or phonology. What is

more, this initial perspective neglected any beliefs or ideologies about language from the point of view of the Native American peoples, which were Boas considered "secondary rationalizations" (Kroskrity, 2016, p. 272). This initial paradigm is also known as *anthropological linguistics.*

The subsequent paradigms shifted away from this predominance of language and are closer to linguistic anthropology as we understand them today. The second paradigm, for example, laid the foundations to what is known as sociolinguistics and to how the ideas of social prestige in language became prevalent over the previous view of interpreting linguistic diversity in terms of different worldviews (Duranti, 2003, 2011). In this second era of linguistic anthropology, which started in the 1960s, the work of Charles Ferguson and John Gumperz about linguistic diversity in South Asia were critical in this paradigm shift by introducing the concept of *variety* to replace the term *idiolect* (Duranti, 2003; Ferguson & Gumperz, 1960). In addition to this, this paradigm of linguistic anthropology was marked from a departure from the developments that were happening in linguistics, which at the time was going through the mentalist revolution spearheaded by Chomsky. Other important developments that took place during this paradigm was the idea of understanding culture under their own terms and of interpreting texts as culture (Geertz, 1973), which led to a more reflexive and interpretive idea of linguistic anthropology (Bohannan & Glazer, 1993).

The third and contemporary paradigm that Duranti describes is one that is defined by a turn towards interdisciplinarity and the adoption of ideas that were developed outside of

anthropology in an attempt to extend linguistic methods to apply them to issues that are identified in other fields, such as identity formation and gender. (Duranti, 2003). Regarding the evolution that linguistic anthropology has had ever since its beginnings, he states:

> From a discipline that was at first conceived to provide the tools for the documentation of endangered languages, especially in North America, it has become an intellectual shelter and a cultural amplifier for the richness of human communication in social life that is only selectively recognized in other communication-oriented fields such as linguistics or psychology. (Duranti, 2004, p. xiii)

The perspective of linguistic anthropology becomes of special interest to this study what is commonly known in the literature as loanwords, especially when we consider how language and linguistics (the perspective which is usually taken to study them) relate to and differ from each other: "[While] linguistics has the task of coordinating knowledge about language from the viewpoint of language, anthropology has the task of coordinating knowledge about language from the viewpoint of man" (Hymes, 1963, p. 61). By adopting the perspective of linguistic anthropology, a study about loanwords will go past beyond the purely linguistic; it will address how a linguistic phenomenon such as these is deeply interrelated with culture and the way in which we socialize with each other and our surroundings.

### 2.1.2 Critical language study

While linguistic anthropology is useful for this study as a way to highlight culture as an extra-linguistic factor, there are other disciplines that underline other social aspects that

are related to language. In this context, Norman Fairclough's notion of critical language study (CLS) gives special prevalence to the relationship between language, power, and ideology, two elements that are of paramount theoretical importance to shed light on the underlying social representations of Chilean Spanish speakers. Thus, the motivations of the authors to devise the guiding principles of CLS are:

> To help correct a widespread underestimation of the significance of language in the production, maintenance, and change of social relations of power . . . [and] to help increase consciousness of how language contributes to the domination of some people by others, because consciousness is the first step towards emancipation. (Fairclough, 2001b, p. 1)

The word *critical* has been used in multiple approaches that are related to the phenomenon of language as a field that is separate or subordinate to "linguistics proper". These include *critical linguistics*, a discipline that aims to understand "the values that underpin social, economic and political forations, and, diachronically, changes in values and changes in formations" (Fowler, 1996, p. 10); and *critical applied linguistics*, a field that applies aspects of Critical Theory to approaches to language an education for a "critical analysis of the social, cultural, economic and political ways in which people are inequitably positioned" (Pennycook, 1997, p. 23). Though often seen as disciplines that are overlapping or that have been used somewhat interchangeably, I will give preference to *critical language study* due to its explicit focus in undercoving the hidden power relationships that underlie language. An application of critical language study, when larger discursive units of text are taken as the basic unit of communication, is *critical discourse analysis* (Fairclough, 2001b; Wodak 2001).

CLS views power and how it tends to order different parts of a whole in terms of hierarchical relations of domination and subordination, and thus applies it to the study of language. In this hierarchical structure, traditional linguistics—where the social aspect of language is overlooked—remains at the top, leaving other approaches that do highlight how language is inhernetly social relegated to the label of sub-disciplines that are often kept apart from each other (Fairclough, 2001b). Much like lingustic anthropology, then, critical language study is an approach that interprets language as an inherently social endeavor. More specifically, it focuses on the idea of language use (doing away with the Saussurean divition of *langue/parole*), conceived as being socially determined, something that Fairclough denominates discourse (Fairclough, 2001b, p. 17).

Critical language study makes a distinction between discourse and text by adopting a Hallidayan approach to the notion of text, that is, seeing it as "any instance of living language that is playing some part in a context or situation" (Halliday & Hasan, 1989, p. 10). A text, then is just a part of discourse, which is the whole process of social interaction (Fairclough, 2001b). However, CLS also takes into consideration multiple other elements other than text and discourse, namely how text is a product of the process of production and a resource of their interlocutor's process of interpretation. In addition to this, discourse is also heavily affected by social conditions of both production and interpretation. Thus, discourse as a social endeavor makes up three different of organization (See Fig. 1): the level of the immediate social environment wherein discourse occurs; the level of social institutions which provides a wider matrix for the discourse, where interaction between two speakers occurs; and a societal level which makes sense of discourse by providing it

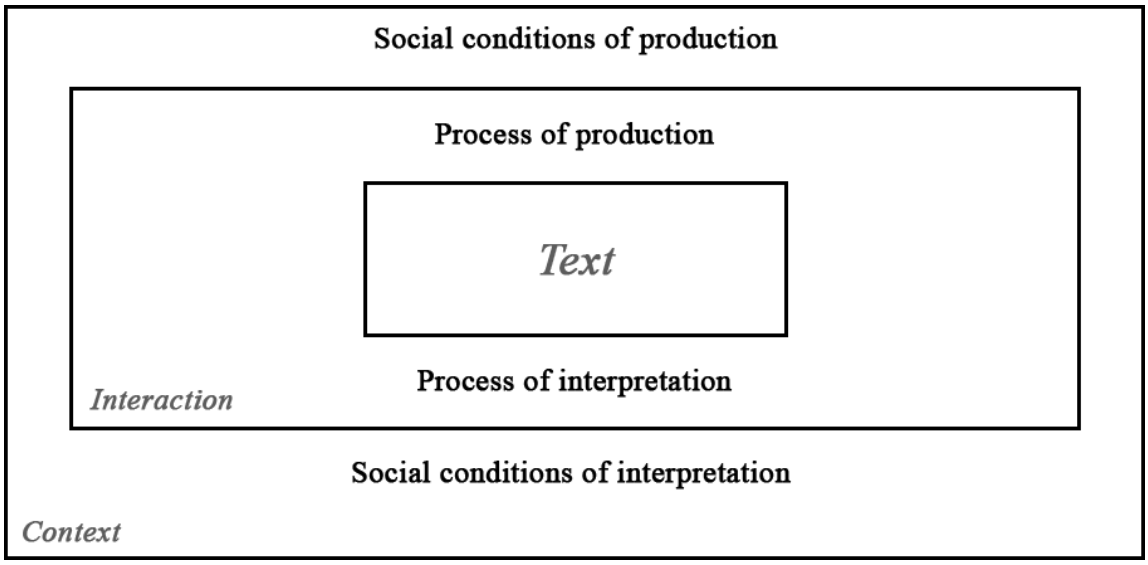


Figure 1. Discourse and text as social practices mediated by processes and conditions of production and interpretation. (Fairclough, 2001b)

of context, shaping the way in which texts are produced and interpreted (Fairclough, 2001b).

This is to say that to analyze a text is to analyze the relationship between a text, its interactions, and arguably more importantly, its contexts. In other words:

> [O]ne is committing oneself not just to analysing texts, nor just to analysing processes of production and interpretation, but to analysing the relationship between texts, processes, and their social conditions, both the immediate conditions of the situational context and the more remote conditions of institutional and social structures. (Fairclough, 2001b, p. 21)

Finally, Fairclough (2001a) also introduced the notion that there are dominant and non-dominant discourses. Dominant discourses include, most notably, neoliberal economic discourses of governments and the public sector along with the discourse of

figures of power in a capitalist society—political leaders, bosses, entrepreneurs, among others. To this, the author adds the idea of difference, of how the access of dominant forms of discourse is distributed unequally in society and how the imposition of these forms marginalizes other forms of non-dominant discourses; and of resistance, that is, when social actors react negatively to dominant forms instead of acquiescing to them. Discourses of resistance are then seen as the breaking of the conventional and stable discursive practices, which is often deemed acts of creativity (Fairclough, 2001a).

By adopting the approach of CLS, I am viewing language as something that is inseparable from the social structures and institutions of a speaker, which play an important role in shaping their discourse and, more importantly, language as something that is largely shaped by power relations and asymmetries. The usage of lexical code-copies, in this regard, is also in a big part mediated and defined by society in the form of social structures and typical contexts such as the family, school, and work-related environments.

### 2.1.3 Glottopolitics

Critical language study and linguistics anthropology are two disciplines that see language as a form of social action, paying special attention to power relations and culture, respectively. Glottopolitics, on the other hand, is to be understood as a perspective or field that highlights how language cannot be separated from politics. The term glottopolitics first was coined in the 1980s by Jean-Baptiste Marcellesi and Louis Guespin, stating:

"Glottopolitics is needed in order to encompass all the facts of language where social activities take the form of politics" (1986, p. 5).

An analysis under a glottopolitical perspective, then, aims to "elucidate the political dimension of the addressed phenomena [language practices] by studying them as interventions in the public space, which tend to establish (reproduce or transform) a social order while shaping identities (Arnoux, 2016).

Throughout three different currents (Arnoux, 2000; Del Valle, 2014) that have received widespread attention during its history, matters that are of special interest for this study have been considered and studied from a glottopolical point of view. During the first current, kickstarted after the end of World War II, indigenous matters were treated as a political-linguistic issue to raise a discussion on matters such as whether to reinforce the indigenous languages of the region or to further integrate indigenous peoples by putting more emphasis on Spanish or to whether keep indigenous languages oral or promote their transition towards becoming a written language (Arnoux, 2000). With terms of the South American context, the glottopolitical perspective adopted in Peru in the late 1960s and early 1970s is an example that allowed, among other things, for the declaration of Quechua as an official language and the measures for other social actors to learn the language (Arnoux, 2000).

The second current, which started in the 1960s, advocated for the defense of the social rights of the minority groups and adopted a more critical approach towards the initial current, stating that it mimicked and replicated colonial structures. In addition to this, it

also went against ideas such as stating that bilingualism was harmonic, stating that language contact is a conflict instead (Del Valle, 2014). Towards the advent of the new millennium, a third current of glottopolitics arose, one more associated with globalization and transnational interaction networks (Arnoux, 2000; Del Valle, 2014).

Glottopolitics, given its intrinsic relationship with the political aspect, is a perspective that has been often related with language planning. However, the scope of glottopolitics has always been wider. It not only takes into consideration nation-wide language policies, but also the effects that may arise from them:

> The concept of glottopolitics . . . encompasses at the same time planned policies and the effects—conscious or unconscious, active or passive—of those policies. Thus, the scope of the glottopolitical includes from acts that are miniscule to ones that are of greater consideration. (Marcellesi & Guespin, 1986, p .15)

Given the cultural and political landscape of Chile as a country what was colonized by Spain in the 15th century, glottopolitics becomes a relevant perspective to take into consideration. Ever since the settlement of the Spaniards, the indigenous peoples of the land became dominated and exterminated. This situation has only continued throughout the centuries, with the occupation of Araucanía in the 19th century and multiple other policies that have been harmful to the aboriginal cultural groups. The third current described by Arnoux (2000) is also interesting, given the role that a process such as globalization may have on the presence and usage of lexical code-copies of not only the indigenous languages of the region, but also of English.

Language and discourse are thus to be interpreted as political by nature. By looking at lexical code-copies in Chilean Spanish from the lens of glottopolitics, an attempt to give more prevalence to politic matters masked by language will be made.

### 2.1.4 Pierre Bourdieu's sociology of language

The ideas of French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu will be key to understand the relation and asymmetries of power that language is subjected to. His work was characterized by a focus on class determination of cultural dispositions and practices, along with a "frontal assault of on all idealist explanations of the cultural sphere" (Garnham, 1993, p. 178). Bourdieu's view of language, which comes from interpreting it and linguistics as a subject of sociological critique, entails a threefold displacement of common notions and concepts within linguistics:

> In place of *grammaticalness* it puts the notion of *acceptability*, or, to put it another way, in place of "the" language (langue), the notion of *legitimate language*. In place of *relations of communication* (or symbolic interaction) it puts *relations of symbolic power*, and so replaces the question of the *meaning* of speech with the question of the *value* and *power* of speech. Lastly, in place of specifically linguistic competence, it puts *symbolic capital*, which is inseparable from the speaker's position in the social structure. (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 646)

One of the notions that Bourdieu uses that will allow us to understand his view of language and power relations is the notion of *habitus*. Habitus can be briefly understood as an "open system of dispositions that is constantly subjected to experiences, and therefore constantly affected by them in a way that either reinforces or modifies its structures" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 133), revealing itself only in reference to a

definite situation, or *field*. It is only in relation to a certain field that habitus produces or is predisposed towards given discourses or practices—it is within the US contemporary film industry as a field, for example, that notions such as "demanding director" or "unreasonable star" make sense the way they do (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Duranti, 2011). The notion of habitus then, can be transferred to language as the different dispositions that speakers (unconsciously) have towards their everyday language.

Thus, Pierre Bourdieu's conception of language, much like the disciplines and perspectives described thus far, is something that goes beyond formalist linguistics: "Language is not only an instrument of communication or even of knowledge, but also an instrument of power. A person speaks not only to be understood but also to be believed, obeyed, respected, distinguished." (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 648). More specifically, for Bourdieu every linguistic exchange between a speaker and its audience can be reduced to historical power relations where authority (and its recognition) plays an important role:

> [L]inguistic relations are always relations of power (*rapports de force*) and, consequently, cannot be elucidated within the compass of linguistic analysis alone. Even the simplest linguistic exchange brings into play a complex and ramifying web of historical power relations between the speaker, endowed with a specific social authority, and an audience, which recognizes this authority to varying degrees, as well as between the groups to which they respectively belong . . . even the content of the message itself, remains unintelligible as long as one does not take into account the totality of the structure of power relations that underlay the exchange. (Wacquant, 1989, p. 46)

To properly understand the way Pierre Bourdieu understands relations of power and hierarchies we have to turn to what he defines as doxa, the primary experience of the social

world: “[A]n adherence to relations of order which, because they structure inseparably the real world and the thought world, are accepted as self-evident” (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 471). The power asymmetries that are found within society are thus so deeply entrenched ordinary practice that they are often too obvious to be noticed or salient (Hanks, 2005).

Another idea of Bourdieu that will be of use within this study is the notion of legitimate and authorized language. Legitimacy in language is used to refer to specific ways of speaking or writing that are recognized by dominant classes and mass audiences as legitimate varieties, authority, on the other hand, is the attribute that is invested in the social actors who use legitimate language (Hanks, 2005). The social effect of having an established legitimate variety, Bourdieu argues, is that it presupposes speakers having a common recognition of authorized and legitimate usage, along with an unequal skill in that usage (Bourdieu, 1977). In this way, a field imposes a selective reinforcement upon production of language, authorizing the usage of legitimate varieties and, at the same time, *censoring* what the field sanctions to be not legitimate, with these sanctions becoming part of linguistic practice itself (Bourdieu, 1977; Hanks, 2005).

While a “purely linguistic” perspective to look at lexical copies allows for a wide array of concepts to understand and classify them in grammatical and lexical terms, the sociology of language of Pierre Bourdieu will be helpful to address them from a linguistic anthropological view, with special attention to key issues and extra-linguistic factors such as culture, power, and politics.

### 2.1.5 Folk linguistics

In addition to all the approaches that relate to the phenomenon of language described thus far, this study will also pay special attention to folk linguistics. This approach, described as the theories and perception of language by non-specialists (Niedzielski & Preston, 2000), is closely related to the methodology of this study, namely discussing and asking questions about language to speakers of a language who have not received academic instruction on linguistics.

Traditional linguistics often hold non-linguists and their perceptions about language as a phenomenon in low regard, often describing them as "innocent misunderstandings of language", or an impoverished view of language (Niedzielski & Preson, 2000, p. 1). This is also known as an eliminative epistemic valuation regarding folk linguistics, one that posits that folk theory is false because it is based on intuitions and evaluations by non-specialists rather than scientifically verifiable data (Paveau, 2011). This study, on the other hand, takes an integrational, or anti-eliminative, position regarding the beliefs and ideas by non-specialists when it come to linguistics, that is to say, I consider that the data provided by non-specialists is just as valid as linguistic data provided by specialists[2], adhering to the belief that folk propositions are "not necessarily false beliefs that must be eliminated from the sphere of science, but constitute perceptive, subjective and incomplete

[2] There have also been instances where it was attested that linguists did not perform remarkably better than non-specialists in a test of sentence acceptability. See Spencer (1973).

forms of knowledge that need to be incorporated into the scientific data of linguistics" (Paveau, 2011, p. 41).

Paveau further problematizes the Cartesian perception of linguists and non-linguists by positing that linguists may also take part in non-linguistic activity, such as instances of aesthetic discourse where a speaker, despite their academic preparation, expresses an opinion of whether they like or dislike a word (Paveau, 2011). This also extends to a problematization of the idea of what is true with regards to linguistic data. Due to them belonging to academic structures that are made of sociopolitical power, what is true regarding linguistics is often attributed to linguists (Rojas et al., 2016). Here, however, the integrational perspective I am taking with regards to folk linguistics puts the belief of both specialized and non-specialized speakers at the same level with regards to data validity.

Every speaker of Chilean Spanish, whether specialist or not, is subjected to the cultural and linguistic habitus of Chile, and their perceptions about the process of lexical code-copying will be considered as equally valid. An attempt at thoroughly looking at this must, from my perspective, include both of their opinions.

### 2.1.6 Social representations

The main way through which it will be possible to address the underlying beliefs and ideas that Chilean Spanish speakers have about lexical code-copies from both English and the indigenous languages of the land is through social representations. The concept was first devised by Serge Moscovici in his 1961 work *La psychanalyse, son image et son public* (2008), where he studied the reception of ideas from psychoanalysis on three

different sectors of French society—the urban-liberal, the Catholic, and the communist sector. His work on the representations of ideas from psychoanalysis served as an update to Émile Durkheim's notion of collective representations, defined in opposition to individual representations as the beliefs, norms and values common to all members of a society (Durkheim, 1898). Moscovici elaborated on the ideas of Durkheim and problematized the static concept of collective representations into a concept that addressed the flux of conditions in modern societies along with the plurality of different social groups and beliefs (Abreu Lopes & Gaskell, 2015). Social representations have since then become one of the main ways to study what is usually known as "common sense" in different cultures (Sammut et al., 2015). Moscovici defined social representations as the following:

> [A] system of values, ideas and practices with a twofold function: first, to establish an order which will enable individuals to orientate themselves in their material and social world and to master it; and secondly to enable communication to take place among members of a community by providing them with a code for social exchange and a code for naming and classifying unambiguously the various aspects of their world and their individual group history. (Moscovici, 1973, p. xiii)

Bauer and Gaskell (1999) devise three defining characteristics to social representations: First, they are embedded within communication systems. They have a structure that serve functions for its participants and the involved communication systems. Finally, they are found within different modes and mediums. With regards to their structure, they devised what they dubbed the Toblerone model of common sense (Bauer

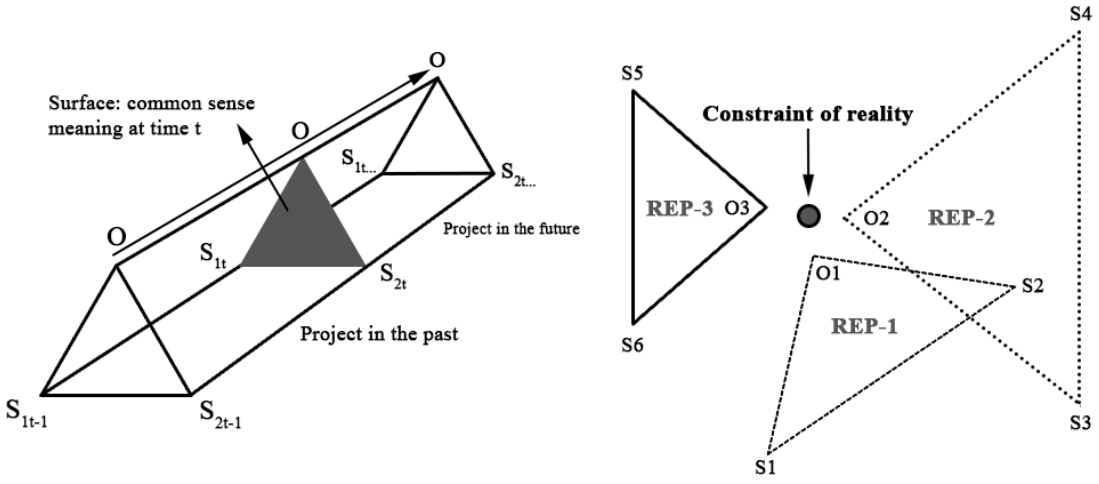


Figure 2. The Toblerone and wind rose model of social representations. Adapted from Bauer & Gaskell (1999, 2008).

& Gaskell, 1999). This model looks at social representation as a logical triplet of subject, object, and project, wherein the subjects, the *we* in society, represent a common entity or idea as an object (Bauer & Gaskell, 1999). These subject-object relations, however, only make sense within a pragmatic context, which portrays these relations as an ongoing movement that plays a role in defining the object as well as the subjects' experiences. This is what the authors denominate the project (Bauer & Gaskell, 1999, 2008). As can be seen in Fig. 2, the Toblerone model shows how groups of subjects will have a different representation of the same object as time goes by, illustrating Moscovici's departure from the static collective representations of Durkheim.

