'Un Spanglish Medio Raro': Profiling Bilingual