In time, the Toblerone model and the logical triplet to address common sense in society was deemed as insufficient, and an expanded version was proposed to account for things, such as medium (i.e. communication) and most importantly, intergroup context

(Bauer & Gaskell, 2008). This expanded model, when looked at as a slice, resembles a wind rose (See Fig. 2). The main contribution of the wind rose model (also dubbed the multiple Toblerone model) is the intergroup behavior of social representations—the idea of us versus them where a particular social representation is traded against other representations of the same object, usually shared among groups who have less or more power than them—or be part of the majority or minority with regards to the other representations—which is represented by the different sizes of the triangles in the model (Bauer, 2015; Bauer & Gaskell, 2008). In addition to this, the wind rose model accounts for the possibility of overlapping of social representations of the same object, which is linked to the idea of cognitive polyphasia. This idea refers to the fact that multiple knowledge systems and social representations tend to co-exist rather than displace each other within the same individual, even when they are often different and potentially incommensurable (Jovchelovitch, 2008; Jovchelovitch & Priego-Hernández, 2015).

One final idea that will be of use to characterize the social representations that Chilean Spanish speakers have about lexical code-copies is the central core theory (Abric, 1993, 2001). This theory posits that, regardless of the social object, the social representations will always be organized in a dual system whose main function is to maintain the stability of the social representation within the group (Moliner & Abric, 2015). This dual system consists of a central system and a peripheral system. The central system contains core elements to social representations, which are defined as "stable, coherent, consensual and historically marked" (Abric, 1993, p. 76) elements that give continuity and consistency to social representations of the same object. The peripheral system is, on the other hand,

deemed as more sensitive and determined by characteristics of its immediate context (Abric, 1993, 2001). Peripheral representations are seen as more flexible than the ones that are near the core, which allows for heterogeneity and contradictions in social representations of the same object (Abric, 1993). Because of this dual system, social representations can be "stable and moving, rigid and flexible … consensual but marked by strong interindividual differences" (Abric, 1993, p. 75).

These contributions to the theory of social representation allows us to understand that, despite how complex and difficult to envisage they may seem, they are ideas and beliefs that are structured, and that within their structure, elements that could be considered problematic such as contradictions and inconsistencies are expected and an integral part of social representations.

### 2.1.7 Language ideologies

Another idea that gained prevalence with the advent of linguistic anthropology is that of language ideologies, signaling a departure from the Boasian idea of considering the beliefs of natives as misleading and disturbing (Boas, 1911). The concept of language ideologies is thus one that overlaps to some extent with social representations in the sense that both try to uncover the beliefs that speakers have about an object (in this case, language). The concept of language ideologies was devised to problematize the consciousness of speakers about their language and discourse as well as the position that they take in shaping beliefs and evaluation of linguistic forms and discursive practices (Kroskrity, 2010). Regarding this relationship between social representations and

language ideologies, I adhere to Cisternas's (2017) view in seeing language ideologies as a set of social representations related to different elements of a language and its relationship with the social world.

Once the beliefs that speakers had about their language became a subject of interest, language ideology as a concept started to gain interest. One of the first definitions of the concept was the devised by Michael Silverstein, who described language ideologies as "any sets of beliefs about language articulated by the users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use" (1979, p. 193). Later proposals started to define language ideologies by drawing more attention to the social element of language as well: "[S]elf-evident ideas and objectives a group holds concerning roles of language in the social experiences of members as they contribute to the expression of the group" (Heath, 1989, p. 53). The popularity of language ideologies has allowed for the study of other relevant issues, such as superiority and inferiority of languages, language contact, multilingualism, and loanwords as well (Kroskrity, 2004).

A more modern definition of the concept of language ideologies further problematizes the concept, adding notions such as political and economic interest, the fact that language ideologies can be covert in communication, and that rather than belonging to a specific group, language ideologies relate to the sociocultural experience of an individual speaker:

> [B]eliefs, feelings, and conceptions about language structure and use which often index the political economic interests of individual speakers, ethnic and other interest groups, and nation states. These conceptions, whether explicitly articulated or embodied in communicative practice, represent incomplete, or "partially successful",

> attempts to rationalize language usage; such rationalizations are typically multiple, context-bound, and necessarily constructed from the sociocultural experience of the speaker. (Kroskrity, 2010, p. 192)

The concept of language ideologies will be useful to further understand how multiple social representations relate to each other by being linked to the same ideology. These ideologies will, in turn, paint a clearer picture about the beliefs and thoughts that Chilean Spanish speakers have of their own language and of both English and the indigenous languages of the land, the lexical code-copies sources of interest.

### 2.1.8 Language attitudes

The last concept related to what people think and believe of the language they speak is language attitudes. Attitudes as a whole has been a subject of interest since the beginning of the 20th century (Garrett, 2010), but more modern definitions describe them as follows:

> It is an inner component of mental life which expresses itself, directly or indirectly, through much more obvious processes as stereotypes, beliefs, verbal statements or reactions, ideas and opinions, selective recall, anger or satisfaction or some other emotion and in various other aspects of behaviour (Oppenheim, 1982, p. 39).

A simpler definition that serves as a base for how language attitudes are understood is provided by Sarnoff: "[A] disposition to react favourably or unfavourably to a class of objects" (1970, p. 279). This simplified definition of attitude allows us to understand that essentially, when we take them to the realm of language, attitudes are positive or negative disposition towards a language. To this, Garrett (2010), adds elements of previous definitions such as Oppenheim's to language attitudes, namely the fact that they are

cognitive, affective, and behavioral. More specifically, he states that they are cognitive because they relate to beliefs about the world and relationship between objects of social significance, affective because they include feelings of varying intensity towards a language, and behavioral in the sense that language attitudes predispose us to act in certain ways—often in ways consistent with our cognitive and affective components to language attitudes (Garrett, 2010).

The delimitation of these three concepts—social representations, language ideologies, and language attitudes—allows us to better understand what people think and believe about the language they speak. With regards to lexical code-copies, a positive or negative language attitude will make it easier to see underlying language ideologies and thus have a clearer picture of the underlying social representations at play.

### 2.1.9 Lexical code-copies

The linguistic phenomenon of interest in this study, commonly known in linguistics as loanwords or lexical borrowing, will be looked at from the perspective of a code-copying framework (Johanson, 1999, 2002a, 2002b, 2008), described as "an integrated model for describing all kinds of language encounters, the different processes they trigger and the dynamics they produce" (Johanson, 1999, p. 37). Thus, the framework serves as an umbrella term for multiple phenomena that are products of language contact, this includes borrowing, calquing, transfer, interference, and others (Johanson, 2002a).

I concur with Johanson's position against the traditional[3] usage of terms such as lexical borrowing and loanwords to refer to phenomena, because these terms are based on a rather fallacious metaphor of buying, importing and selling that does not illustrate the situation properly:

> The term "borrowing" is already based on a deceptive metaphor. Nothing is borrowed in language contact: The "donor language" is not deprived of anything; and—more importantly—the "recipient language" does not take over anything identical with anything in the "donor language". Terms such as "transfer" pose the same problem since they also suggest identicality of originals and copies. Non-identicality of originals and copies is a fundamental principle of our framework. (Johanson, 2002a, p. 288)

Code-copying, thus, is nothing more than the insertion of elements of one code, known as the model code, into another code, the basic code—with one important distinction being that copies and originals are not identical (Johanson, 1999, 2002a). Johanson argues that what happens with the process commonly known as lexical borrowing is that an element of the model code is imitated and then adapted to the basic code, but copies can always be distinguished from originals (Johanson, 2002b).

Since the framework covers all situations and phenomena related to language contact, code copying can apply to multiple elements. In this regard, Johanson makes the distinction between global and selective code-copies, with global copies being insertion

[3] Given that this study adheres to the code-copying framework, I believe that an at length theoretical discussion about loanwords in the traditional sense of the word becomes trivial under this perspective. For a detailed discussion about lexical code-copies from a more traditional point of view see Castillo Fadic (2002).

of whole morphemes (or sequences thereof) that include whole globes made up of material, semantic, combinational and frequential properties from the model code to the basic code. Selective copies, on the other hand, refers to the product of copying selected structural properties from one code to the other, most commonly seen in phenomena dubbed loan phonology or loan syntax or interference (Johanson, 2002a). For the sake of clarity, however, I will only pay attention to global lexical code-copies, the equivalent of what is known as loanwords.

Another key characteristic of the framework is that it posits that copies, especially global copies, are subject to adaptation (Johanson, 2002a, 2002b). Adaptation may happen in any of the properties mentioned above: Material, in the form of phonological accommodation; semantic, because the meanings between an original and a copy will never be the exact same; combinational, in the form of syntactical or morphological adaptation in order to fit with the basic code; and frequential, in the form of changes in frequency of occurrence (Johanson, 2002b). This addresses the different kinds of lexical code-copies that can be found in Chilean Spanish, some of which have been subjected to different adaptation processes (e.g. the lexical code-copies *break* and *chutear*, both coped from the English language, but with the latter being more adapted to Chilean Spanish than the former).

Looking at what is commonly known as loanwords under an anthropological perspective will allow us to see beyond the purely linguistic and give prevalence to social factors. In this regard, the code-copying framework is of special relevance to this study

because it pays special attention to such extra-linguistic factors, stating "dominance relations in terms of social, political and/or economic strength must be taken not account" (Johanson, 2002a, p. 306).

### 2.1.10 Linguistic imperialism

By looking at lexical code-copying from a linguistic anthropological perspective, it is important to look at the process known as lexical borrowing as something that goes beyond the purely linguistic. In this regard, linguistic imperialism is a useful concept to properly understand how one language exerts its power on others. Imperialism, in the broad sense of the word, is understood as "a type of relationship whereby one society (or collectivity in more general terms) can dominate another" (Galtung, 1980, p. 107). Thus, when we talk about linguistic imperialism, we are talking a situation where one language, related to an imperialistic country, dominates others. This case is most commonly seen with English, a language that has reached a pre-eminent position in the world (Crystal, 2003).

Robert Phillipson thus describes English linguistic imperialism by stating that "the dominance of English is asserted and maintained by the establishment and continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages" (1992, p. 47). As a result of processes such as British colonialism, international interdependence, developments in fields such as technology, communications, and commerce, the entire world has gravitated towards linguistic homogeneity, with English playing a prominent role (Phillipson, 1992).

The effects of linguistic imperialism can be seen in Chile in the increasing presence of words of English origin in Chilean Spanish (Echeverría Arriagada, 2016; Gerding et al., 2012; Sáez-Godoy, 2005; Seco, 2000), which makes linguistic imperialism an important concept to keep in mind while looking at the underlying social representations of Chilean Spanish speakers when they talk about lexical code-copies from English.

### 2.1.11 Americanization

In addition to the British empire and its colonialism processes, another factor that Phillipson takes into account for English linguistic imperialism is that the English language is the official language of the United States of America, one of the world leaders in economic, political, and military power in the contemporary world (Gerding et al., 2012; Phillipson, 1992). This world leadership also goes in hand with the propagation of ideas, customs, and social patterns from the United States, a process known as Americanization (Williams, 1962).

Americanization is seen as a unidirectional process that tends to overwhelm the strength of local forces and might resist it along with overwhelming other competing process, such as the influence from other countries (Ritzer & Stillman, 2003). The reach of its presence is also deemed as high, easily attested in the marketing of things whose origin is from the United States, such as Hollywood films, pop music, American sports, and brands in the field of technology and clothing (Ritzer & Stillman, 2003). Moreover, the effect of Americanization is linked with the adoption of major cultural principles like mass consumption (Riegel, 2005), market capitalism, and mass culture (Kuisel, 2003).

The concept of Americanization will specially relevant for this study given the neoliberal system that was established in Chile in the 1970s with the help of radical economists who had studied economy at the University of Chicago—hence their "Chicago Boys" nickname (Silva, 1993), which led to a shift in society towards mass consumption and capitalism. Americanization, then, is a process that could explain any underlying social representation, language ideology, or langue attitude with regards to the English-based lexical code-copies.

### 2.1.12 Linguistic market

The final concept that will be of use in this study is another one from the sociological critique of Pierre Bourdieu. One of his most influential ideas about language was an analogy that understood linguistic exchanges as a market (Bourdieu, 1977). Following this analogy, Bourdieu states that languages are "worth what those who speak it are worth" (1977, p. 652). That indicates that, according to the analogy of the linguistic market, in situations of language contact different languages will have a different price.

This notion of price in the linguistic market, which for Bourdieu is "one of the most important factors bearing on linguistic production" (1977, p. 653), is thus defined with relation to an anticipation of profit for the linguistic choices of speakers, which makes this notion dependent on the linguistic and cultural habitus that they are inserted in (Bourdieu, 1977). However, the price of linguistic products is not something random, it is something intrinsically related to notions previously described like legitimate language and censorship. To this, he adds:

> The social value of linguistic products is only placed on them in their relationship to the market, i.e. in and by the objective relationship of competition opposing them to all other products . . . we are dealing not with a relativistic universe of differences that are capable of relativizing one another, but with a hierarchized universe of deviations from a form of discourse that is recognized as legitimate. (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 654)

Pierre Bourdieu's analogy of the linguistic market gains more relevancy when we keep in mind other notions previously described, such as lexical code-copies and linguistic imperialism. This analogy will be especilly helfpul considering the situation that this study describes is essentially one of language contact, where multiple varieties, i.e. the lexical code-copies of different origins, are competing linguistic products that have a different anticipation of profit.

### 2.2 State of the art

The phenomenon commonly known as loanwords is a subject matter that has been studied extensively throughout the world, especially with regards to English. In Chile, the first instance of a study on English-based lexical code-copies dates back to 1942, when German-born teacher Gabriele Schwarzhaupt did her doctorate dissertation on the topic of words from English origin on Chilean Spanish (Sáez-Godoy, 1997). Her work used written sources such as newspapers, literary works, and dictionaries. The most seminal contribution towards the study of lexical code-copies in Chile was made by Luis Prieto (1979, 1992, 1993, 2002, 2004, 2006, 2007), who studied both quantitative and qualitatively the presence of words from different origins in the press of Santiago. He made contributions regarding words of French, Italian, German, African, and Japanese

origins, with two publications for words copied from indigenous languages—one for indigenous languages as a whole and another one for Quechua (Prieto 1979, 2006).

This methodology is the most common, with most studies that focused on English-based lexical code-copies using mostly quantitative methods of obtaining code-copies from written sources (Diéguez, 2004, 2005; Gómez-Pablos, 2014). Others adopted a mixed method by following the same methodology of data collection but offering more qualitative interpretations (Gerding et al., 2012). These types of studies were the majority, with only one example of a purely qualitative piece of research about lexical code-copies from English in Chilean Spanish (Sáez-Godoy, 2005). The situation is similar internationally, with studies assessing lexical code-copies from English in Spanish from sources such as magazines (Van Hooft, 2006; Vásquez Amador, 2018), digital advertisings (López Zurita, 2018), and dictionaries (Crespo-Fernández & Luján-García, 2013). Studies rarely resorted to sources other than written sources or corpora, with only select exceptions in Chile (Echeverría Arriagada, 2016), México (Lope Blanch, 1972), and Mapudungun (Hernández, 1981) in one of the few examples of research conducted on lexical code-copying with indigenous languages as the model code other than the ones conducted by Prieto (1979, 2006).

Most studies on lexical code-copying also focused on only one language as the basic code. Examples include Seco (2000), who compared English-based lexical code-copies in Chilean and Spanish magazines, and Luna Traill, who conducted a questionnaire about

code-copies from English to people from 11 Spanish-speaking cities across Latin America (1988).

Lars Johanson's code-copying framework is something that has, for the most part, remained a theoretical tool to study language contact situations of Turkic languages (Csató, 2000; Johanson, 1998), with some examples focusing on lexical code-copying (Hayasi, 2000). In other countries of South America, the code-copying framework has only been named as an alternative to the classic theoretical treatment of loanwords (Dreidemie, 2011). In Chile, however, it has been mostly used by Olate Vinet (Olate Vinet, 2017; Olate Vinet et al., 2019; Olate Vinet & Wittig, 2016) to address the language contact situation between Chilean Spanish and Mapudungun, though never to address lexical code copying, but once again not to address lexical code-copying. The only example of the code-copying framework used to address lexical code-copies in Chilean Spanish was found in Pagel (2012), who addressed lexical code-copies between the Rapa Nui language and Chilean Spanish.

# CHAPTER 3:
# ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

### 3.1 On the complex nature of code-internal and extra-linguistic factors

One thing that was expected from the interviews with the speakers of Chilean Spanish, especially from the ones that received formal instruction on linguistics, were references to linguistic factors (what Johanson calls "code-internal factors", 2002a, p. 306) that contribute to language change, in this case the introduction of lexical copies from English into Chilean Spanish. These changes differ from the ones caused by extra-linguistic factors because they are said to generally occur among monolingual speakers of a speech community instead of being caused from contact between languages (Hickey, 2010). These internal changes typically occur in order to allow for more simplification in language usage, signaled by an increase in regularity in language, namely morphophonemic regularity (leading to loss of inflections and increase in invariable word forms), and regularity in the correspondence between content and expression (an increase in morphological and lexical transparency) (Mühlhäusler, 1977; Trudgill, 1986).

However, what speakers of Chilean Spanish had to say about lexical code-copies from English quickly shows that, while there are code-internal factors at play that contribute to this aforementioned simplification in language, extra-linguistic factors are deemed as being of a higher importance, and must be taken into consideration to properly assess language change. Explanations about the phenomenon of lexical code-copies being introduced into Chilean Spanish that highlighted the importance of code-internal factors were present, but they occurred to a much lesser degree:

> I think it might be because it's easier when you're speaking. They are shorter, maybe simpler words than the local ones. (G. P.)[4]
>
> They also simplify conversations and advertisements . . . because they sometimes explain something in many words and say them in one [*sic*]. It's more effective. (M. M.)
>
> I think it's out of convenience . . . there are many words in English that are shorter and are much easier to pronounce, and since people tend to be lazy, they use those words. (R. S.)

All these explanations referred to how sometimes it is more convenient to copy words from another language instead of the original alternative in Chilean Spanish because they are shorter or easier to pronounce, from the point of view of Chilean Spanish speakers. This explains the prevalence of English copies in Chilean Spanish by making reference only to code-internal factors. Notwithstanding the prevalence of code-internal factors highlighted in the interview excerpts above, however, speakers always mentioned and ended up giving more prevalence to extra-linguistic factors as elements that play a defining role in the perception and usage of English within Chilean Spanish in the end. The different emergent social representations that mention extra-linguistic factors highlight the political relationship between languages in contact and their respective countries, by making reference to things such as the history or culture of the countries in question, and how these affect the portrayals of both English and Chilean Spanish and the phenomenon of lexical code-copying.

[4] All interview excerpts translated from Chilean Spanish. Words in italics within these excerpts were not translated as they were proper names, relevant words from Spanish, or lexical code-copies from either English or the indigenous languages of the land.

As Johanson states, changes in language that occur due to internal motivation are typically seen as "universal tendencies" (2002a, p. 286) likely present in all languages, such as the tendency to lose irregularities and prefer simplicity over time. The extra-linguistic factors and the language changes they beget, on the other hand, are heavily underpinned by the specific political and social context of the language in question. It follows that the choices made by a Chilean Spanish speaker of whether to use a lexical code-copy from English or its Spanish counterpart may or may not follow these universal tendencies (as in the case of a speaker opting to use a code-copy because it is shorter), but they will always be determined heavily influenced by extra-linguistic factors.

Discussions held with the interviewees about specific instances of lexical code-copying from English allow for a glimpse of the complexity and the amount of interplay involved between both code-internal and extra-linguistic factors and, moreover, the ever-present nature of extra-linguistic factors in this phenomenon. These discussions were about words that were deemed to have been copied from English to fill a gap because Chilean Spanish was seemingly unable to provide an alternative for said word. Here, two examples will be provided to illustrate said complex nature of the factors at play: *pendrive* and *light*. These two examples, while instances of the same broad phenomenon of lexical code-copying from English, are not identical in their underlying extra-linguistic factors and were thus explained differently by different speakers.

The word *pendrive* in particular was mentioned as an example of a word that refers to a concept that would have been too long to make reference to in Spanish, standing out as

another example of language change that could be explained from the point of view of code-internal factors: "The *gringo* concept explains a concept that explaining it in Spanish would be very long. Besides, between saying *dispositivo de almacenamiento masivo USB* . . . pendrive is better" (C. S.). While this explanation grounded on code-internal reasoning may seems satisfactory to explain why *pendrive* is preferred by Chilean speakers, it is insufficient. Taking into consideration the extra-linguistic factors on the matter will allow for a more comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon. Namely, this particular instance of lexical code copying is associated to developments and discoveries in the fields of technology and science. As stated by Rabanales et al. (1997), loanwords or lexical code-copies often come adhered to specific products that are imported into the country with foreign names. They argue that the proliferation of words that come from foreign countries in Spanish is due to a lack of technological and scientific development of the Spanish-speaking world (p. 41). This is not happenstance; it is a historically and politically situated practice that occurs as a consequence of the dominance and position of English-speaking countries such as the United States and the United Kingdom as world-leading countries. As it has been argued (Gerding et al., 2012; Phillipson, 1992), this dominance, particularly from the United States, is due its hegemony not only in terms of economic power, but also due to its position as world leaders in terms of culture, military, politics, and sciences. Because of this power, the United States has been portrayed as a model for other developed and developing countries, leading to the Americanization of society.

The fact that *pen drive* is a universal concept that makes use of English constituents is not random either. The technology behind pen drives can be traced back to two different

specific breakthroughs and developments that took place between the 1980s and the year 2000—in Japan and Israel respectively, two countries that do not have English as an official language. Despite this, Japanese and Hebrew are largely absent from the names and marketing schemes associated with USB flash drives. Hypothetically speaking, words from any language could be the constituents of a novel technological invention, but for that to be plausible, they will most likely have to be in a position similar to the United States in terms of power and hegemony.

The word *pendrive* also bears significance in this context as the ubiquitous expression to refer to an USB flash drive in Chilean Spanish (without having to resort to longer phrases in Spanish such *as dispositivo de almacenamiento masivo USB*). An online search in English-based online technology retailers yields several noun phrases that act as synonymous to a USB flash drive—memory stick, flash memory drive, and thumb stick, to name a few. *Pendrive*, however, is absent from the search results in these English-based websites. The only alternative that appeared in the search results is the same compound noun with its components separated by a space, *pen drive*, which, conversely, does not appear in the search results when a similar search is conducted in Chilean online retailers. Further research in discussion boards shows that both alternatives are deemed as valid by speakers of English, though speakers whose first language is English seemed to only recognize *pen drive* (Huang, 2012). Despite this, a Google search yielded only 27 million results for *pen* drive, whereas *pendrive*, the word that is seemingly only used by people whose first language is not English, got 34 million results.

This example demonstrates the non-identicality between originals (*pen drive*, in this case) and copies (*pendrive*, which seemingly emerged in Chile and other non-English-speaking countries), one of the main tenets of Johanson's code-copying framework (1999, 2002a, 2002b, 2008). This is so because the copy has emerged in a lexical environment as the more frequent and lexically prominent option, something that does not happen with the original due to the multiplicity of competing alternatives in English. The fact that the word commonly associated to people whose English is not their first language yielded more results should not be surprising either, given the fact that English is spoken by people for whom it is not their first language more than for people for whom it is (Crystal, 2003; Mauranen, 2018).

During discussions about this particular example, interviewees often related the prevalence of the English code-copy *pendrive* with things such as frequency as to why this word is preferred: "It has to do with perceptual frequency and with how frequently we are exposed to that word" (C. N.). Frequency in speech was a factor that was brought often to explain the prevalence of English copies in Chilean Spanish and, as it will be mentioned, is portrayed to play an important role in the process of conventionalization of English lexical code-copies.

The other example that will be discussed here, *light*, is different according to what speakers of Chilean Spanish had to say. When discussing that instance of code-copying, there were multiple different positions that were adopted, ranging from cases where speakers did not know an alternative in Chilean Spanish to cases where different

underlying extra-linguistic factors, such as the valuation of English and its presence mass media, were identified:

> It's because I haven't known other alternatives. That's how I received the label information. It said *light*, you know what I mean? (D. A.)
>
> The one that's used the most is *light*. I think we use *light* more than *liviano* because of a commercial thing. The word has been exposed a lot in mass media when they talk about *light* products. (N. C.)
>
> I could say that I am eating *liviano*, but the word is actually *light* because we hear it, we repeat it again and it just stays that way. (M. M.)
>
> I think *light* is used because in some way, English gives you a certain status. A word in English tends to be valued in a higher regard than what is linked with it in Spanish. By using *light* it's like we're going to unconsciously value it more, at least in the specific case of *light*. (J. B.)

As can be seen above, *light* becoming the de facto word in Chilean Spanish to refer to foods that are reduced in calories or fat has caused speakers to believe that there is no alternative in Spanish to refer to these foods, despite having *liviano* as the literal translation to *light*. This is so because *liviano* is seldom used in this context, with most labels advertising for low fat food items opting to use the English lexical code-copy instead.

The interview excerpts about the specific case of *light* also highlight multiple social representations that will be discussed below—the perception of an intricate relationship between English lexical code-copies and advertising and mass media along the perception that English is portrayed as a better language than Spanish. More importantly, this is a case of an English lexical code-copy that cannot be explained through code-internal

factors, or at least not in the same way that *pendrive* was explained by Chilean Speakers. Here, the difference in length between *liviano* and *light* is rather minimal for it to be used as the reason why *light* is vastly preferred. The English word does not fill a gap nor is it more practical or convenient to use compared to the Spanish word. Instead, it seems that it is only due to the more favorable perception of *light* that led to the code-copy being the prevalent option in advertising and in everyday discourse.

These two examples illustrate not only how integral lexical code-copying is when looking at the words that speakers of Chilean Spanish use in their day to day lives, but also show how complex the process of lexical code-copying is when it is looked at as a politically, historically and culturally situated phenomenon. The same exercise can be done with just about any other instance of lexical code-copying from English and the result will be the both the same and very different at the same time—every case of English lexical code-copying can be attributed extra-linguistic factors where history, politics and culture play an important role, but the factors themselves and how they play prominent or secondary roles in the treatment and usage of that lexical code-copy will be different each case.

In this regard, the relationship between code-internal and extra-linguistic factors is one that depends from code-copy to code-copy, and attributing it to only one external factors (or, in some cases, to code-internal factors when speakers advocate for the usage of English code-copies because they are shorter in length) will not suffice. As Jones posits when looking at the language contact situation between English and Guernésiais (2002),

we have to be careful in precluding contact as an explanation for language change when there are internal motivating factors and vice-versa. Instead, it is more accurate to see them as "mutually-reinforcing processes" (2002, p. 155). It has to be stated and reiterated once more, nevertheless, that extra-linguistic factors play a more significant role in this regard, something that Chilean Spanish speakers also identified. Code-internal factors can be seen, as stated previously, as universal tendencies within languages that play an important part in favoring one of the multiple word choices a speaker has at their disposal. The choices themselves, however, are determined and highly mediated by extra-linguistic factors. In other words, language is often an endeavor that will strive to be as effortless and as effective in communication as possible, but a word choice, such as using (or being forced to use due to a lack of alternatives) a lexical code-copy from English, will always be an act that is politically, historically, and culturally situated.

These two specific cases discussed above serve as preliminary discussion to the emergence of the different social representations of lexical code-copies. In the following sections of the study, and given that each case will most likely be very different from other code-copies, attention will be given to a more general overview of the social representations that emerged when discussing lexical code-copies from both English and indigenous languages, paying attention to the language attitudes shown by the speakers and to the language ideologies that are present in different groups of these representations.

## 3.2 Social representations of Chilean Spanish speakers about English lexical code-copies

### 3.2.1 English as a lingua franca

One of the most prevalent and commonplace element to the social representations about English lexical code-copies is the portrayal of the English language as a lingua franca. Traditional definitions frame ELF (English as a lingua franca) as English when it is used as the means of communication among people who do not speak English as their first language (Seidlhofer, 2001, 2005). Later definitions expand on the original concept of ELF, portraying it as a contact language wherein at least one of the participants that make use of it use it as a second language (Mauranen, 2018).

Of note is the fact that a concept like ELF is a highly technical one, expected to be used mostly by people who have had higher education experience or training in linguistics or other closely related fields. However, the prevalence of this belief is such that it was indirectly referenced to even in cases where the interviewees had no training in linguistics:

> Most of these corporations come to exploit resources speak English . . . they come with English as a lingua franca. (C. N.)
>
> It's because English is also a lingua… franca? It's a lingua franca, is it not? (D. A.)
>
> The topic of English has to do with it being the universal language that everybody uses, the language that can be used in almost every country. So, in a way unconsciously, it's the duty of somebody who doesn't speak English to adapt to the language. (R. S.)
>
> English is the language that is spoken globally, so it's like the language that people understand in all of the places that you can be in. In any place

> you visit, English is predominant, you will always be understood. (M. M.)
>
> When you were taught English, they'd tell you: "Learn English, girl, because it's spoken everywhere". The importance that was given to English was due to them becoming global. If you go to Japan and can deal with a little English you're saved, because there they like learning English. If you go to Italy or Korea they'll speak English too. It has become a Little bit more massive than other languages. In the end, it's not even a matter of fancy or preference–they language is so globalized that you can use it as a tool to get around. They always say that if you know English you're saved: You can go eat out, know where the bathroom is and that kind of thing. (C. A.)

The reasons why English is used and portrayed as a lingua franca vary from the purely communicative to other reasonings more grounded on extra-linguistic factors. Explanations more related to the communicative aspect typically refer to the fact that Chilean people will oftentimes use English whenever they find themselves in a country where Spanish is not spoken, without highlighting the defining role that extra-linguistic factors play into this treatment. In addition to this, other explanations about English as a lingua franca from the side of code-internal factors state that it is a language that is easy to use and learn for most countries: "Actually, English is a very easy language that I think has been easy for every country. That's why they have it as a second language" (M. M.).

On the other hand, the explanations that do take extra-linguistic factors into consideration as to why English is seen and treated as a lingua franca usually refer to the political power exerted by English speaking countries and the purposes related to giving this status to the English language. Having English as a lingua franca allows foreign corporations that seek to profit off the natural resources in Chile to be able to successfully

use the language as a viable means of communication between the owners of said corporations and their Chilean workers and associates. The territorial, political and cultural expansion that English-speaking countries have had thanks to imperialist processes and the advent of globalization have also allowed for English to be available virtually anywhere and treated as the language that can be seemingly used anywhere in the world.

An aspect that is seldom recognized by Chilean Spanish speakers when they address their position of lingua franca is one that closely relates the idea of English as a lingua franca to linguistic imperialism. As Jennifer Jenkins states, English is often seen as non-controversial in the professional world, but its more problematic aspects related to monoculturalism and the monocentric nature of English as a lingua franca have been at the center, especially in the field of World Englishes (Jenkins, 2009). This perspective is one that puts forward the idea that English as a lingua franca advances in the globalized world to the detriment of things such as cultural identity and intercultural communication, leading the way towards English-centered monocultural imperialistic domination (Ives, 2006; Jenkins, 2009; Pennycook, 2017; Rubdy and Saraceni, 2006).

Along with the line of though posited by Jenkins, Robert Phillipson has also stated that English has been marketed in an uncritical fashion as a universally relevant lingua franca of science, business, international understanding, and humanity in general, emphasizing that this perception and the idea of being able to communicate with virtually anybody in English are one of the many myths of global English (2017). Other authors

have pointed at other fallacies related to ELF and related notions, such as how ELF does not make a distinction between learners of unsolicited school English and the people who actually end up using it (O'Regan, 2014), and the feeling that literacy in English will lead to economic prosperity (Waseem & Asadullah, 2013).

However, this is not to say that speakers are unaware of the role that linguistic imperialism plays in the presence of English in Chilean Spanish, but the tendency regarding ELF specifically, as can be seen, is that English is perceived as a language that is going to be understood virtually anywhere. This pervasive idea is stated and replicated by the speakers, seemingly unaware of the fact that, most of the time, less privileged strata in Chilean society have little to no contact with the English language and are not capable to use English in any capacity. This is somewhat contradictory to one of the main tenets that support the portrayal of English as a tool for social mobility (cf. 3.2.10) and the majority of other beliefs about English, namely the fact that English is largely associated to the higher strata of society in a discriminatory fashion towards the poor. In other words, speakers are aware of this discriminatory aspect of English not being accessible to the underprivileged, but English is still perceived as a language that can be understood everywhere. This social representation stands out as one of the cases where Eriksen's idea of linguistic oppression is invisible to the casual observer (1992). This apparent incongruency is accounted for in the social representations theory as an example of cognitive polyphasia (Jovchelovitch, 2008; Jovchelovitch & Priego-Hernández, 2015).

Despite this tendency to overlook the imperialistic nature that can be attributed to English as a lingua franca and the discriminatory consequences that this may entail, there were still cases where it was recognized:

> The way in which language is positioned as an international language… I think we all normalize the fact that we can use words from English and everybody will understand us, because of its universal status . . . but it's also a little bit violent to put English as a universal language, taking over spaces where other national territories, and other languages, are. I think it's super violent. (G. H.)

However, excerpts such as this—or the one from R. S. shown earlier, which indirectly refers to linguistic imperialism by saying that people have the duty to adapt to English as a universal language—still not address the fact that this purported universality of English as a lingua franca is invalidated when one turns to the most underprivileged sectors of society. This pervasive idea that English is seen as a lingua franca and even as a universal language by Chilean Spanish speakers is closely related to other extra-linguistic factors which end up positioning English as the "legitimate" (Bourdieu, 1977) language in Chilean society. This notion is also shared (and furthermore, backed) by the Chilean state, which plays a key role by exerting its political power and ideologies in positioning English as a purported necessity in the globalized world.

### 3.2.2 English as a "superior" language

Several portrayals and descriptions of the English language can grouped under one umbrella belief—one that portrays the lexical code-copies from English, and the English language as a whole, as superior when compared to Chilean Spanish. The employment of

a wide arrange of keywords to describe English, such as *more elegant, prettier,* or *more modern*, when describing the English language, denotes the emergence of this social representation.

However, these favorable perceptions about English go beyond the lexical level and the usage of a specific group of positive words to describe English. The English language is also believed to sound "prettier" than other languages, attributing this to a purportedly superior or more attractive phonological system:

> In a way I feel that it's not so necessary to use so many words in English, because sometimes they're very similar. It's not necessary, but it sounds *cooler*. (M. M.)
>
> The same producto sounds more attractive. It sounds better to say *black Friday* than *viernes negro.* (N. C.)

Finally, the English language is also perceived to be related with the idea of modernity and the latest developments in technology: "With regards to the 20th century onwards, modernity brought us the whole thing of words in English to refer to things that are used today" (M. M.), which is closely related to the previously mentioned ideas stated by Rabanales et al. (1997). This idea also closely relates to what Eriksen posits about the systematic repression of linguistic minorities—that is, repression being described and disguised as process of modernization and social change (1992). This and other favorable portrayals are nurtured and motivated by other similar representations of the English language, such as its portrayal and relevancy in the domains of technology, advertising, and business, which make English be perceived as a better or overall desirable language.

Other portrayals of the English language, instead of becoming apparent by the usage of certain descriptors or referring to the way it sounds, hold English in a higher standard by highlighting a purported cultural richness that is attached to the language. This is not to be confused with the idea that adding words from other languages allows the language of Chilean Spanish to be richer by means of filling the gaps and expanding its repertoire. This is a portrayal that puts forward the idea that words in English are inherently culturally richer than their counterparts in Spanish: "Words from English are more *bacanes*[5], they're *cooler*. They have a higher cultural richness, so they are adopted with ease, are found more frequently and are thus used automatically" (C. N.).

This representation of English being portrayed as better is deemed to also expand to the image that a speaker of Chilean Spanish projects onto others when they add and use English copies in their everyday language:

> It has to do with our general views on English. In this country it's as if the person who knows English is one level above the other people . . . it's like English elevates you a lot. (G. T.)

> English loanwords give you this idea of the man of the first world. Somebody who's been around. Somebody who has travelled, who knows other cultures and that moves about parts of the world where these words are used. They relate English to its community of speakers, to the power associated to the United States and countries where this language is spoken. (G. H.)

[5] According to the *Diccionario de uso del español de Chile* (2010), *bacán* is defined as a teenage slang word in Chile for "excellent"; it is not an indigenous code-copy.

This is believed, as it will be discussed later on, to be the main reason why speakers of Chilean Spanish choose to integrate English copies into their discourse—to be regarded as better speakers or members of society of a higher standard. This, in hand, is closely related to the concept of Americanization. Since United States is seen as the role-model of society, speakers of Chilean Spanish will strive to be perceived as much as possible as a member of North American society.

This portrayal can also be seen and understood from the point of view of Pierre Bourdieu's idea of the dominant legitimate language (Bourdieu, 1977, 1991). The legitimate language, in this case English, is legitimated through recognition by the dominant classes of society. The differences in social and economic position end up being reproduced in an uneven access to knowledge of the legitimized language due to a monopolization of it by the dominant class, which in turns results in different levels of access to power (Bourdieu, 1977; Hanks, 2005). This harkens back to what was stated before (cf. 3.2.1) regarding how the underprivileged strata have little to no access and contact with the English language. William Hank adds:

> [C]ommon sense doxa regarding correctness, elegance, clarity, or effectiveness in speech hides what is more accurately seen as the market value of speech styles relative to the dominant language. (2005, p. 78)

These portrayals that position English as a superior language and see it as a "better" or "more elegant" alternative to Spanish emerge and works alongside not only social tensions between the dominant and dominated social strata, but other complementary beliefs about Chilean culture as well, namely the belief of Chile suffering from cultural

weakness due to a perceived higher acceptability of code-copies from English (cf. 3.2.8). This is another example of the intricate network of social representations about the English language that usually appear together and reinforce each other.

### 3.2.3 English as a "beneficial" language

Following a similar tone, English is also perceived as a beneficial tool, mostly because it grants access to popular culture media, such as movies and music, markets that are mostly dominated by English. This, however, is seen as a relatively recent phenomenon, as interviewees note that this benefit linked to the English language did not exist back in the 1980s and early 1990s. Instead, it is argued, English-based movies and music became more dominant in the years that followed, around the turn of the millennium. When this happened, it became easier to take words from English and introduce them into the repertoire of Chilean Spanish.

> In my case, I'm never exposed to things in French. For example, my favorite movies are in English. The best TV shows and series are in English, and the same happens with songs . . . you tend to be exposed more to the English-speaking culture than other languages and maybe because of this we begin to adopt words. (G. P.)

> Before, such as in the 1980s, you only had the national TV stations, but when videos and movies started to be broadcasted in their original language, English became more commonly used. The same happened with music. This was an intercultural exchange that started to occur in a more massive, fast, and instantaneous fashion, which broke down cultural frontiers. With this, it became easier to adopt words from abroad and understand them as well. (C. A.)

This is once again heavily linked to the processes of the Americanization of society of globalization, given that English is deemed as an all-pervasive feature of the globalized world (Widdowson, 2018), so the same shift towards mass consumption of English-based popular culture media that started happening during the 1990s likely happened all around the western world.

However, the relationship between Chilean Spanish and English in terms of perceived benefits goes beyond an increased access to media whose original language is English. The relationship is deemed to run deeper than that, turning into a dependent relationship in some contexts. This dependency arises once again due to the fact that English is the language commonly associate to the foreign corporations and businesses that are operating on Chilean soil, which puts them in a position of power and gives them leverage to make the English language a new necessity. Due to this position, workers often feel compelled to learn the language or to integrate English code-copies at work:

> English is the language of the ones that come to exploit us, but they give us our jobs. They give us money, and that money grants you the opportunity to go up the social ladder. It's a pretty complex thing that makes us relate English to a positive and beneficial language, one that may bring us material resources. (C. N.)

This is a belief that highly overlaps with the perception of English being a "superior" language than Chilean Spanish, and it could be argued that all of these benefits that the speakers identified are part of the same. After all, the most relevant items in pop culture are often in English because English is the language of power and is oftentimes chosen as the medium of communication by speakers, artists, and companies alike whose first

languages are other than English in order to cater to a bigger audience. This point can also be exemplified by another argument brought forward by speakers—there has been a shift towards broader consumption of pop culture that is in languages other than English, with Korean being the standout case with examples in Korean *doramas* and K-pop music. The relationship of dependency between Chilean Spanish Speakers and English exemplifies how deep these social representations are, and how they end up affecting the careers and livelihood of many members of Chilean society.

This representation, coupled with the other beliefs and portrayals presented thus far, all point towards an instrumentalist ideology of the English language, wherein English is seen as a "beneficial" tool, rationalized by the perception that English is seen as a language spoken everywhere and that it is a language of a higher standard when it is compared to Chilean Spanish.

### 3.2.4 The usage of English code-copies impoverishes Chilean Spanish

Though much less prevalent and more peripheral than social representations that portray English as a desirable or "better" language than Spanish, there were also portrayals that are more akin to a purist language ideology with regards to Spanish, particularly a heightened moral significance of the mother tongue (Woolard & Scheiffelin, 1994). Namely, there is a belief that the usage of English copies causes an impoverishment of Chilean Spanish, because the words that are copied from English may end up replacing the original lexical item in Spanish, which results in the speakers forgetting about them:

> It's comfortable to use words from other languages, but this also impoverishes our own language. Many times you end up disregarding words from our language that could have been used. For example, I think that many people don't use the word *matonaje*; we use *bullying*. Finally, you start to lose the habit of using words from our language . . . I don't think it's something that affects the language, but it does impoverish it. (D. R.)

Of note here is the fact that this idea of Chilean Spanish being impoverished by the usage of lexical code-copies only applies with English, not with words copied from indigenous languages. The ideas that talk about the purity of Chilean Spanish or the loss thereof are an indication that there is a purist ideology when it comes to the introduction and usage of copies from English in Chilean Spanish.

The case with indigenous lexical code-copies (cf. 3.3.2) is completely different. Here, the usage of copies from the indigenous languages of the territory is not seen as something that impoverishes the language. Instead, there is a positive language attitude about the indigenous copies, which shows that the purist ideology that is at play with the introduction and usage of English lexical code-copies shifts into a romantic ideology due to how positively Chilean Spanish speakers reacted. This also goes hand in hand with the idea that the indigenous languages and their words belong to the speakers of Chilean Spanish (cf. 3.3.1). This is clearly not the case with English, where copies are seen as foreign words, which leads to the presence of a purist language ideology instead of a romantic one.

### 3.2.5 English as a "neutral" language

Other portrayals, instead of taking a stance in characterizing English as a superior language or as an agent that impoverishes Chilean Spanish, portray it as a neutral language compared to Chilean Spanish and the indigenous languages of the region. Interviewees referred to this representation in a variety of ways, ranging from describing English lexical code-copies as words that are used with purely pragmatic purposes to describing them as words that have no emotional underpinnings attached to them.

One common situation where this representation arises is the usage of English lexical code-copies as a form to seek validation in contexts related to business and the corporate sector. In these contexts, English code-copies are deemed as neutral in the sense that they are detached from any emotion and subjectivity, which may be deemed as undesirable in the workplace: "English is seen as apolitical . . . It's 'technical', it's 'objective'" (I. H.).

This social representation, however, shows that there is also a tendency for speakers to be aware that this is just a *perceived* neutrality (demonstrated by the usage of the phrase *se ve* in the example above) that conforms to the standard imposed by the United States and the English-speaking dominant forces in the world:

> The more external and foreign references we validate the better, because by doing so we validate a discourse about what's global. Because global here equals to white, to something apolitical, that's how they want to put it. The globalized community is as if everything belongs to everybody and that makes establishing borders much harder. (G. H.)

The portrayal of English as a rather technical and objective language finds its base on the fact that corporations in Chile tend to use English copies to talk about business

terminology: “The *gringos* are very technical for many things. Even fact of speaking of *stake holders* and things like that, is simply applying concepts that the *gringos* come up with, so they work in our everyday work life” (I. H.). It is interesting how English is perceived as a depoliticized language in these contexts due to its technical nature. This perception goes in direct opposition to one of the main tenets of this study—that extra-linguistic factors are ever-present and play a key role in the introduction and usage of lexical code-copies, and that language is thus an endeavor that cannot be understood as something else than a historically and politically situated practice. This, in other words, means that language is by nature non-neutral.

Language being seen a non-neutral is the basic assumption at the center of core ideas about language shared by linguistic anthropologists across schools of thought and paradigms, making it a shared assumption that replaced the structuralist outlook on language (Ahearn, 2017; Duranti, 2011; Joseph, 2006). The same idea can about non-neutrality has been stated in the field of language ideologies, wherein it has been established that there is no “view from nowhere, no gaze that is not positioned” (Irvine & Gal, 2000, p. 36). Regarding this non-neutrality of language and how it relates to the cultures at hand, Joseph adds:

> A given language is capable of sustaining more than one culture (….) and in that sense language is culturally “neutral”. Even if, historically, it has developed within a particular culture, it does not in itself spread that culture to other people who learn the language. The language must be embedded within the cultural habitus in order to function as the vehicle in which the culture will be acquired. (Joseph, 2004, p. 167)

But this apparent disconnect between the social representations of the speakers of Chilean Spanish and the tradition of linguistic anthropology is not random. Phillipson identifies in the uncritical marketing of English as an ideologically neutral language another myth of Global English, stating: "English is fraudulently projected as a de-territorialized language that is disconnected from its original sources and even from the driving forces behind its expansion worldwide" (Phillipson, 2017, p. 315–316). This last idea also connects with the uncritical promotion of English as a lingua franca, something that benefits English-speaking countries in their quest for more political power. But in actuality, the keyword to the beginning of this paragraph is the *apparent* disconnect—what Chilean Spanish speakers had to say about the "neutral" character of the English language shows that there is a critical perception of the fact. That is to say, speakers know about this neutrality, but they know that is it not neutral at all.

What is key here is the fact that the cultural habitus in Chile is very much permeated and defined by Americanization, which puts speakers of Chilean Spanish (just like with any other member of the globalized world) in a position especially vulnerable to these uncritical and fraudulent projections of the English language. What Joseph stated above may apply to, for example, cases where speakers of Chilean Spanish use a different language, such as Portuguese, in their everyday discourse. Since Portuguese is not exactly embedded within the cultural habitus of Chile, no transmission of Brazilian or Portuguese culture takes place, but this is clearly not the case with English. Attitudes towards particular linguistic choices, such as English lexical code-copies, have to be understood while taking into consideration sociohistorical conditions and power asymmetries and, as

Duranti adds, these choices entail the reproduction of a system that is not neutral either (Bourdieu, 1991; Duranti, 2011).

The social representation of English being perceived as a neutral language appears to emerge in direct opposition to what happens with indigenous languages. That is to say, English is deemed as a neutral language whose words lack connotational meaning and are used solely for the purpose to describe things from an objective standpoint, whereas words that come from indigenous language are seen as word with connotational meaning.

### 3.2.6 History as an extra-linguistic factor

The social representations of English and its lexical code-copies in Chilean Spanish are also heavily influenced by the history of not only prominent English-speaking countries but also of Chile both as a neoliberal country and a country that went through a Spain-led colonization process in the 16$^{th}$ century. These representations relate and articulate the history of the countries in question with how lexical code-copies from English have become widespread and widely available in the everyday language of Chilean Spanish speakers.

How the history of dominance of English-speaking countries plays a role in this can be observed, for example, in the already mentioned treatment of English as a lingua franca. The current status of the English language is perceived to be a direct consequence by the imperialism and colonialism processes led by countries such as the United Kingdom and the United States. It is due to these processes that the reach of the English language is seen to be all-encompassing in the globalized world:

> From the colonial empires, the English covered a lot of land… the British covered a lot of territory. The United States then, after its independence, also started to colonize other territories and spread very quickly. I think this comes first from these political and social movements, well, most of all political and territorial, in which they easily expanded beyond their borders. (C. A.)

From a historical standpoint, these imperialism processes are seen as the reason why countries from South America and other continents have been subject to the external influence of English-speaking countries we see today. This influence was once more linked to the presence of foreign corporations, settled in Chilean soil, that come from English-speaking countries or use English as a means of communication with Chilean workers. In the end, this has resulted in a tradition of English-based corporations settling in Chile in positions of power:

> Well, it clearly has to do with our history. We always had influence from the English due to economic matters, first the English and now the North Americans. They have always come to exploit our land's natural resources, so we end up with that influence. (C. N.)

It follows that the amount of influence originating from the English language into the introduction and usage of lexical code-copies has been largely determined and preceded by the years of influence from English-speaking countries in Chile and Latin America. According to how this phenomenon is perceived, a different language could hypothetically serve the role English currently has if it also had decades of historical dominance preceding them. In this regard, Chinese was often named as an example of a language of world leading country that also has corporate presence in Chile, but whose level of

influence and presence on Chilean Spanish is nowhere near the presence of English. This was also directly related to a matter of historical traditions of dominance:

> It's a kind of power play from a powerful group that wants to emphasize its presence in the world, because if it had been China, if it had been a different world leader, we would be learning Chinese now, not English. (F. T.)

To further illustrate the point, one can also refer to the situation in Chile prior to English-based influence, which was actually quite different as compared to the current state of affairs. In the 18th century, French culture played a bigger role as a world leading country, and as such it influenced both Spanish and Chilean society. This led to the introduction and proliferation of many lexical code-copies from French into Spanish, mainly words related to the conceptual domains of gastronomy, architecture, and fashion (Prieto, 1992; Blancpain, 1987). Since then, however, things have changed, and France is not as prominent as a global leader as it was in the 18th century. China has never had the level of historical, cultural, and political repercussion that France and English-speaking countries have had.

These two things put together—the history of Chile as a colonized territory and the global expansion and dominance of English-speaking countries, has also resulted in the belief that Chile could be amidst a second colonization process, this time by the United States:

> It may be that English is used as a form of corporate or validation or validation of their labor. We could also get deep and say that these people are colonizing us with this technical language. (I. H.)

> I was saying to a friend once that we are nothing but victims of a colonial project that was implanted on us. We are the generation that grew up watching MTV, we are the generation that was over-stimulated by the Yankee culture. It is no surprise that we ended up wanting to study English and be a part of that. (G. H.)

This looming sensation that Chile (and, arguably, the whole globalized world) is being colonized once again has played a big part in a negative valuation towards English language and culture that Chilean speakers have about the English culture despite its status of a powerful language.

Other references to Chilean history that contribute to the perception of English lexical code-copies is the neoliberal character of Chilean society. This points at the draconian policies of economic stabilization and neoliberal reforms established under the rule of dictator Augusto Pinochet in 1973, a regime that set Chile apart from neighboring countries such as Argentina or Brazil (Silva, 1993). These reforms, which still stand to this day, are deemed as an important factor in the increased presence and influence of English, and have also been portrayed to largely shape Chilean society and culture:

> I think it has a direct relationship with how each country creates and establishes its national identity regarding monolingualism or regarding language as a political and cultural element, because Chile, on account of being so neoliberal, so in debt with their own national identity, has always had this idea of being like the England of Latin America, as part of its eternal quest for an identity. In other countries like Brazil, for example, there isn't such a degree of offers of English-related programs or a universe of students of English pedagogy as big as ours. (G. H.)

Neoliberalism also plays an important role in the process of linguistic imperialism exerted by English. As part of the agenda of projecting English as a de-politized language

(cf. 3.2.5) ELF neglects the history and reality of both capitalism and neoliberalism, more particularly about how these two political systems allocate resources in an unequal manner in favor of the more privileged (O'Regan, 2014). As Bourdieu posits, the neoliberal discourses (which in Chile is a dominant discourse) help establish the idea that these changes in economy are inevitable and irresistible and portray them as something that citizens of contemporary societies must adapt to (Bourdieu, 1998; Fairclough, 2001a).

Neoliberalist ideas are also at the heart of another language ideology, one that is heavily promoted by the state: The ideology that English "opens doors". This ideology is named after an initiative of the Chilean Ministry of Education—*Programa Inlgés Abre Puertas*—to bolster English language teaching and purportedly make it more accessible to people. However, performance data shows that students end up replicating the same all-too-familiar inequities between social strata in terms of English performance (Matear, 2008). The school, along with the family, is one of the two main institutions that play a role in generating acknowledgment and recognition of the legitimate language according to the original conceptualization of Pierre Bourdieu's linguistic market (Bourdieu, 1977). The state-backed ideology of seeing English as a language that figuratively opens doors ends up working in favor of ideas been shown so far—it emphasizes the idea that English is a lingua franca, and it strengthens the instrumentalist ideology found in the speakers of Chilean Spanish by positioning English as a necessary and beneficial tool that all learners under the Chilean system of education must learn. Consolidating English in school systems all around the world is a major constituent of the project of establishing a global English (Phillipson, 2017).

It is in this context that a pivotal point in time of contemporary history takes special relevance—the global shift happened after World War II, where the United States would end up becoming the world leader. In fact, one particular event, which can be described to take place right at the verge of the beginning of what is known as contemporary history (Brivati, 1996), sheds some light on the enterprise of global English. During his speech when receiving an honorary doctorate degree at Harvard, Winston Churchill had this to say about a "common tongue". His speech must not be interpreted under isolation, it echoes a clear imperialistic ideology that can be seen to this day in the way that English is imposed as the common language throughout the world:

> This gift of a common tongue is a priceless inheritance, and it may well some day become the foundation of a common citizenship. I like to think of British and Americans moving about freely over each other's wide estates with hardly a sense of being foreigners to one another. But I do not see why we should not try to spread our common language even more widely throughout the globe and, without seeking selfish advantage over any, possess ourselves of this invaluable amenity and birthright. (Churchill, 1993, p. 27)

In the end, both historical accounts could be individually referred to in order to further shed light on the underlying social representations about the English language, but this is so because this is an instance of two extra-linguistic elements related to history that are mutually reinforcing. The domination and propagation of the empire of English-speaking countries and the resulting processes of linguistic imperialism certainly contribute to the proliferation of lexical code-copies from English, but the fact that Chile is a country marked by being subject to colonization processes, along with the shift towards

neoliberalist policies of the 1970s, also have to be taken into account. It is the combination of these two different historical accounts that have been deemed as key, from the point of view of history, in determining the social representations of English and how lexical code-copies from English are perceived by Chilean society.

It is also possible to see already how intermingled and complex the relationship between the extra-linguistic factors is. It is impossible to properly address the neoliberal character of Chilean society without bringing into the discussion the consequences it brings in terms of national identity and culture.

### 3.2.7 Economy as an extra-linguistic factor

The already mentioned economic hegemony and dominance that countries like the United States exert over the rest of the world is a matter that was also heavily featured in the social representations of Chilean Speakers regarding the perception and role of the English language in Chilean society.

As stated in the end of the previous subsection, when we look at the entire issue from a different standpoint (i.e. from the standpoint of economy rather than the standpoint of history), we can already see how complex the network of social representations that speakers weave really is. It is possible to find an example of this complexity when we go back to the issue of foreign corporations, which—as it was stated—follows a historical tradition of foreign exploitation resources on Chilean soil. In order to properly talk about this historically repeated dynamic, we have to also include insights from other extra-linguistic factors, economic factors being one of them. It would be misguided to think that

this is something that happens exclusively because there is a historical tradition of foreign in Chile and the neoliberal reforms of the late 20th century. To do so would be to adopt a shortsighted outlook on the issue, ignoring, for example, that this intervention and exploitation of the resources the interviewees have referred to is something primarily motivated by monetary reasons.

The insight that other fields may provide are of vital importance to comprehensively understand how this dynamic of power between the two languages in contact is carried out and how this foreign settlement of corporations ends up taking place, but the exertion of the aforementioned economic hegemony is commonly deemed as the actual motivating factor for the English language to seek this dominant position:

> English has had a bigger global impact. On the other hand, the other languages, if we think about it, have its own impact diminished because of this, you know what I mean? But this is due to issues like the economic power that the English-speaking countries usually have. (D. A.)

> The process of conquest was also due to the ambition of wanting more resources, so if there were resources here they were obviously going to want to come and seize them in any way they saw fit. It's due to economical expansion that these countries expand throughout the world. (F. T.)

The reinforcement that happens between extra-linguistic factors goes both ways. One could argue that the expansion of English motivated by economic factors is something that happens across the world, but when the neoliberal character of Chile is taken into

consideration, it is possible to comprehend how English is perceived to have an even larger presence in the country.

The relevance of economic factors in the role of English in Chilean Spanish cannot be understated. On the one hand, and as Kathryn Woolard stated regarding Pierre Bourdieu's linguistic market, the attention should primarily focus on primary economic relations on arrangements for everyday living instead of putting the main focus on school and the family (Woolard, 1985). On the other, economic reasons being the driving force behind the imperialistic endeavors of English-speaking world leaders to expand and market English beyond their original frontiers also feeds many of the language ideologies at hand. Most notably, the program (and underlying ideology) of *Inglés Abre Puertas*[6] is one that has been portrayed to be dominated by economic factors (Glas, 2008; Matear, 2008).

### 3.2.8 Increased receptiveness of lexical code-copies interpreted as cultural weakness

With regards to culture as an extra-linguistic factor, the most prevalent social representation about English and its impact is related to a purported cultural weakness that affects Chile. Many of these appreciations come about from direct comparisons with the sociopolitical context of other countries, such as Italy and Germany, arguing that speakers from countries such as those were more unlikely to accept or integrate lexical code-copies into their language they way that Chilean speakers do. Other comparisons were made with Spanish-speaking countries as well, highlighting aspects about their culture that

[6] More information about the Inglés Abre Puertas program can be found in the Chilean Ministry of Education can be found here: https://ingles.mineduc.cl/programa-ingles-abre-puertas/

supposedly allow for an increased resistance against lexical code-copies. These comparisons were ultimately linked to a commentary on the cultural identity of Chile, positing that the relatively short history of Chile as a nation and its national identity plays a role into this purported increased receptivity of lexical code-copies:

> When you have a language that is born and that emerges inside of a community that has a deep-rooted cultural identity, stemming from centuries of history . . . it's different from Chilean Spanish, whose cultural identity may not be very defined. We only have 500 years of history as a country, that's relatively little. (C. N.)

> I think it has to do with our valuation of language and of our own culture. Because, for example, the Spanish defend their language in a different way. They translate everything to Spanish; they don't use American words very much. Just like the case of Argentina, where they read and pronounce English just like they do with Spanish; they don't Americanize themselves on purpose. (C. A.)

Out of all these comparisons, the most noteworthy is the one with Argentina, since all other mentioned countries are located in Europe, whereas Argentina and Chile are neighboring countries that were subjected to similar colonization processes from European countries at the same time. The comment about Argentina refers to the way in which Argentinian Spanish speakers take English words and adapt their pronunciation to the phonemic system of Argentinian Spanish. According to Johanson's code-copying framework, these are just global copies that have gone through further processes of adaptation, defined as "modification in the direction of the system of the basic code" (Johanson, 2002a, p. 296). Namely, this modification is an adaptation wherein the phonic properties of Argentinian Spanish apply to the lexical code-copies. A commonly cited

example of these copies is the name American-based toothpaste brand Colgate, marketed and pronounced in Argentina as /kolˈgate/. In this regard, the situation of Chile is different, as it has been attested that lexical code-copies from English have not went through any adaptation processes (Gerding et al., 2012). This example of Argentina, though commonly referred to as an amusing anecdote within the different varieties of Spanish in South America, also shows the apparent disparity of how Chile and one of its neighboring countries are perceived to be more or less receptive of English lexical code-copies. This also does not seem to be an isolated case, as there were several reports of interviewees meeting immigrants who were surprised with the amount of English words that Chile seems to use.

In the end, the comparison with these countries seems to call attention to the fact that Chile is portrayed as a country especially receptive to English words and lexical code-copies, even more so than its neighboring countries. Instead of just lacking any specific cultural characteristic that prevents the massive adoption of English lexical code-copies, Chilean culture is portrayed to actually be more eager to adopt lexical code-copies, in an attempt to be portrayed differently, arguably in a positive manner just like the English culture is generally portrayed:

> Regarding the position that other countries take on defending your own language, it seems as if we took a liking to buying into the notion of being perceived as better for taking things from abroad and using them only because they're *cool*. (O. V.)
>
> There is very big desire to basically be a *gringo* because of all the privileges that you have when you're from the first world. There is an

> idealization of first world people, *gringos* more than the others, and because of this we want to talk like them. (G. T.)

These distinctions between the local situations of different countries and how they react differently to lexical code-copies, ranging from the different resistance mechanisms from the other countries to Chile's apparent eagerness to adopt and copy English words are examples of not only Americanization and linguistic imperialism, but also of ethnolinguistic nationalism, an ideology that establishes a direct relationship between race, language, and nation (Bonfiglio 2010; Rojas 2016). This eagerness to adopt words from one of the world's most dominant countries is what underlies the belief that Chile suffers from cultural weakness.

Lars Johanson has addressed the idea that there is the belief that extensive "borrowing" may lead to language "suicide". However, he further argues that there is no empiric evidence of heavy code-copying as the reason for code shift or code replacement. In fact, he argues the contrary, that codes which do not take copies of any kind are more likely to die sooner (Hamp, 1989; Johanson, 2002b). While this social representation is not related to the "death" or "suicide" of Chilean Spanish, the negative attitudes that speakers have about the prospect of Chilean Spanish being more receptive to English-based lexical code-copies shows once more the presence of a purist language ideology in the form of resisting and looking negatively at the introduction of English copies.

### 3.2.9 Introduction of English lexical code-copies as a deliberate or organic process

A point that elicited contention in terms of the emerging social representations about English was whether the introduction of lexical code-copies from English into Chilean

Spanish was considered an organic or deliberate process. One side of the spectrum features the portrayal of it as an organic process that occurs due to the extended interaction and contact between speakers of different communities, and that, just like Chilean Spanish takes words from other languages to create lexical code-copies, other languages have probably done the same with Chilean Spanish:

> It's something that happens naturally. I don't think it's planned or anything; it happens with time and with the flow of information from other countries, which results in words being adopted. (D. R.)
>
> In the end I feel that language is structured as a consequence of what's being spoken, so if someone or a community wants to express themselves with a word from a different language, then language as a whole has to adapt to this. (G. T.)

One big caveat to this line of thinking is the fact that Chile and its speakers are not in a situation of physical contact with any English-speaking country, given that all of its neighboring countries speak Spanish, Portuguese, or the indigenous languages of the region.

The social representations that are aligned with this way of thinking put forward the idea that it is still an organic process despite the lack of physical proximity. In such types of situations in the globalized world, sociocultural contact makes up for the lack of actual physical contact between speakers. Several developments in technology, which have brought about the rise of social media, mass media, and the mass consumerism of pop culture (cf. 3.2.3), have made it easier for Chilean Spanish speakers to be in contact with

the English language and its speakers, a process that has also created cultural similarities across borders (Eriksen, 1992):

> If you have two languages that are in contact, the resulting loanwords will be transferred both ways. If you have two languages that are far away from each other, both socioculturally and geographically, it will be hard for loanwords to happen. There has to at least be sociocultural contact, if there is no geographical contact. Now with social media and the globalization of internet it's much easier. You can take the phenomenon of K-pop as an example where you have people using Korean expressions. Geographically speaking, the languages are very distant, but there is a shared sociocultural niche. (C. N.)

These contributions brought about by the advent of globalization has led to the perception that speakers of Chilean Spanish have somewhat immediate access to multiple other cultures, disregarding the lack of physical proximity. Due to its prominent position, English language and culture are deemed as the ones that benefit the most from these developments. However, this argument was also brought into the discussion to explain the nascent influence and organic introduction of words from languages other than English and Korean, namely the regional varieties of Spanish from Mexico and Spain. These are described as emergent influences that have gained ground thanks to the popularity of things such as pop music and the popularity of streaming platforms such as YouTube and Twitch.

The opposite side of the argument posits that the presence of English lexical code-copies is product of a rather forced and deliberate process:

> These words were introduced by people or organizations that come from abroad, and these people, companies or organizations didn't bother to adapt them to the local language. (G. P.)

> I think that the typical thing that happens is that they're brought by people who work at *Banco Falabella* or commercial engineers; they're words from commercial engineers who bring them to Chile to do, I don't know, marketing. I actually worked at a bank and I know that's what they're for. (P. C.)

Here, insight from one of the interviewees who is an anthropologist was especially valuable to explain the situation. He stated that it is indeed common for human groups in frontier zones to inevitably share attributes with one another, and that this is a process that happens organically. However, he further argued, the situation between Chilean Spanish and English seems to be less organic, given that Chile is not situated in a frontier zone with any English-speaking country and that contact with the English language does not come from physical proximity and contact with its speakers. He concludes:

> I feel this is due to some sort of concern about modernize and make processes more technical . . . I don't know if this happens naturally; I think in this case it's more forced. It's less organic. (I. H.)

To call the introduction of lexical code-copies into Chilean Spanish a deliberate process needs both a responsible party and a motivation to do so. And the last interview excerpts point in the direction that, once again, foreign corporations are largely perceived to be at fault for the deliberate integration of English copies. The social representations related to the integration of English lexical code-copies into Spanish indicate that corporations are believed to make use of English words in order to be seen as of a higher standard and somewhat removed from the values and perceptions related to Chilean

culture and more closely related to what people think of English culture instead: “Engaging in this corporate language, most of the time, is part of an eagerness to make things less Chilean. Make things less Latin American and more *gringas*, so the *gringos* approve of them” (I. H.). This also connects with the already mentioned idea of a perceived sense of cultural weakness (cf. 3.2.8).

An important distinction has to be made here regarding how organic the usage, not the introduction, of English lexical code-copies actually is. As Hanks argues, “native speakers are largely unaware of the systematic workings of their language” (2005, p. 78). There may be awareness about how English works towards further discrimination of the underprivileged, but the usage of English code-copies by speakers of Chilean Spanish, as will be seen later on, has largely become normalized and there seems to be unawareness about how much speakers systematically use words that come from English.

The social representations regarding this aspect of lexical code-copies, however, focus on the introduction of English lexical code-copies and how this is portrayed as a process that is not organic because it is seen as a product of the prolonged exposure of the English language, usually linked to the deliberate imperialistic presence of English-speaking countries in Chile.

### 3.2.10 English as a tool for social mobility

One of the most commonplace social representations regarding how people were perceived differently depending on their usage of English lexical code-copies is the belief that the usage of said copies often goes hand in hand with achieving social mobility or to

be perceived as a better speaker by their peers. This is so because the English language and English culture as a whole are regarded as having a higher status than Spanish (cf. 3.2.2): “I feel like English is worth more than Spanish, and using English words adds something to your speech, I feel that happens a lot” (D. R.). The following excerpt both summarizes this social representation of the English language and links it to other representations that make reference to extra-linguistic factors such as history and the positive valuation that English commonly receives:

> It has a specific social undertone, in the sense that it is often related to the higher social classes. It can also be related to the social whitening of society in Chile. Therefore, it is seen as something more technical, more formal, less coarse, more sophisticated. It’s more elegant . . . do you remember the 1990s when we talked about being the jaguars and the England of Latin America? I think that little speech, in some way or another, still persists to dh. (I. H.)

Closely related to this is another social representation that portrays this degree of usage of English lexical code-copies for social mobility negatively, showing negative language attitudes in the form of deeming this strategy as excessive, especially with lexical code-copies that have not become habitualized in Chilean Spanish: “If I think about it, I think the use of English in Spanish is excessive, but it doesn’t really bother me when it happens with words that I think are more established in the language” (D. R.). It is argued that this practice is not genuine and it is deemed as ostentatious to use English copies in an attempt to achieve social mobility. For these reasons, relying on the usage of English lexical code-copies in order to embellish your discourse is generally received negatively:

> If somebody is trying to go up the social ladder, using [English] as a way of saying "oh, this is going to give me a specific social status", then it bothers me . . . because I don't find it genuine. In that case it's an extreme usage, because language could change somebody's social image. I find that extreme. (D. A.)

> I think that when [English] is used as a way to add value to their speech, I find that annoying—when somebody is speaking in Spanish and they put an English word in there only for that purpose. I find it unnecessary. I feel like that person is trying to add value to their speech not for the contents of what they say but only for putting English words. (D. R.)

Here, an interesting contradiction arises. On the one hand, there is widespread consensus that using English code-copies in Chilean Spanish has a more or less positive or desirable valuation—speakers do not use them at random; they use it with the clear intention to be perceived as members of a higher social stratum and, taking from other social representations, as speakers that have a more technical, more "neutral", or simply a better repertoire of words. At the same time, this very practice is frowned upon by members of the Chilean society, describing it as shallow and pretentious thing to do.

It seems that there is an apparent disconnect between the perceived effect of this endeavor and the way in which this endeavor is perceived by members of Chilean society. This highlights the fact that the practice of purposely adding English lexical code-copies may be falling out of fashion for speakers of Chilean Spanish, or that speakers of Chilean Spanish are becoming increasingly aware of the political effects of endorsing such practices. Namely, speakers are becoming increasingly aware that this association of English with higher strata is detrimental for the lower classes because of the already mentioned discriminatory effects:

> Some time ago I saw an ad campaign in the *Alto Las Condes*; they were talking about *Black Night* and it was English words only. I mean, look at who that campaign is aimed at. My grandmother would look at it and say, "it sounds pretty", but she would have no idea about the message, and she would end up buying the product anyway. I consider that an abuse. But this happens because it's aimed at a certain group that has better access to the language and they think it's *cool* to hear it. I think it's an abuse in social media, especially in national television, where the language should be more inclusive, because not everybody in Chile knows English. I think that in advertising words in English are used a lot and it becomes abusive at times because they sound pretty, but people don't understand. Not everybody understands what the message is trying to convey. (C. A.)

> This issue is deeply tied to class discrimination. For example, in public schools English is not taught in depth because despite being an obligatory subject at school, it is not dealt with in detail so the kids can understand; it's only a basic overview. If you understood, great; if you didn't, well, you didn't. On the other hand, I've seen in private schools the idea of "you have to know English if you want to be in this school", and I see a very big difference there. (N. C.)

According to Bourdieu (1991), there is a set of differences that are an intrinsic part to a system of linguistic oppositions, which is a re-translation of a system of social differences. Hanks, elaborating on the relationship between language and symbolic power from a Bourdieuan point of view, adds:

> By engaging in linguistic practice, and quite apart from their intentions or aims, actors are complicit with the pervasive power relations in which their language is embedded. Competence in the standard emerges as a form of symbolic capital, often rationalized as the intrinsic value of "refined" or "proper" speaking, but ultimately derived not from language but from power relations. (Hanks, 2005, p. 77)

However, interview excerpts show that the level of awareness of Chilean Spanish speakers about the issue are an indication of something that was not accounted for in Bourdieu's ideas. As expressed multiple times throughout the chapter, the degree of influence of English has resulted in an increased awareness about the social aftermath of this process, so much so that it has evolved into a critical stance about the power relations between English and Chilean Spanish. This critical stance is, most notably, something that goes in direct opposition to the cultural habitus regarding the attitudes and dispositions regarding English lexical code-copies.

This critical point of view can be seen in how the interviewed speakers were able to constantly make reference to the power struggles and the linguistic oppositions by making reference to the nationally legitimated variant (English) and how it is used by speakers to achieve social mobility, but at the same valuating this strategy negatively and distancing themselves from it. All speakers state that they frequently use English in their everyday discourse, which will be dealt with in more detail in the next subsection, but this critical stance has resulted in the widespread usage of the legitimated variant to be seen as excessive.

### 3.2.11 The habitualization and conventionalization of English lexical code-copies

With time, the lexical code-copies that come from English go from being highly salient words within a Spanish sentence to become commonplace in everyday Chilean Spanish, leading to a process known as habitualization of lexical code-copies (Johanson, 2002). Through sheer repetition of instances where a lexical code-copy from English is preferred

instead of the Chilean Spanish alternative, the copy stops grabbing our attention and may end up becoming the default option: "Nobody asks themselves what is an *outlet* before going to buy shoes in a garage sale. It is an *outlet* before being a garage sale." (O. V.).

A specific example in an office environment in Chile that was provided in an interview illustrates this point—the interviewee, along with a colleague, had to attend a *workshop*, which also featured a *break* somewhere in between. At some point during the *workshop*, both workers suddenly realized that they were using these English words to refer to things that had perfectly valid alternatives in Spanish (*taller* and *descanso*, respectively). Despite this, both colleagues carried on using the lexical code-copies from English, because it was the word that everybody else was using in this context.

As pointed out before, widespread usage of an English code-copy in Chilean Spanish is perceived to lead to such a degree of conventionalization that speakers end up forgetting about the original word in Spanish (cf. 3.2.4):

> Personally speaking I am comfortable with it but sometimes I have forgotten a word in Spanish. It's like I'm used to saying a word in English so I forget the word in Spanish, and people tell me "oh, you're so *cool*!", or, "oh, you only speak English". It bothers me but I don't do it on purpose, it's because it has become normalized. The normalization of internet as something common in Chilean households had the same effect. (G. T.)

The proliferation of English lexical code-copies in specific contexts or conceptual domain has also been portrayed as key in the conventionalization of lexical code-copies, as stated in the excerpt above with the example of the conceptual domain of internets

words. Among other conceptual domains where English code-copies are deemed as prominent, the domains of business, mass media, and advertising are referred to as key in the process of normalizing the words that are copied from English.

An interesting parallel with metaphors was drawn by one of the interviewees to refer to the process of conventionalization of English lexical code-copies. He stated that with time, speakers of Chilean Spanish tend to lose the trail of a specific lexical code-copy, and they become "dead loanwords". Dead metaphors, in the classic sense of the concept, refer to metaphors that, due to time and usage, have lost its novelty and wherein the original conceptual mapping does not exist anymore (Lakoff, 1987).

A distinction was also made between different the ways in which Chilean Spanish speakers can encounter lexical code-copies, namely in written form or during speech. In this sense, it is believed that written words become normalized with more ease than pronounced words, likely due to how different the phonological systems of English and Chilean Spanish are. In spite of this, the office example referred to earlier shows how English code-copy become the norm even when they are uttered instead of found in written form.

In the end, much like with other processes related to the presence and integration of English lexical code-copies, there are multiple mutually reinforcing factors at play. This is to say, it is not dependent on only one of the multiple things listed herein related to conventionalization of code-copies for an English word to stop being salient and become the default alternative: "There are [English] words that I find upsetting because of how

hard they are to pronounce, and also because I don't see them; to me it's abundantly clear that these words don't belong to our language" (D. R.). In this case, for example, low frequency of appearance and the pronunciation of a word are perceived as the reasons why a word is deemed as unsettling within a Chilean Spanish sentence. In other cases, however, other factors, such as the situation and the conceptual domain, could also be considered as factors at play behind the conventionalization of an English-based lexical code-copy.

### 3.2.12 Different contexts where English lexical code-copies are prevalent

The way in which English is perceived and the social representations that emerge in this context are closely related to the different contexts or conceptual domains that words in English are commonly related to in the minds of Chilean Spanish speakers. In this regard, the most prevalent groups were the ones of advertising and mass media, internet and social media, scientific and academic contexts, and contexts related to the business and corporate world. In general, English was deemed to be prevalent and easily found within formal contexts.

The presence of English within internet-related contexts and social media stands out mainly because it is portrayed as the most recent and one of the most important in the globalized and virtual world of today. More specifically, the role of internet memes has been highlighted as an important factor in propagating the belief that English is a necessity in the globalized world. As Fairclough (2001b) posits, the internet has played an important role as a new form of communication because it has led to an optimism of sorts about the underlying power inequalities when we talk about English in Chilean Spanish. This

optimism can be related to the lighthearted and funny nature of internet memes, something that was prevalent when speakers talked about the presence of English within internet-related contexts:

> You had to learn English or you died, basically. You lost the best memes that way. (G. T.)

> I consider that the usage of internet makes it easier for other English words to arrive to Spanish. Like memes, for example. Not every word that we use from English comes from the economic field. (F. T.)

With regards to advertising and the role it plays in the presence and treatment of English lexical code-copies, it is believed that there is an extensive usage of the English language in advertising in order to make a product more appealing to its consumers, which relates back to the treatment of English as a superior language than Spanish. It follows, then, that certain companies whose products are catered to the higher classes, will strive to use words in English in order to convey the message that the product is one of higher quality, of more advanced technology, or simply more desirable and marketable than other competing products that do not make use of English code-copies in their advertising. Alternatively, when discussing power and mass media, Fairclough (2001b) argues that due to the one-sided character of mass media, discourse producers within mass media and advertising typically address an *ideal* viewer, a notion that is clearly permeated by English as the dominant and legitimate language:

> For starters, even though the message matters a lot, the hook matters even more. There's something to the aesthetic of the sound—for example, when you read a phrase and you get easily hooked. Like I'm telling you, products are sold to give you a specific status. Therefore, in

> language itself, it seems like we are always looking up to what's foreign. This would not happen if they put a phrase in Mapudungun. (C. A.)

This excerpt succinctly illustrates some of the most prevalent social representations that underlie the usage and presence of lexical code-copies from English. Her rationale as an advertiser shows that English is deemed as a language that "sounds better", hence why it is deemed to hook consumers easily, even when they probably do not know the meaning of the words copied from English. In addition to this, advertised products are often tied to a specific target audience and social stratum, and more often than not, products are tied to the higher strata of society, because that way members of a lower status could also desire to obtain these products in an attempt to go up the social ladder. This does not happen the other way around, as members of a higher social stratum are probably looking to distance themselves as much as possible from the lower strata in society. Finally, this excerpt also shows how the belief of Chile's cultural weakness affects both the way Chilean society reacts in a positive manner to the words that come from powerful foreign countries and more negatively to words that come from Spanish or the indigenous languages of the land.

The prevalence of English within academic contexts also deserves a mention because it also leads to further segregation in society. Since English is associated with the more privileged, lower strata tend to struggle more with the language and thus with their education:

> Multiple times at school they told us that English will open many doors for you. I agree, but not everyone is taught the same way. (N. C.)
>
> If you are someone who is currently at the higher education stage, then you have to know English. The majority of *papers*—look, *papers*!—are

> in English. For us in psychology there was always a giant wall, because most of my classmates were really bad at English, and most of the studies that we used or had to read were in English. So you were forced to learn and use English within your own profession. In order to enrol on a masters program at *Universidad de Chile*, I need to know English and I need to be proficient to a certain extent in English so I can take the entry test. I need to do that if I want to apply to their masters program in psychology. (C. A.)

This problem is further exacerbated when we consider that most of the influential academic journals and seminal works in a specific field are first published in English, or are usually translated and made readily available English, whereas academic journals and works in Spanish or other languages tend to fall behind with the latest developments and trends. This is not random either and can also be seen from the point of view of politics and history, English became the global *lingua academica* through US-backed funding and its influence as a country (Phillipson, 2017) as part of the project of global English:

> Yes, it happens a lot with academic matters. It's very strange because there are not many academic texts in anthropology that are written in Spanish, so many of the concepts that are widely used are written in English. Nobody told me or I never understood a word that could carry the same meaning in Spanish, so I just had to use the English word. I don't know how to say them in Spanish. (P. C.)

While this prevalence and the problems it entails for the underprivileged strata was already discussed, here it can be seen that it is something that has much deeper consequences. It ends up determining not only further advances in one's education such as studies at the postgraduate level, but it also highly affects one's performance and

advancement at work and in life. Since the presence of English is all-encompassing, its discriminatory effects can also be seen in virtually all domains of adult life.

### 3.2.13 Final considerations

As previously stated, the multiple social representations that exist about lexical code-copies that come from English and the English language itself make up a complex network of social representations that often coincide or reinforce each other. As such, a holistic approach is needed where the different types of extra-linguistic factors are always integrated and taken into consideration. One cannot look comprehensively at the historical side of the issue by separating it from cultural or economic insights, something that also applies when assessing the cultural and economic underpinnings that are at the foundation of the social representations. For the sake of organization, each type of extra-linguistic factors received its own subsection here in order to properly highlight how interviewees singled each one of them separately to describe different situations, but it is important to keep in mind that the different extra-linguistic factors will always interact and reinforce each other. The extra-linguistic factor of politics did not appear as its own subsection because of the glottopolitical perspective that this study adopts, which posits that language and politics are two things that cannot be separated.

In general terms, the social representations about English were generally accompanied by a negative language attitude towards English and its code-copies. This happens in spite of the fact that these social representations showcase English as a powerful and even "beneficial" language linked to ideas and contexts that are deemed desirable, such as

English being prevalent in professional and formal contexts along with the effect of a purported increase in technicality and expertise in the discourse of Chilean Spanish speakers when they make use of English copies.

More notably, virtually no opinions that valued the current treatment and positioning of the English language and its presence in Chilean Spanish were found. At most, some of the speakers' general opinions took a neutral stance regarding English lexical code-copies. However, these were in the minority compared to the more negative attitudes towards English:

> My opinion in general is neutral. I don't see it as a good or a bad thing, it's something that happens due to a specific reason, it being that English is a more massive language in the world. (D. R.)

> I'm so-so about it. I think it's not that great, not that bad. It's great because as they are used the vocabulary of the people gets bigger and bigger, but there is also another group of the Chilean population that doesn't understand a lot of it. There are people who don't know much English and they can't know what's being discussed. (J. B.)

This duality in the valuation of English is, as posited previously, due to a critical stance that Chilean Spanish speakers have developed regarding the presence of English in Chilean culture and society. Here, the code-internal perspective once again falls short, as this critical stance goes much further from the purely linguistic:

> To be honest I am kind of reluctant to the [English] language due to a matter of values. It's not the fault of the language, but rather the way in which I look at other cultures and defend my own. (C. S.)

> It's not that loanwords are violent, but rather the way in which languages interact with one another and how different discourses come into contact. And this happens due to political processes. (G. H.)

This critical stance has developed due to an increase in awareness about the discriminatory dynamics of the usage and presence of English in Chilean Spanish, especially harmful towards the less privileged groups of society who do not have as much access to the English language as the higher strata of society do. It has resulted in a disconnect between what the social representations (the beliefs that they perceive) and the language attitudes of the speakers about the phenomenon as a whole (what they actually think about what is perceived). Due to this critical stance, the social representations are for the most part detached or disconnected from their corresponding language attitudes.

This critical awareness results in a twofold relationship between Chilean Spanish speakers and the social representations of English lexical code-copies. First, speakers reached a consensus regarding the fact that English is predominantly perceived as a language of a higher standard or a language that can be beneficial by Chilean society in general. And second, they also reached a consensus by having mostly a negative language attitude towards the usage of English lexical code-copies.

In terms of core and peripheral social representations, the belief that English is portrayed as a superior language compared to Chilean Spanish is at the core of the social representations about the English language and its code-copies. This social representation determinates others that are also close to the core, such as the portrayal of English as a beneficial language, English as a lingua franca, and English as a tool of social mobility.

All of these ideas are closely related to one another and follow the agenda of linguistic imperialism of establishing English as the legitimate language in the world. More peripheral social representations include the notion of English copies impoverishing Chilean Spanish, the portrayal of English as a neutral language and the debate of whether these copies were product of an organic or deliberate process. Them being peripheral representations allows for less prevalent ideas and even contradictory ideas to coexist both within the speakers as a group and as individuals.

English being portrayed as a superior language being at the core also properly addresses the different emerging language attitudes. The instrumentalist and English opens doors ideologies can be seen as rather direct consequences of this social representation. The purist ideology, more associated with the negative language attitudes, emerges as an ideology that resists and resents the presence and influence of the English language in Chilean Spanish.

Following Bourdieu's idea of the linguistic market, Chilean Spanish speakers are aware that English lexical code-copies are of a higher price due to an increased anticipation of profit when these words are used.

### 3.3 Social representations of Chilean Spanish speakers about indigenous lexical code-copies

An important distinction to be made before delving into the specific underlying social representations that were found in the speech of speakers of Chilean Spanish is the fact that, in general terms, the phenomenon of lexical code-copying from indigenous

languages is much less frequent when compared to the amount of copying that is made from English. This should come as no surprise when we consider that English is established within the Chilean cultural habitus as a dominant and legitimate language and—as expressed in the previous section—as a useful tool for the imperialistic agendas of capitalism and neoliberalism (Phillipson, 2017). Because of this asymmetry in terms of power and prestige, the dominated indigenous languages of the territory of Chile are relegated to a status of being situationally specific (Jenkins, 1992).

The consequences of this power asymmetry are also addressed within the code-copying framework. As Lars Johanson states, the amount of code-copying done by a speech community may be limited due to multiple social factors, including social stigmatization (Johanson, 2002a). As shall be seen (cf. 3.3.12 & 3.3.13), this proves to be the case with indigenous languages, whose actual degree of involvement with the process of lexical code-copying is not only limited in quantity, but also in terms of functional displacement and limited conceptual domains where lexical code-copying from indigenous languages takes place.

### 3.3.1 Indigenous lexical-code copies seen as Chilean words

One of the most prevalent social representations that were found about the lexical code-copies from indigenous languages was the belief that words that were copied from these languages are part of what is perceived as Chilean Spanish. In direct opposition to what was stated about English code-copies (cf. 3.2.4), the code-copies that come from languages such as Mapudungún and Quechua are deemed to be not foreign, but words that

are an integral part of the lexical repertoire of Chile. Thus, the indigenous code-copies were often deemed to be "Chilean words" or closely related to Chile as a nation-state:

> I grew up understanding that these words don't come from a foreign country, they're merely local words. So, by listening to them, I feel closer to my country. (G. P.)
>
> It's pretty to listen to them and use them, because they at least have a closer origin; they were born here. You try to maintain them… I still use them and if I hear them, they get stuck in my head. I maintain them because they are our history; they were born from our ancestors and it's nice to have them. (M. M.)
>
> I was thinking that using this type of words is part of our endemic dialect. I mean, it's something that very clearly delimits a linguistic identity at the Latin American level. They also tease us because of this linguistic identity, they say that us Chileans speak almost as if we were Martians. (I. H.)
>
> I feel sympathy because in the end these words are very proper to us Chileans. I feel like anybody in the street would understand you if you use these words, so it makes me feel sympathetic. (R. S.)

This belief should not be taken as a surprise given that all of the indigenous cultures behind these lexical code-copies were settled in the same territory as Chile, which is why speakers believe that these words are part of Chilean culture and Chilean Spanish. The integration of these lexical code-copies we see today happened because these cultures (the indigenous peoples with their own languages on the one hand and the colonizers from Spain that settled in the land we know as Chile today in the 15$^{th}$ century on the other) came into contact, and the historical relationship between these two speech communities led to

the dominance of Spanish—mostly through violence and extermination of the indigenous peoples—and the imposition of Spanish as the legitimate language of the territory.

The emergence of this social representation usually goes in hand with a positive language attitude towards the indigenous code-copies and to the indigenous peoples themselves. This can be attributed to extra-linguistic factors in the sense that Chilean Spanish speakers, regardless if they are of indigenous origin or not, feel sympathy towards the indigenous peoples of the territory because of the history of oppression that they have suffered at the hands of the colonizers and the Chilean nation-state, which has historically defined itself under a white-European matrix, refusing to give recognition to the indigenous cultures of the land (Boccara & Ayala, 2011). Since the indigenous cultures of the territory are seen as an integral part of the history of Chile, the usage and presence of lexical code-copies from indigenous languages are seen as an important part of a Chilean identity, even going as far as saying that these words are the distinctive element that sets Chilean Spanish apart from other regional varieties of Spanish.

One of the biggest consequences of this social representation is that, just like with the English language (cf. 3.2.11), indigenous lexical-code copies are habitualized are perceived to often become the default alternative in the discourse of Chilean Spanish speakers:

> If I say *guagua* I find it something normal, but when people say *bebé*[7] I find it awkward . . . if I say "el *bebé* del bus me viene mirando raro", I feel like that's a phrase that I would never say, I would say *la guagua* instead. (D. R.)
>
> Those are words that we have completely normalized and they're part of our language. I don't think it's a good idea to change them. (O. V.)
>
> For me, many of these words, since I was little, were the official words. For me, a *quiltro* dog, was just a *quiltro* dog . . . I didn't know that the *RAE* (Royal Spanish Academy, in English)—if that thing has even any validity—didn't accept the word *quiltro*. (I. H.)
>
> With English I feel that it's excessive. With the indigenous languages I feel like that's the languages you grew up with; they are the words that you naturally learn . . . you use them because they were words that you always knew, ever since you were little. We learned to talk with these words. (C. S.)

This social representation further problematizes the way in which lexical-code copies are commonly seen and defined as loanwords in the literature, i.e. looking at them as foreign (*extranjerismos,* in Spanish) words that are taken from one language and used in another one without translating them (Castillo Fadic, 2002). The code-copying framework addresses this disconnect between the literature and the beliefs of Chilean Spanish speakers, even including instances where the copied lexical elements are not adapted into Chilean Spanish:

> [Code-copies] are not "embedded" foreign elements, but indeed part of the code they are inserted into. They are "foreign" only in an etymological sense, namely with respect to their origin . . . structural

[7] *Bebé* is the common word in standard Spanish to refer to an infant child. *Guagua*, a word whose origins have been traced back to both the Aymara and Quechua culture, is the alternative commonly found in Chile.

> adaptation, habitualization and conventionalization are not criterial for the definition. (Johanson, 1999, p. 39–40)

With regards with the normalization and habitualization of code-copies, there is a major difference between English and the indigenous languages. With the case of English, copies end up becoming normalized through frequential repetition and through major exposure in domains like advertising, the academy, and the accepted discourse in formal contexts. Here, however, it is possible to see how speakers refer to a historical tradition of using the indigenous code-copies ever since they acquired Chilean Spanish as their mother tongues. This is completely different to what happens with English (cf. 3.2.4), wherein the introduction and eventual habitualization of English lexical code-copies results in a displacement of the previous alternative, which ends up being forgotten. Here, indigenous copies do not replace any previously existing alternative, but are perceived as the default alternative that has always been there, ever since the speakers' infancy.

When speakers talk about how these code-copies are perceived to be Chilean, it is possible to see how other social representations are also at play: "This idea of this word being the Chilean word, but when you're writing an essay you'll never write *guagua*, because it's not okay to say *guagua*" (P. C.). More specifically, this particular excerpt makes reference to the perception of the negative attitudes towards indigenous lexical code-copies found within Chilean society and how the array of domains where it is possible to find them is a limited one (cf. 3.3.7 & 3.3.13, respectively).

In this social representation it is possible to see a romantic language ideology (Geeraerts, 2006) with regards to the indigenous languages of the territory. As will be seen

throughout the following subsections of the study, there is a widespread approval and an idealization of the indigenous languages. Speakers generally approve of the usage of indigenous code-copies not only because they have been using them for their entire lives, but because they like using them as well. In addition to this, and as Geeraerts (2006) posits, the romantic view of language is one that opposes the Enlightenment view of language in the sense that it interprets as an expression of identity. This is seen in the notion that these words are met with a positive language attitude because speakers feel that indigenous lexical code-copies are a part of Chilean identity.

### 3.3.2 Cultural appropriation of the indigenous languages

Despite being prevalent in the discourse of the majority of the interviewed speakers of Chilean Spanish, the idea that the indigenous code-copies belong to Chilean Spanish was not shared equally by all of them. In actuality, the exact opposite of this idea was also found in multiple cases, especially in the cases of the indigenous speakers that were interviewed. This disagreement between the belief expressed herein and the previous one is another case of cognitive polyphasia among this speech community. In other words, there were cases where a clear distinction was made, where indigenous lexical code-copies were described as very much not Chilean:

> My *gringo* friends, when they have come to Chile, say that all of those words are Chilean . . . no, they are not Chilean. They belong to and have diverse indigenous origins. (P. C.)

> They come from a culture that I don't consider Chilean, but that reside in Chile . . . they are these things that are Chilean, but are not really Chilean. Do you see what I mean? (G. T.)

> We have to make a clarification and say that these words are not Chilean. Just like the *gringo* words, they are not Chilean. And I think that it would not upset me if we used indigenous words as long as we take into account the actual opinion of people along with the inclusion of their words into our language. There needs to be equality, respect, and a healthier relationship. Because right now I feel that it's like "okay, let's use their words, but also let's try to exterminate them quick so they don't cause any more riots and they stop disturbing us". (C. S.)

The fact that it was more common for indigenous speakers of Chilean Spanish to think that these words were not Chilean is due to the fact that they tend to make a distinction between Chile as a nation-state and the territory that is known as Chile, where multiple indigenous cultures resided and some still do to this day. As it will be seen (cf. 3.3.6), the relationship between the Chilean state and these indigenous peoples is one that has been marked by violence and oppression. With regards situations where the state systematically neglects and discriminates against minorities and their languages, Eriksen posits that "there is every chance that the state may lose its legitimacy among the speakers of these languages" (1992, p. 315), explaining why an indigenous person living in the territory of Chile may not feel identified with the Chilean state at all and why making this distinction is necessary.

This categorization of indigenous lexical code-copies as words that are not of Chilean origin is also seen as a continuation of a history of acculturation and appropriation processes done by colonizers first and then by the state. In these processes, the indigenous peoples of the territory were displaced from the lands where they lived to allow for the

occupation of the land and the settlement of cities. There is a widespread negative attitude towards these appropriation and acculturation processes:

> We have this idea of them being exotic, but I'm against that, because in the end you end up appropriating the culture, but not with all of its cultural richness. (D. A.)

> I think that so much has been taken from them, so much that we are still taking away from them and in such frivolous fashion. Without asking for permission, without asking anybody and in such an instrumentalist, opportunistic manner. We have already taken away everything from them, so I don't know if they agree with [us using their words]. Now, people usually say "it's because these words are Chilean", and I think that especially the Mapuche people, in some communities, have a very clear distinction between being Mapuche and being Chilean. It's not the same. (P. C.)

> We have to keep using them but there really needs to be a little bit of self-criticism from Chile. I mean okay, if you're using all those words from indigenous cultures from Latin America then do it properly and start properly appreciating the cultures you have here. (G. T.)

The negative attitudes attested herein are a continuation of the critical stance that Chilean Spanish speakers assumed regarding English-based code-copies (cf. 3.2). The critical point of view regarding the awareness about linguistic imperialism of English and how it strengthens the inequities of Chilean society go hand in hand with a critical view of hot the state has discriminated against the indigenous peoples of the country, showing that there is an ideology that is opposite to what the state represents. Thomas Eriksen argues that the outcomes of these acculturation processes are the loss of tradition and of cultural autonomy for these groups (1992), but these attitudes and this opposing ideology are a sign of support towards the indigenous languages of Chile.

### 3.3.3 Indigenous lexical code-copies seen as words that need to be rescued

Another social representation that is an example of the romantic language ideology towards the indigenous languages of the region is that these words, as well as their corresponding languages of origin, are something that should be rescued:

> English is important in my opinion, but it's more important to rescue the indigenous languages of our country, and not neglect them. We are losing those things, and they are from here. (N. C.)

> We have things to rescue from all native peoples . . . rescue the peoples from my land, the Selk'nam, whose only remaining remnants are recordings, though there are people who are translating them. I use the term *kete naike* a lot; it means home. I think it's something nice and something that we should keep teaching in order to preserve it. (C. A.)

While this can also be attributed to positive language attitudes about indigenous languages, it also speaks of a more complex reality about power relations, primarily with Spanish. The usage of verbs like *rescue* instead of other alternatives such as *recognize* or *revitalize* conveys the idea that the indigenous communities are relics of ancient history that need to be salvaged, and not languages proper to speech communities that are facing discrimination to this day.

The complexity of this arises from the fact that, as stated before, social actors are complicit with the pervasive power relations that are present in their language. This portrayal is not one that comes from malicious intent of the speakers; it comes from the habitus of Chilean speakers and all other co-existent social representations, the way they make sense of the world around them.

This portrayal, and more specifically, the reference to rather modern activities proper to a western tradition of science and technology, highlight a rationalist language ideology towards indigenous languages. The idea that a language needs to be validated or *rescued* by means of translations, recordings, and teaching, is one that follows a western and Enlightenment rational cultural matrix, which is not proper of indigenous cultures such as the Mapuche (Lagos, 2012). As Lagos et al. (2017) posit, the axes that define a linguistic theory of a speech community is different when we face a culture that belongs to a different historical tradition other than Enlightenment. More specifically, the speakers of the Mapuche language in Pehuenche communities have a non-external reified view of language, wherein language comes from the Earth (Lagos et al., 2017). However, the interviewees tried to understand the current situation of the indigenous languages and how to possibly revert their perilous situation through their own cultural matrix, permeated by the Enlightenment tradition. This is an extension of what Woolard & Schieffelin stated when they argued that movements to save minority languages are usually structured around the same notions and perceptions that have led to their oppression (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994).

The ways in which the interviewed speakers of Chilean interpret language differently than traditional members of an indigenous community should not come as a surprise either, given that all the interviewees are inserted in an urban context and thus have been brought up in a context defined under the Enlightenment rational cultural matrix. The apparent inconsistencies in terms of language ideology of the speakers, whose social representations belong to both the romantic and rationalist language ideology (described

as ideological counterparts by Geeraerts [2006]) is an example of the complexity of both social representations and language ideologies, which may appear within the same speech community and the same individual speaker even when they are contradictory between each other.

### 3.3.4 Words of indigenous origin lose their meaning through lexical code-copying

One of the language ideologies that were found in the social representations of Chilean Spanish speakers about lexical code-copies about English was a purist ideology, found in the social representations of Chilean Spanish speakers believing that the extensive introduction and usage of lexical code-copies from English impoverishes the language and interpreted it sign of cultural weakness (cf. 3.2.4). The purist language ideology thus emerged from assuming a sense of moral significance for Spanish, the mother tongue of the speakers (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994). Here, however, as attested previously (cf. 3.3.1), the ideology that speakers exhibited when talking about the presence of indigenous lexical code-copies was a romantic ideology, linked to a positive attitude towards the integration and usage of code-copies from the indigenous languages. Moreover, this attitude is often related to the belief that these words are part of the mother tongue, which further explains why the purist ideology is seemingly absent when discussing code-copies from indigenous languages.

However, purism was attested for indigenous code-copies as well. This ideology was found in the social representations about their indigenous counterparts, though in a much different regard:

> Yeah, it's hard. There must be more traditional people who are interested in keeping the more real meaning of the word, because they are more in touch with the typical practices and customs. On the other hand, you have people who have gone through modernization and are more involved with urban contexts. (P. C.)
>
> It's something good, but I also see it as something bad because some words start changing their meaning, so they are not used adequately in their proper contexts. Sometimes, they are mentioned with a completely different meaning. (C. S.)
>
> It depends a little on what it's related to. For example, if the word has to do with the worldview, it could happen that this word is taken and its meaning changes until it's applied to something that's not close to the original. But if this happens with words related to an action, and the meaning of said action isn't changed, then it wouldn't be so bad. (F. T.)

Whereas the purist ideology appeared in the case of English-based lexical code-copies to refer to how Chilean Spanish was deemed to be affected negatively by the introduction and usage of English copies, here the purist ideology appears only in regard to the original meanings of the words of the indigenous languages. Behind this ideology attested with regards to indigenous lexical code-copies—which was only found in the indigenous speakers of Chilean Spanish—there is the belief that the "real" meaning of copies is the one that is used within the more traditional contexts of the indigenous cultures, disregarding any possible differences in semanticity that may arise in urban context as a meaning that is less valid or less real. In other words, the purist assumption at work here is about the sanctity of a language, one that often restricts the meanings of words to sacred contexts (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994).

There are subtle differences between the different individual cases of emergence of this social representation, some showed a purist language ideology only in cases where the word copied had to do with the indigenous worldview, and other positions were more extreme and had a negative language attitude about any and all changes in meaning between the original and the copy.

Lars Johanson arguing against the idea of extensive code-copying leading to the "suicide" of a language (2002b) also applies in this context. The extensive code-copying made from the indigenous languages of the land to Chilean Spanish may be considerably more limited and less in quantity compared to the same phenomenon with English copies, but it still allows words of the language, and by extension the language itself, to be present in the everyday discourse of the speech community of Chilean Spanish.

### 3.3.5 History as an extra-linguistic factor

Just like the case with the English language (cf. 3.2.6), the presence of history as an extra-linguistic factor was also prevalent in the discourse of the interviewees when they referred to the presence of indigenous lexical code-copies in Chilean Spanish. For example, historical facts and accounts were used to highlight the Mapuche people, portrayed as the most important one in the struggle against the Spanish colonizers:

> What the official story tells us is that we were attacked. That is, the ones who defended the territory were the Mapuche, neglecting the other tribes that were in both the north and the south a little. (D. A.)

This, as stated in the interview excerpt, works to the detriment of other indigenous cultures who were exterminated or are still under heavy systematic oppression by the

Chilean state with regards to the social representations of speakers of Chilean Spanish. In other words, there is a metonymy wherein the Mapuche people sometimes stand as a representative for the entirety of indigenous groups in the region. In this regard, an interesting parallelism can be found between the two groups of lexical code-copies: A similar process of metonymy also happens with English when the interviewees were first asked about the process commonly known as lexical borrowing. That is to say, they usually referred to English to refer to lexical code-copying in general, just like they referred to Mapudungun when they referred to the process of code-copying from indigenous languages.

History was also a relevant extra-linguistic factor to refer to a historical tradition of domination and oppression against the indigenous peoples of the territory at the hand of the Spanish colonizers and the Chilean state (Bengoa, 2004), deeming it as a systematical violence that has been inflicted unto them throughout centuries. This was also deemed to play a significant role in the usage of lexical code-copies from indigenous languages, something closely related to the social representation of cultural appropriation (cf. 3.3.2):

> I feel that it's complex due to the historical violence that has existed against the Mapuche people in Chile, and for this distinction that is made that puts them as inferior. I feel like more than a loanword, it should be considered theft, because that's how it has always been—with a lot of violence, theft, murder, and the appropriation of everything that rightfully belonged to them. So, I feel that it's really violent because everything was appropriated, even their sacred words. (P. C.)

In addition to this, history was deemed to play an important role in the perception of the indigenous languages and peoples as a whole, mostly due to the process of

colonization. The references to this historical period refer to both oppression that happened during the colonization period and to recent developments in Chilean history that exemplify the asymmetries between the two cultural groups:

> During the conquest of Chile, all the native and indigenous practices, the ones that existed in the territory and were proper to their everyday life, were moved towards private contexts. (O. V.)
>
> What miscegenation did in Chile was to make these terms, which were understood by everybody, part of the everyday language of Chile. I think that later on, with the *criollos*, these terms became colloquial in the language, which has persisted to this day. (C. A.)
>
> We have for example how the word *Ngünechén*[8] has been used. In the process of Christian colonization, they tried to use that word to refer to and explain us the concept of God . . . I see it as a negative thing because it has nothing to do with our worldview and what it represents. (F. T.)
>
> We can't forget how during the government of president Balmaceda, the order was sent for *fueguinos* to be exterminated by gun fire. When indigenous peoples were sold so they could be taken to human zoos abroad, and that their remains were repatriated only during the government of Bachelet. I feel like we shouldn't think that the indigenous things have to brought back and be romanticize, when they still exist and they are being murdered to this day. (P. C.)

Some of these excerpts find a point of connection that also serves as a possible explanation for one aspect that will be detailed at a future point, the idea that indigenous languages are most commonly associated with intimate and private contexts (cf. 3.3.12) The other excerpts refer to more grim cases of power asymmetries and social differences,

[8] For more information on the concept of *Ngünechen* and its relationship with other spiritual beings, including the Christian God, see Bacigalupo (1996).

namely the extermination of the Kawésqar people (Harambour & Barrena, 2019), the presence of indigenous peoples of the territory in human zoos—exhibitions where indigenous peoples from all around the world in Europe in the 19th and 20th century (Báez & Mason, 2006)—and the manipulation of words belonging to the Mapuche worldview in order to colonize them and achieve conversion of the indigenous peoples to Christianity.

A big difference between the portrayal of history as an extra-linguistic factor for the usage of English code-copies and indigenous code-copies is that in the former, the history pertaining to both the dominant (English) and the dominated (Chilean Spanish) were equally taken into consideration to address the situation. In this case, the indigenous voice and perspective appears largely absent, nearly all of the references to history are of how the Chilean state has exerted its domination and subjugated the indigenous languages, whereas history from the point of view of the indigenous peoples is only reduced to the years of resistance to Spanish.

### 3.3.6 Tension between the state and indigenous peoples

The systematized domination and violence throughout history described in the previous subsection is a clear sign that there has not been any reconciliation of sorts between the state and the indigenous peoples living on the same territory (Calfio et al., 2019). In fact, the centuries of power asymmetries have led to an ever-present state of tension where the Chilean state is the chief powerholder, rendering any and all linguistic minorities living in the territory powerless (Eriksen, 1992). An example of this can be seen in the outcome of the occupation of the Araucanía that took place 19th century, which

lead for the development of several policies that favored the Mapuche people. These, however, were welfare-oriented approaches which only increased the asymmetries between the nation-state and the indigenous peoples (Lagos, 2015).

This tension is perceived by the speakers of Chilean Spanish (particularly in the case of the indigenous speakers that were interviewed) as the main roadblock standing in the way towards change and towards an improvement with regards to the attitudes about the indigenous languages and peoples at the national level:

> Change can be made. But I think that if that moment of realization hasn't happened yet it's because it's not convenient. We Chileans don't like to be reminded that not everybody that is under the jurisdiction of the Chilean state are actually Chilean, because it threatens the state's sovereignty. It threatens nationality; it threatens the sense of control over the population. [Change] doesn't depend entirely on people, it depends on the state as well. I feel like we have a long way to go. (P. C.)

> Having an identity or wanting to build a national identity—a multinational identity, so to speak—would be a very political debate because it involves the recognition of territories, for example. It also involves the validation of the experience of a nation that wants to be outside of Chile's colonial institutions, for example. It's problematic. (G. H.)

This further demonstrates their awareness and critical stance regarding the way in which the indigenous peoples are perceived by Chilean society. They recognize that initiatives that would empower and give recognition to the sovereignty of the indigenous peoples would mean a complex political discussion that would result in a loss of political power and hegemony from the Chilean state (Lagos et al., 2017). As Erikson states, nation-states try to assimilate these cultural and linguistic minorities, though usually

through expulsion and extermination, in order to achieve a sense of democratic unity and linguistic homogeneization (1992).

However, Erikson fails to take into account how language contact may be induced by linguistic imperialism. The situation of power asymmetries when it comes to language and how linguistic minorities are dominated in Chile is two-fold—i.e. the indigenous languages are minorized not only by the hegemony of Spanish as the only official language of the Chilean nation-state, but by the introduction of English as a legitimate language within the Chilean cultural habitus, most commonly seen in how ELT and the *Inglés Abre Puertas* program in Chile have bolstered and legitimated English due to economic reasons (Barahona, 2016; Glas, 2008; Matear, 2008). Moreover, this situation, translated into the linguistic market as a situation where English and Spanish words are accepted and have a "higher price" compared to words whose origin is indigenous, is one that is integrated under the complicity and sponsorship of the state (Bourdieu, 1977; Woolard, 1985).

This resulting *triglossia* situation wherein the indigenous languages are deemed as varieties of a "lesser price" and how the state plays a key role in this context can be further understood when we refer to what Norman Fairclough denominates the *dominant bloc* of society (2001b). This concept refers to an alliance of agents with political power brought together by their shared interests tied to capital, which highlights the importance of economic relations in the constitution of the linguistic market (Woolard, 1985). In other words, the state is not the only agent that works towards the further displacement and

devaluation of the linguistic minorities, but the presence and influence of foreign investors and corporations are also key in maintaining power asymmetries.

This conflict and the irreconcilable nature between the national identity imposed by the state and the identity of indigenous peoples is also highlighted by the speakers, who go on to define the identity of the common Chilean Spanish speaker as a conflicted one, defined by being in the middle of this struggle between the state and the indigenous roots of the territory, and highly exemplified by previously mentioned ideas such as the usage of English lexical code-copies as a tool for social mobility:

> That's the identity of the Chilean person. The mixed-race citizen that doesn't fit in neither of the two sides of the issue. They are people who want to be closer to the part of their identity that allows them to go up the social ladder and get ahead, to position themselves as a manager, as a well-to-do person, as somebody in a position of power. On the other hand, the other side of the identity has been so ravished by the state that there is a stigma attached to it. It's like it grabs you and puts you in a place that you don't want to feel identified with. (P. C.)

The way in which the *dominant bloc* holds power over the linguistic market highlights the presence of economy as another extra-linguistic factor to take into consideration in order to properly understand indigenous code-copies as a historically and politically situated practice, just like with the case of English code-copies (cf. 3.2.7). One major difference here is the fact that references to economy as an extra-linguistic factor were less prevalent, although they still referred to the capitalist interest of the state:

> I find it interesting how we have been rescuing things from the indigenous peoples in Chile as a way to build an identity stronger than the identity of the government. It catches my attention precisely because

> the government has been typically associated to business, to the corporate side of the world; corporate things are associated to the English-speaking world, to foreign countries, to the attitude of valuing things because they come from abroad . . . a plethora of things are being rescued to strengthen an identity that distances itself from the government and from the foreign world. (C. A.)

The critical stance that has been mentioned as a feature of the discourse of the interviewed speakers can also be seen here. On the one hand, there is the idea that speakers of Chilean Spanish are in the middle of this state-dominated ideological conflict which leads to the positive valuation and extensive use of English lexical code-copies. On the other, there is the position taken by the interviewed speakers that reject this, seen in how he usage of English code-copies were mostly met with a negative attitude.

As an extension to this, and as the last interview excerpt shows, there has been an increasing tendency of speakers taking this critical stance as one that not only rejects the identity established by the Chilean nation-state, but also one that sides with the recognition and empowerment of the indigenous peoples of the territory.

### 3.3.7 Perceived negative attitudes towards indigenous lexical code-copies

As a result of the historical tension and dominance of the indigenous peoples of the territory, speakers of Chilean Spanish have recognized a negative perception towards them. This consists of discriminatory commentary and harmful remarks that is said to be the common perception of the indigenous peoples in the country:

> Words from Mapudungun, Quechua and others are generally described and seen as *flaite*[9]. (N. C.)
>
> Words like *guata, quiltro, tincá…* have this rather negative connotation when they're used . . . I feel like those assessments are made by the communities of speakers because there's nothing wrong or informal in saying *guagua* or *cahuín.* It's nothing but social convention, but in the end, I think that one still uses these words in a limited set of contexts in order to not be perceived differently. (G. H.)

Another point of departure with the social representations of the lexical code-copies from English can be found here, albeit a minor one. Previously, I briefly mentioned how, in some peripheral cases, Chilean Spanish speakers referred to code-internal or purely linguistic reasoning to explain the phenomenon of lexical code-copying (cf. 3.1). In the case of indigenous code-copies, no mentions of code-internal reasoning were found. As such, the negative perception of the indigenous code-copies and the indigenous peoples were also addressed and explained from a purely extra-linguistic perspective, resorting to things such as cultural issues, ethnic discrimination, and even references to how the dominant cultural group (from Europe and English-speaking countries) is idolized in Chilean society:

> I think that we are in presence of a society that doesn't recognize or values its origins properly; that is stuck in this constant state process of validation, as if it wanted to stay away from this third-world bias and seek validation before an international community. (C. S.)
>
> Anger. Anger is all I feel. I find it ridiculous. I think the colonial legacy is to blame. It's because we don't know where we belong. I think that

[9] According to the *Diccionario de uso del español de Chile* (2010), *flaite* is a word used to describe people from the lower classes of society, usually related to the criminal world; it is not an indigenous code-copy.

> it's due to not giving back, not valuing, not validating in public spaces the usage of these loanwords, not having Mapudungun teaching policies—which could be said of all minoritized languages here. It angers me because in the end I feel like we are not starting from the base of understanding every language as equally valid in its own right . . . the advocacy of the English language is an advocacy made by the community of speakers for the white European communities, that's what happens. (G. H.)

> We [Chileans] have always had this thing of looking up to the blue-eyed, blonde foreign people because they represent wealth, class, education. And we also have this thing of denigrating other people who have a different origin than that. (R. S.)

When speakers referred to this negative attitude that can be found in Chilean society about indigenous code-copies and peoples it is more possible to see their own positioning and attitudes. Here, their position is made more explicit by explicitly displaying a negative attitude towards these valuations, or by referring to them through an external point of view in the third person, implying that their personal position on the subject does not correlate with the cultural habitus they perceive.

### 3.3.8 Linguistic oppression towards the indigenous languages

When speakers referred to these perceived negative attitudes they found within the Chilean cultural habitus, it was usually connected to similar discriminatory dynamics towards the indigenous groups of the territory in everyday language practices as well. Here, we can see how these different instances of linguistic oppression serve as an example of how the power asymmetries are in reality a re-translation of the system of

social differences that puts the indigenous languages of the territory as dominated and illegitimate varieties:

> It's a historical process through which they tried to erase all of those words, so for generations people grew up believing that those words were not the right choices if you wanted to speak. This happened because you were learning Spanish and you had to speak in Spanish, because Spanish was the dominant language. I feel like the same thing happens now with English. (C. S.)

> My paternal grandfather was a son of a Mapuche woman. He knew Mapundungun but he didn't want to teach me nor speak it with his family. He never taught anybody, because in his social context during that time—we're talking about the 1970s—he felt ashamed of it and just eradicated it . . . he only knew how to speak Spanish. (C. A.)

> There is a very strong discrimination towards people from Los Andes. They teach you at school that you shouldn't say these [indigenous] words because they're bad, because only *cholas* talked like that. Teachers made fun of the little girls who talked like that. I saw a really strong case of discrimination once when a kid, whose family lived towards the interior and were most likely speakers of Quechua of indigenous origin, was treated as ignorant and as somebody who didn't know how to speak properly. So I refrain from saying many of these words because I don't know… since I was a girl they told me it was wrong, but once I started life at the university I realized that there is nothing wrong with that, that it was fine, that I even preferred speaking like that. (P. C.)

The type of situations described by the speakers here allows us to further understand how the discrimination of the indigenous peoples of the country results in language oppression. Indigenous speakers are ridiculed and discriminated for their use of their language because other members of society have negative beliefs and attitudes about

indigenous peoples (cf. 3.3.7). By means of this systematized discrimination and stigmatization, speakers of indigenous languages who have migrated into cities or are inserted in spaces where Spanish is the dominant language end up being coerced into not using their mother tongue and use the dominant language instead.

One particular context where this coercion gains more relevancy is in the context of the family. The family setting, where the mother tongue is traditionally taught to infants, has been affected and ruptured by this coercion in the sense that indigenous speakers have developed negative social expectations for the usage of indigenous languages based on previous experiences of discrimination (Lagos, et al., 2017; Rojas, et al. 2016), which leads them to being hesitant or refusing to pass on the indigenous languages to future generations.

As can be seen in the excerpts above, this coercion that affects indigenous speakers can be attested in other contexts too, primarily the school (Espinosa, 2009; Lagos, et al. 2013), where other students and even teachers discriminate the usage of indigenous languages and end up creating these negative social expectations about using and teaching the language to others. Other social institutions like the media, law, and religion (Fairclough, 2001b) also contribute to these processes, making the usage of their own languages for indigenous people inserted in more modern contexts of society a daunting prospect.

In the end, the constant coercion of indigenous people into not using their language leads them to acquiesce and to consent to the power asymmetries promoted by the nation-

state. As Fairclough (2001b) argues, states have the repressive means to coerce by force if necessary (which was an integral part of the colonization and domination processes over the indigenous peoples of the territory), but the ruling classes will always prefer to rule by consent instead. Consent to the power asymmetries is the end-goal of the state, and, as Fairclough further postulates, "ideology is the prime means of manufacturing consent" (2001b, p. 3). This further sheds light on the language ideologies that the state has. As stated previously (cf. 3.2.7), the ideology of portraying English as something that "opens doors" is determined by underlying economic and political factors. This ideology is then heavily linked to the ideology of the standard language that the state tries to establish, a standard that tries to erase linguistic minorities of indigenous origin while establishing English as the most legitimate language.

These personal accounts of witnessing a situation of language oppression coincide with Pierre Bourdieu's idea of the school and the family being the two most important social institutions in the establishment of a legitimate language (Bourdieu, 1977). However, while his argument holds, the way in which these institutions play a role in further stigmatizing indigenous languages in the territory is Chile is different. For Bourdieu, the role that family and the school play is an important one because families endow children with linguistic capital, whereas the school establishes the most valued linguistic forms to secure universal recognition of their legitimacy (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Woolard, 1985). Thus, the emphasis of these institutions for Bourdieu is on the process legitimizing a variety and making it the legitimate one. For the indigenous languages of Chile, Spanish ends up being deemed as the legitimate language but not only

through the establishment and recognition of Spanish, but also through the ridicule and active discrimination of the dominated language.

These excerpts demonstrate once more the awareness from the part of Chilean Spanish speakers about how the usage and the social representations about code-copies are intrinsically related to extra-linguistic factors. The speakers of Chilean Spanish see how the usage of lexical-code copies is not only linked to the historically violent relationship between the state and the indigenous peoples of the region, but they are also aware that to this day, linguistic minorities suffer from systematic discrimination and stigmatization across different social institutions. This awareness is also what leads them to position themselves in opposition to this systematic violence that they have identified in their surroundings.

With regards to language ideologies, the critical reversal of the appreciation of the standard language, and by extension the criticism towards the standard language and its spaces (such as the school) as instruments of oppression and exclusion, is a feature of the romantic ideology of language (Geeraerts, 2006).

### 3.3.9 Positive representations of indigenous lexical code-copies

The main argument with regards to the perceived language attitudes described previously (cf. 3.3.7) is that speakers of Chilean Spanish see a negative attitude towards the indigenous languages of the land, but they do not adhere to those valuations. On the contrary, the language attitudes towards lexical code-copies from the indigenous languages of Chile that were always positive:

> I love it. I really like it. I wish we could expand the repertoire of words from local indigenous peoples. It would be ideal, it would promote the notion of more territorial, local languages. (C. A.)

> I think it's good because these words have been used a lot . . . and the fact that words with indigenous origin have endured to this day is good because, even though people don't know that their origin is here in Chile, it's a sign that they've lasted through the years. (J. B.)

In addition to these explicitly positive representations towards the indigenous lexical code-copies, other things that also portray these words positively were mentioned. Namely, the words that are copied from indigenous languages are also deemed to be words with more emotive undertones, especially compared to the words copied from English, which typically deemed as neutral or only referential (cf. 3.2.5):

> I guess I'd say that I feel fond of using these loanwords. There's a different emotion involved when I use them because I feel like they're more of my culture than English loanwords . . . they are more emotional because they take you to your roots. All of those words take me to my roots, because it's just how I talk with my mother, how I talked with my grandmother. (O. V.)

> I also think that these words you can easily use them with diminutives, for example: *el quiltrito, la guagüita*, "I have a *cahuincito chiquitito* for you". You can play with that emotional factor here by using diminutives. You can't do that with other words. (C. N.)

These positive representations, especially the ones that relate the usage of indigenous code-copies to a higher degree of emotionality are also closely linked to other social representations described thus far. For example, the underlying emotive undertones felt through the usage of these copies is closely linked to the sense of belonging and the belief that the indigenous code-copies belong to Chilean identity described before (cf. 3.3.1).

The other case, which connected indigenous code-copies with the diminutive suffix *-ito/ita*, suggests that this is an exclusive feature of the words copied from indigenous languages. In reality, this diminutive morpheme is proper to Spanish for a more emotional intent or a more affectionate usage (Zuluaga Ospina, 1970). What the interviewee is actually describing is another process of adaptation of lexical code-copies, wherein words of indigenous origin have become so widespread in the lexical repertoire of Chilean Spanish that they started to become susceptible to the same suffixation processes as Spanish words.

All of these demonstrations of a positive language attitude towards code-copies of indigenous origin and the social representations that portray these copies as positive are another instance of the romantic language ideology towards the indigenous languages of the land. As a direct opposition of the rationalist approach, which values uniformity and homogeneity in language, the romantic ideology of language is one that has a positive evaluation of language diversity (Geeraerts, 2006).

With regards to the disconnect between the social representations, language ideologies and language attitudes that the interviewed speakers display in relation to the indigenous lexical code-copies and what they perceive to be the cultural habitus of Chilean Spanish, speakers believe that we are at a turning point that will lead towards a more generalized positive attitudes towards the indigenous languages:

> I think that's like a side effect of everything that has happened related to global warming. Indigenous cultures are very wise, so not only their languages are being valued, but their whole culture as well. They are

> being more valued compared to previous years, and I think this will only increase with time. (F. T.)

It is seemingly impossible to determine whether this disconnect between the perceived habitus and the social representations of the speakers is due to recent political events and historical processes such as global warming or if it is part of a long-term change of mentality that will also affect future generations, but all signs (as will be seen in the following two subsections) that this subversion of the cultural habitus perceived by the speakers is shared with large groups of Chilean citizens.

### 3.3.10 Usage of indigenous lexical code-copies as linguistic and political resistance

The usage of code-copies that come from indigenous languages is often seen by the speakers of Chilean Spanish as a way to fight against discrimination and the pernicious effects of the policies adopted throughout the history of the Chilean nation-state (Bengoa, 2004). Once again, there is commonly a positive language attitude linked to this belief, this time associated with the way that the indigenous languages of the region have resisted the power asymmetries of the cultural habitus of Chile:

> Even though Mapudungun and its speakers are invisibilized and undermined by these struggles between the state and the indigenous cultures, it's good that these words or loanwords can still be found in our language. (D. A.)

> There are people who protest and say "I'm not gonna say happy new year, I'll say *marichiweu* instead" or things like that, but this happens less frequently that K-pop and other cases. It's very rare. (G. T.)

> I feel that [these words] remained in the language unconsciously as some sort of anti-colonial germ. That may be far-fetched, but I like to think that's what it is. (I. H.)

> It's a little form of resistance from the languages that were almost exterminated during the centuries of conquest. In a way, these languages survived to leave a deep mark on our identity. The fact that they are still relevant to this day is almost a form of poetic justice. (C. S.)
>
> I would consider it a beautiful revenge if the language that we speak unearthed these [indigenous] languages and their words, allowing them to survive. (C. A.)

One important thing to highlight in this regard is that, on one hand, this linguistic resistance is portrayed as something carried out by particular speakers, most likely speakers whose convictions are akin to the revitalization and vindication of the indigenous peoples of the country (such as the case of hypothetical speaker who will say *marichiweu* instead of a traditional greeting for the new year mentioned above). On the other hand, and most notably, the social representation of the presence of indigenous lexical code-copies interpreted as a form of linguistic resistance is deemed to take place at a national level as well, shared and carried out by all speakers who use indigenous lexical code-copies.

What is more, the different words that the excerpts above feature paint a clear picture of how this process is understood and interpreted by the interviewed Chilean Spanish speakers. This linguistic resistance is not described as insurgency, rebellion, or an insurrection. On the contrary, this linguistic resistance is understood according to the excerpts above as an act of *revenge*, an act of *justice*, of *protest* against something, even as a *germ*, but only in regards to this practice being considered an act of resistance against the colonial practices that Chile and the indigenous peoples of its territory have been subjected to. Once again, these word choices are not random, there is a political message

behind them, one that supports the vindication and recognition of the indigenous peoples and one that rejects the established cultural habitus. This further supports the idea of the usage of lexical code-copies—and of language, in general—as nothing else other than a historically and a politically situated practice.

The presence and constant usage of indigenous lexical code-copies in Chilean Spanish is also a sign of a bigger social issue. Eriksen states: "[W]hen . . . minority languages survive despite eternal pressure to surrender, such stubborn survival is an indication of the continued social relevance of the minority identity" (1992, p. 315). This, Erikson further argues, has resulted in processes of ethnic revitalization starting in the latter half of the 20th century, something that frequently results in the glorification of these vernacular, unofficial, and dominated languages (1992).

Just as with the case of the previous subsection, the celebration and positive language attitudes towards the diversity of language and the resistance shown towards homogenizing practices and policies sponsored by the state are a demonstration that the romantic language ideology is present here as well.

### 3.3.11 The role of indigenous lexical code-copies amidst Chile's social revolt

Starting on October of 2019, intense protests in response to a raise in Santiago's subway fares have taken place in the country. Soon after the initial protests, the revolt escalated to a nationwide scale, with citizens all across the country rising up and protesting against multiple oppressive policies proper to Chile's neoliberal system (Cuadra, 2020). Namely, the Chilean people started to protest against an ever-rising cost of living,

privatization in the country, inequality, the pension, education and health system, and the already mentioned neoliberal system that was established in the 1970s under the dictatorship. It is in this context that the indigenous peoples of the land, which also includes the lexical code-copies of indigenous origins, have become an important symbol of rebellion and resistance towards what the state represents:

> I am witnessing a very beautiful process of resignification of Mapudungun, especially after the 18th of October. You go outside during the protests and you see many signs in Mapudungun. (I. H.)
>
> Currently, this movement has unearthed many terms. Mapudungun has become stronger. People who are not Mapuche greet and say goodbye to each other with Mapudungun words and I find that beautiful. I love it. (C. A.)
>
> There are lots of t-shirts with greetings in Mapudungun. They're like war banners. People get there and are called *weichafe*[10]—not only Mapuche people, but also the people who are at the front lines of the protests are called *weichafe*. They confused the meaning of the word and adapted it. (C. S.)

Explanations as to why the indigenous peoples and, by extension, the indigenous languages of the territory have become an important symbol in this social revolt is because the identity of the indigenous people and perhaps more importantly, of the representatives of minority languages (who feel identified with linguistic minorities even though they may not be indigenous themselves or may not have a high degree of competence in the language [Fought, 2006]) are "meaningful in so far as it can be contrasted with other

[10] Mapuche word for warrior (Alvarado, 1996).

identities, which become relevant only within the framework of a nation-state" (Eriksen, 1992, p. 317). In other words, these minoritarian identities are defined in opposition to the national identity imposed by the nation-state, and since protests are largely against Chile and its neoliberal model, a contrarian identity such as the indigenous ones take more prevalence and gains sympathy. This, translated to everyday discourse, means that the thousands of protesting citizens have adapted words of indigenous languages as part of a discourse of resistance due to a rejection of the dominant neoliberal genres and discourses (Fairclough, 2001a).

In the context of the social revolt, the concept of the *cultural broker* takes special prevalence. Cultural brokers is a concept used to refer to the aforementioned social actors who are acculturated in both the mainstream and the ethnic culture (Gentemann & Whitehead, 1983), being able to understand to a degree both the dominant (Spanish) and the dominated (indigenous) languages, and thus acting as the aforementioned representatives of the linguistic minorities. Many of the people who are involved in the protests, as stated in the excerpts above, are these cultural brokers of sorts who, even though they may not actually belong to an indigenous group of the territory, feel identified with the indigenous groups and can be seen waving indigenous flags, showing messages in indigenous languages, or copying words from indigenous languages to use them in the context of the process. These social actors qualify as the informal sources of support that a linguistic minority needs in order to survive (Eriksen, 1992). They are important in the context of the revolt because they also master the dominant code and are inserted in urban

contexts where the protests take place, allowing for the message of linguistic minorities to be conveyed to more people.

The protests have been linked to the long-term change of mentality for a more positive valuation of indigenous lexical code-copies (cf. 3.3.9), with Chilean Spanish speakers stating that it has helped to revert the processes of linguistic oppression and coercion which strengthened the asymmetries and relations of dominance between Chilean Spanish and the indigenous languages:

> During the first days of the social revolt, there was a lot of support [for indigenous cultures]. This support made people who had previously tried to hide their indigenous identity by changing their name go back to their original last names and embrace the culture they belong to. It has allowed for more participation. (F. T.)

The same process of the revolt and the way in which the indigenous languages are perceived to take a central role in the protests was also contested and assessed under a more critical point of view, referring to how this usage and predominance of the indigenous languages and imagery may be nothing more than political strategies by the political opposition to the government or other left-leaning political groups which do not intend to vindicate or give proper recognition to the indigenous peoples, but are appropriating their language and imagery in order to have the approval of more citizens:

> I think that this gigantic level of usage that has appeared lately, the flags and everything that has to do with the support towards the indigenous issue in the last couple of months, has a lot to do with a political strategy of conveying a sense of resistance against a certain model. This resistance is aligned with the left; aligned with a political project that that may not even address the demands of these communities . . . [the

> revolt] has become an associate to a political project of the left that doesn't have much to do with the indigenous peoples. I'm not saying that the Mapuche are right-leaning, because they are the ones that have to decide that. I'm talking about a westernization of the Mapuche worldview when we discuss about them belonging to this or that political party. We're using western terms—Chilean words to try to understand and assess people that are beyond the Chilean standards. They're different . . . they recognize themselves as a different culture, as not Chileans . . . do they or do they not agree with the demands of the revolt? (P. C.)

This last excerpt shows a very interesting albeit complex overlapping and co-existence language ideologies that underlie the social representations of the indigenous lexical code-copies regarding their role in the social revolts in Chile. On the one hand, the romantic ideology towards indigenous languages is still heavily present under what the speakers had to say about the protests, displaying an intricate relationship between a cultural group and an expression of their identity, and how that is met positively by the speakers. In addition to this, however, it is also possible to see an instrumentalist ideology, highlighted by the last interview excerpts, which relates to the fact that in the end, the usage and revalorization of indigenous code-copies might just have happened because the indigenous identity is seen as the polar opposite of what the state represents. That is to say, the symbolic role of the indigenous language may just be so positively received because it is the opposite of the state, not motivated by an actual change in disposition from the sum of society. Finally, a presence of the rationalist language ideology can still be noticeable, because at the end, this increased usage and understanding of the indigenous lexical code-copies is still inserted within the European-centered Enlightenment cultural

matrix (Lagos et al., 2017). Despite all increases in awareness and in usage of indigenous lexical code-copies, the understanding of the language remains the same, which means that it still follows the same tradition as other languages such as Spanish and English do.

In the end, it is impossible to determine whether there are hidden any political agendas or if every protester carrying an indigenous flag knows what the indigenous peoples actually want and how they position themselves within the context of the revolt in Chilean cities. However, among the three linguistic ideologies which arise, the romantic language ideology is the most prevalent. The instrumentalist ideology only exists in the hypothetical case of speakers of Chilean Spanish using lexical code-copies of indigenous in order to achieve other political means, something that cannot be corroborated. With regards to the rationalist ideology about language, the situation is very similar to what was described previously (cf. 3.3.3) regarding how indigenous languages and their struggles are still seen from a point of view that follows the European tradition of Enlightenment, with no attention being paid to how the indigenous peoples interpret language differently. The romantic ideology, however, remains as an ever-present language ideology that permeates and defines the presence of others.

### 3.3.12 Different contexts where indigenous lexical code-copies are prevalent

Another major point of departure from the social representations about the lexical code-copies from English is that there is a much different conceptualization regarding the different type of contexts where it is possible to find code-copies from indigenous languages. While there were isolated cases where specific conceptual domains were

singled out as ones where copies from indigenous languages were prevalent, the most widespread assumption was that indigenous words were common to find in colloquial and informal contexts:

> I think that when they're used, the speaker is trying to adopt a local disposition. We could even say—I don't know if I want to say it—an informal intention. (G. P.)
>
> It's related to being colloquial, the marginal, even if it sounds a little bit too extreme. It immediately establishes a difference with relation to the registers and the usage of the language. It would be preferred to say *bebé* rather than saying *guagua.* (C. S.)
>
> It's marginal; it's colloquial, more proper to somebody who can't establish differences by context. For example, it's very frowned upon to use [indigenous] words in a conference or in a more formal situation, for example. And that's just—I don't know if it is prejudice, maybe it is a little—it's just ridiculous. (G. H.)

There is a clear negative attitude towards this perceived usage and limit that the indigenous lexical code-copies face. The interviewed speakers show explicit rejection or reluctance to say that indigenous copies are found in informal contexts, which shows that their own position is one that does not conform with the cultural habitus of Chile that they perceive.

A similar perception regarding the different contexts is that copies of indigenous origin can be commonly found in more affectionate or with more intimacy. Namely, the situations most commonly named were the usage of these code-copies with families and with close friends:

> I use them in my more intimate circles. (G. P.)

> I use them in more colloquial conversations and in more familiar contexts, with friends or family. (J. B.)
>
> These loanwords from indigenous languages tend to occur in more familiar contexts; intimate conversations when you're talking between friends, at a party, or with your mother. Nobody is there. (C. N.)
>
> Using these words from indigenous languages is limited to the domestic life, in a way . . . it's limited to more intimate contexts, where there is trust. (G. T.)

At first glance, the belief that these words are somewhat reserved for people with which there is a high degree of intimacy and affection goes in accordance to the romantic language ideology seen throughout this section and a positive language attitude, as they seem to be special words that cannot be used with anybody. However, the excerpts also convey a different idea—one that is not so positive. Saying that these words are uttered "when nobody else is there", or that the usage of these words "stays as something domestic" is clearly a sign of how these words are the subject of social stigmatization. Other statements about how indigenous code-copies have to be used mostly inside the house reveal this stigma more explicitly:

> [Indigenous words] are for more everyday topics. Stuff you talk at the table with your friend, things like that . . . they have nothing to do with work. These were words that were used in their everyday lives by indigenous peoples, and they were slowly adapted and used daily in Chile. (R. S.)
>
> They are relegated to the house. They are relegated to situations with your family or your friends. But outside, you have to speak Spanish. (P. C.)

In order to properly address what is exactly at play here, we need to turn to Pierre Bourdieu's concept of self-censorship. According to the principles of his sociology of language, the speakers of Chilean Spanish are aware that using lexical code-copies from indigenous languages may not be deemed acceptable in certain contexts, which lead them to censor their own discourse:

> At the basis of self-censorship is the sense of the acceptable—one dimension of that sense of limits which is the internalization of class position—which makes it possible to evaluate the degree of formality of situations and to decide whether it is appropriate to speak and what sort of language to speak on a social occasion at a determinate point on the scale of formality. (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 655)

Bourdieu further states that linguistic production is governed by the imposition of a "more or less high level of censorship which more or less imperatively demands the formalization of discourse" (1977, p. 656). So the speakers of Chilean Spanish, aware at a subconscious level of the power asymmetries between Spanish (and English) and the indigenous languages, end up consenting to the habitus and become a complicit actor in the linguistic market of Chilean Spanish, where indigenous code-copies that come from indigenous languages are deemed as words of a "lesser" price, with a reduced anticipation of profit. Cisternas (2017) states that in linguistic markets, the linguistic capitals of lesser value are displaced from formal markets, which ends up reinforcing the value of the more dominant languages, such as Chilean Spanish and English. That being said, the process of self-censorship takes place because the cultural habitus and linguistic field of Chilean Spanish sanction what is acceptable and what it is not. Self-censorship takes place when speakers acquiesce and consent to these sanctions.

There was also mention of other contexts where code-copies of indigenous origin were prevalent. These contexts refer to the rural areas of Chile and the countryside, places that are far away from the cities, where English is portrayed to have a deeper effect on the linguistic field:

> They are especially used in rural areas and by elderly people. (M. M.)
>
> I come from the countryside. There, these words are used a lot, so ever since I was a little girl, I have used those words with my cousins, my uncle, and my grandparents. I constantly heard those words so now I say them everywhere. (J. B.)

This last context where indigenous code-copies are deemed as prominent goes in line with what Prieto (1979) found regarding the conceptual domains where words of indigenous origin found in Chilean journalistic texts. According to his findings, the main conceptual of the words he found was "the universe" (p. 143), which included the sky and atmosphere, the Earth, plants, and animals, elements that are more proper to a rural lifestyle.

The main difference with the contexts where English was deemed as prevalent (cf. 3.2.12) is that here, the classification was much more general, by making reference only to informal and rural contexts, whereas with English, the information about the contexts provided was much more specific, usually referring to specific types of media and in some occasions, to the particular professional activity that the interviewee did for a living.

The beliefs about the contexts where indigenous lexical code-copies were used in Chilean Spanish and how these are affected process of self-censorship goes to show that,

despite the critical stance that the speakers adopt and how much they position themselves in opposition to the cultural habitus of Chilean Spanish, they are still very much defined and constrained by it.

### 3.3.13 The conceptual domains of indigenous lexical code-copies are "limited"

Perhaps more important than where we *can* usually find lexical code-copies of indigenous origins is the matter of where we *cannot* find them. Unlike with English, there were many instances where the interviewed speakers of Chilean Spanish named contexts where it is actually unproper or very unlikely to find an indigenous code-copy:

> You're not going to find *guagua* very frequently in a marketing meeting or in any other work-related meeting. That's because those are formal contexts and it's assumed that [these words] are more informal. (P. C.)
>
> It's also on mass media, but only in very specific, limited cases. You can find it in more informal web pages or, I don't know, newspapers like *La Cuarta.* (G. P.)
>
> These words are found within more colloquial contexts. You don't say *la guagua* in formal contexts, you say *el lactante*. You are not going to find these words in a presidential speech. (C. N.)
>
> *Cahuín* is not a word that you can use in a formal, work-related context. It's not a word that can be used there, because the context doesn't allow you do to things like that. (D. R.)
>
> I feel like there is a very beautiful vindication here. I don't know if it's something massive yet; I haven't seen advertisements in Mapudungun. But I have seen people using these words in their everyday lives: "Friend, may the *newen* be with you", all those kinds of things. (I. H.)

Much like the case stated previously (cf. 3.3.12), the reason why it is unlikely to find lexical code-copies from indigenous languages in these contexts is due to matters of

formality. However, the singled-out contexts—marketing, meetings, presidential speeches, at work, and advertising—overlap in their majority with contexts that were described as contexts where English was highly prevalent. This is not coincidental; it is a sign that the presence of English-based code-copies have a direct effect on their indigenous counterparts, contributing to their functional displacement. The only exception in this regard was the belief that indigenous code-copies were proper to special publications such *La Cuarta* newspaper, a newspaper whose register has been described as colloquial and familiar, including teen slang and delinquent jargon (San Martín, 2000).

The reduction of functional domains is something that Johanson deems as a sociolinguistic consequence for the dominated codes in situations of language contact (2002b). This situation of functional displacement wherein the functional domains of a language are reduced has been highly attested in the indigenous languages that reside in the territory of Chile, especially in the case of the Aymara (Espinosa, 2009; Gundermann et al., 2007) and the Mapuche (Lagos, 2006, 2012; Lagos et al., 2017; Gundermann et al., 2009; Wittig, 2009) languages. However, these studies focus mostly on how Spanish is the legitimate language that ends up causing the displacement. The introduction and high usage of lexical code-copies from English, phenomenon that has only become prevalent recently, is something that has enlarged the gap between dominant and dominated languages.

### 3.3.14 Final considerations

By looking at the social representations of Chilean Spanish speakers about the indigenous code-copies it is possible to see, just like with English code-copies, how different extra-linguistic factors come into play. In this case, however, the speakers put most of their emphasis on history and on the political factors. This last extra-linguistic factor was the most important one, because in the end, the references to history are also related to the extermination and policies taken by the Chilean nation-state in detriment to the indigenous languages of the territory, which were actions done in order to pursue more political power and hegemony. With regards to the discussion about lexical code-copies and how code-internal and extra-linguistic factors interact, the social representations support the hypothesis—that code-external factors are pervasive in language usage and thus, they heavily affect the speakers' social representations.

On a general note, a major point of departure between the way English and indigenous lexical code-copies were perceived is the fact that the ones that were copied from indigenous languages were majorly met with a positive language attitude. In this regard, the polar opposite of what was attested to be the case with English lexical code-copies can be seen here—there is a perceived negative linguistic attitude and valuation in Chilean society, but the interviewed speakers positioned themselves in opposition to what they described. The common attitude for the interviewed speakers was for them to be in favor of the usage of indigenous copies, and often called for a more widespread and normalized usage of them:

> We have to maintain it and increase its usage. Share it more, make it so it is taught more, so we all use it more. We all should know it. (M. M.)
>
> I would like it if it was more normal. I think that having and using this kind of words should be more normalized. (N. C.)

This critical stance of Chilean Spanish speakers positioning themselves in opposition to the cultural habitus goes in line with the findings of Luciano Giannelli's (2008), who noticed a systematic inconsistency between positive attitudes towards Mapudungun and the day-to-day usage of the language, where Mapudungun was displaced and stigmatized in favor of Spanish. In the end, notions such as censorship (and self-censorship) explain that speakers of Chilean Spanish end up becoming complicit to these asymmetries. However, recent linguistic developments attested in processes such as civil protests and the revolt that took place in October of 2019 are a sign that linguistic resistance across Chilean society in an attempt to empower and give more recognition to the indigenous peoples of the territory is increasingly happening.

When we take into consideration the prevalence of the belief that indigenous lexical code-copies are words that are usually used inside the house, we can find interpret it as another act of linguistic resistance. As stated previously (cf. 3.2.12), English, to some degree, is almost pervasive and ever-present in the language of Chilean Spanish speakers, especially within more formal contexts. Here, however, *almost* is the keyword in the sense that it was never mentioned that it was widely used in intimate contexts or inside of the house—this, it seems, is reserved for the indigenous code-copies. This last point strengthens the power asymmetries and the domination of English and Chilean Spanish by further relegating the presence of copies of indigenous origin to the house. At the same

time, however, the negative language attitudes that Chilean Spanish speakers have about English, linked to an ideological rejection of Chile as a nation-state and its neoliberal model, have also strengthened and created a more positive valuation of the indigenous code-copies due to the indigenous identity being portrayed as the opposite of the identity established by the state.

In the language, this translates to the emergence of what Woolard calls alternative linguistic markets (1985). This notion arises from the critic done to Bourdieu's original conceptualization of the linguistic market, one that "fail[ed] to capture the sociolinguistic reality of nonstandard vernacular communities" (Woolard, 1985, p. 743). In more informal and intimate contexts, an alternative linguistic market has taken more prevalence as of late, one where the attested positive attitudes towards indigenous code-copies and the negative attitudes towards English code-copies come into play. This alternative market can be best seen in how there are often-ridiculed stereotypes of the people who overuse English-based code-copies, something that was not found for the case of people who used many indigenous copies:

> It's very striking that when you, for example, make fun of zorrones[11] or problems, there is usually a lot of Spanglish involved. They also try to have this British-like intonation in order to sound *cooler*. We make fun of that. (C. A.)

[11] The word "zorrón" is often used as a derogatory word in Chilean Spanish to refer to middle-class and high-class men who typically attend private universities and exhibit ostentatious clothing, accessory, and demeanor (Ganter et al., 2017).

In addition to this critical stance, which is the same of speakers who recognize a positive valuation of English at the level of Chilean society but personally display negative attitude towards the language (cf. 3.2), there was another, even more critical stance. This stance, most commonly found in the interviewed indigenous speakers, is one that calls into question the romantic view of perceiving indigenous lexical-code copies as part of Chilean identity, calling this practice another instance of cultural appropriation. This *post-critical* stance was also displayed with regards of the protagonist role of the indigenous languages in the social revolt of 2019 that happened in Chile, saying that there could be a hidden political agenda of left-leaning parties and political groups that use the recognition of indigenous languages and peoples as a stepping stone to bond with potential voters. However, this post-critical stance was only expressed in isolated case, and the vast majority of interviewed speakers positioned themselves within the first critical stance described.

The social representation that is at the core of the system here is the representation that there is a pervasive and still-existing tension between the state and the indigenous peoples living in Chile. This social representation, shared by all interviewed speakers, allows to understand and organize the rest—it is this tension, for example, which has given grounds throughout centuries for speakers to deem the history of both cultural groups to be relevant to understand the process of lexical code-copying. This tension, coupled with the speakers' own grievances towards the state (seen in the several elements in Chilean society that were protested against in the revolt), has majorly contributed to the recognition and positive attitude towards indigenous code-copies and their culture as well.

More peripheral representations can be found in the cases where there is cognitive polyphasia. The idea of indigenous code-copies belonging to Chilean Spanish are more towards the core elements of the social representations, but the idea that these copies are not Chilean and are a product of appropriation leans more towards the periphery, just like the the other aspect of the post-critical stance of highlighting the possibility of a hidden political agenda in the context of the valuation of indigenous languages in the revolt.

Pertaining language ideologies, the most pervasive one was the romantic ideology, which was found behind almost all of the social representations described here. The rationalist ideology, seen in how speakers tried to conceive indigenous languages from the point of view of a western point of view and an Enlightenment tradition; and the purist ideology, seen in how speakers (mostly the indigenous interviewees) thought that the code-copies could contribute towards the loss of the "true" meaning of an indigenous word, were only isolated cases where these ideologies arose. The romantic ideology, on the other hand, could be seen in the representations where there was a positive attitude towards the indigenous code-copies, a celebration of linguistic diversity, and an expression of the indigenous identity.

# CHAPTER 4:
# CONCLUSIONS

This study, which looks at the phenomenon of lexical code-copying from the perspective of linguistic anthropology, set out to describe the underlying social representations that Chilean Spanish speakers have about copies from English and the indigenous languages of the land. By doing so, and with the help of other closely related concepts such as language ideologies and language attitudes, it was possible to see that linguistic phenomena are largely defined by extra-linguistic factors. What is more, it was found that speakers are, for the most part, largely aware of the social, cultural, historical, and political underpinnings that are at play. Proof of this is the fact that, by speaking about lexical code-copies, speakers usually tended to talk about the model code itself (English or indigenous languages) and how the extra-linguistic factors commonly associated to them affect the presence and usage of their corresponding lexical code-copies.

With regards to the English lexical code-copies, the social representation that was found to be at the core of this set of ideas about the English language was the portrayal of English as a language that was deemed superior to Spanish. This belief gave meaning to other common representations, like the idea that English was a lingua franca and a universal language, that English is used in Chilean culture as a tool for social mobility, and that it was common to see English code-copies in advertising, mass media, academic and other formal and work-related contexts. When speaking about their beliefs, the interviewed speakers often made reference to history and culture, namely addressing the imperialistic nature of English-speaking countries in the globalized world and neoliberal regime that was established in Chile in the 1970s on the one hand, and a perceived sense of weakness regarding cultural identity due to the belief that Chilean Spanish was more

receptive of English lexical code-copies than other Spanish-speaking countries on the other.

A more interesting finding though was that many of these beliefs were ideas that they perceived about Chilean society as a whole, with them explicitly distancing themselves from said beliefs. This critical stance that the speakers took puts their own beliefs and the ones that they perceived to be commonplace in Chilean society at a disconnect due to their degree of awareness of the extra-linguistic factors at play. They recognize elements of linguistic imperialism and how Chilean society has been a subject of Americanization, and they decided to not adhere to these social representations that were motivated by those extra-linguistic factors. In addition to this, they also saw how these social representations work in detriment of more marginalized and less privileged sectors of Chilean society. This was seen in the fact that, despite speakers often talked about how English was deemed as a superior language, they usually did it by exhibiting a negative language attitude towards this power asymmetry between English and Chilean Spanish.

The social representations that the interviewed speakers had about the lexical code-copies of indigenous origin, on the other hand, had a social representation at the core of the system that further showed the awareness of the social speakers about the linguistic and cultural habitus of Chile. Here, the social representation that gave significance to the rest was the perception of the historical and ongoing tension between the state and the indigenous peoples living in the territory. Through this tension, it is possible to further understand other beliefs, such as that of indigenous languages of Chile suffering from

linguistic oppression, a perceived negative attitude towards the indigenous languages, and that these languages have been victims of functional displacement by Spanish. This tension highlights the political and historical aspect behind the situation, which dates back to the 16th century when the territory now known as Chile was found by Spaniards.

Here, the critical stance and dissonance between the perceived social representations and the speaker's own beliefs was also found. In this regard, speakers had an idea of how indigenous languages were commonly perceived in Chilean society—negatively—and positioned themselves in opposition to that. By doing so they positioned themselves against the ideologies and habitus supported by the state, which explains the representation of the usage of indigenous languages being seen as an act of resistance against domination and the perceived importance of these languages in the social revolt of 2019. This was exemplified by how the language that is commonly deemed as legitimate—English—was largely absent from contexts deemed as more intimate and informal, which lead to a subversion of sorts of the linguistic market and the emergence of alternative markets where preferred model code are the indigenous languages.

An additional critical position was found here as well, one that questioned many of the representations that were received with a positive language attitude by the speakers, namely the notion that indigenous lexical code-copies belonged to Chilean Spanish and the previously mentioned importance of indigenous languages in the social revolt. This additional critical stance led to more cognitive polyphasia between the different attested social representations for indigenous code-copies.

Language ideologies help understand how all the social representations attested for both of the model codes and how they work in relationship with the others. During the study, the most pervasive and explicit attitude that could be found was a romantic ideology towards the indigenous languages, seen in how the beliefs of the speakers about lexical code-copies celebrated diversity and the overall positive valuation of indigenous code-copies and languages. The ideologies that could be attested for English were found to be more scattered, but that is because the main language ideology about English code-copies at play is one that is hidden from plain view.

By comparing the social representations of the two different model codes, it becomes clear that they shape and structure each other. The negative language attitudes that speakers feel towards English and how they position themselves in opposition to what they believe Chilean society commonly thinks occur because speakers realize that linguistic imperialism worsens power asymmetries, which translates to the further minorization of the indigenous languages. Conversely, because they see how English is treated favorably in a globalized society, their romantic ideology towards indigenous languages is strengthened. What is more, the fact that speakers largely opposed to things such as using English code-copies too frequently in order to achieve social mobility or to be perceived better by their peers shows that the romantic ideology that speakers have is not exclusive to the indigenous code-copies. On the contrary, the romantic ideology is pervasive, and shapes the social representation attested for both languages.

In the end, ideas from Pierre Bourdieu's sociology of language, namely that of legitimate language, censorship, and self-censorship, still play a determining role in shaping the dispositions of speakers towards language choices regarding lexical code-copies, but this study shows that speakers are more aware than what may be initially believed concerning these inequities and relations of power. Whether these critical positions is a momentary act of resistance against the established habitus or a sign that we are in the midst of a long-term change towards which varieties of language are legitimate and which are not, is a question that only time will be able to answer.

Johanson remarks that copying in general is a process that fulfills the communicative needs of the speakers (1999). Following this argument, I argue that the processes and amount of code-copying is not a problem that towards other processes which may be considered consequences of extensive copying, such as the death of a language or their functional displacement. The problem is thus not code-copying in and of itself, but rather the harmful policies, the systematic discrimination towards minorities, and the systematic imposition of other languages in search for more imperialistic power, which ends up coercing speakers and creating insurmountable gaps in terms of power between them.

# CHAPTER 5:
# LIMITATIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH

By adopting a linguistic anthropological perspective and paying attention to things such as social representations, language ideologies, and language attitudes, it was possible to see that language phenomena are a historically and politically situated practice, and that speakers of a language also seem to be in agreement of this statement. However, the message I intend to convey with this study is that this is an interesting alternative starting point towards looking at what is commonly known as lexical borrowing from a different perspective. My intention is not to engage in a debate about which perspective should be the correct one, but rather to encourage interdisciplinarity and to, every now and then, stray away from the demarcated path that traditional linguistics have carved through centuries of invaluable research.

One of the limitations of this study is that it disregards the contributions of traditional linguistics towards lexical code-copies. While I still believe that terms such as loanwords and borrowings are problematic in their origin, the distinctions that linguistics have made regarding the different types and processes of loanwords could contribute towards research of code-copies from a linguistic anthropological perspective of a more definite subset of code-copies and not the phenomenon in general. This is also an invitation for further research, one that further encourages interdisciplinarity by potentially reconciling with the very perspective that disregarded in the first place.

An additional limitation was found regarding the fact that, in general terms, all of the interviewed speakers had similar political tendencies in the sense that they all leaned towards leftist political views. A linguistic anthropological perspective should keep

matters like these into account, and further studies on the subject should either aim for more diverse political views in their interviewees or focus on the social representations of groups of people who have a different political view. This is also problematic because, for the most part, it is difficult (and arguably impossible) to correctly infer the political views of somebody without knowing them personally previously.

There were other groups of people who were not interviewed, which is also another limitation and invitation for further research at the same time. Namely, two important groups should be considered to have a more complete view at the phenomenon of code-copying from a linguistic anthropological perspective and could be the focus of future studies. Namely, these groups are non-urban indigenous people who live in indigenous communities, and people who claim to have no knowledge of English. All of the interviewed speakers, indigenous or not, had a somewhat similar academic background (with the exceptions of the interviewees who had no higher education experience) and all of them claimed to know at least a little bit of English. In addition to this, the indigenous interviewees had experience or had pursued tertiary education studies, which may prove to be a deciding factor in the structuring of their social representations. Paying attention to these groups who are more marginalized by society may prove to be more insightful and shed more light on the issue, along with achieving better representation in terms of the interviewed speakers.

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**Appendix**

Universidad de Chile

Filosofía y Humanidades

Departamento de lingüística

**CONSENTIMIENTO INFORMADO**

Fecha: _____.

Yo, _____, con cédula de identidad número _____, certifico que he sido informado/a con la claridad y veracidad debida respecto al estudio ENGLISH AND INDIGENOUS LOANWORDS IN CHILE: A LINGUISTIC ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE, realizado por el estudiante JUAN JOSÉ ARENAS RODRÍGUEZ, cédula de identidad no. 18.667.152-K. Doy consentimiento de que seré entrevistado/a y que dicha entrevista será grabada para luego ser transcrita a texto. Certifico asimismo que actúo conscientemente cono colaborador del estudio mencionado anteriormente, y soy conocedor de la autonomía que poseo para retirarme de la entrevista o no responder alguna pregunta si así lo deseo.

_____ _____

Firma investigador Firma colaborador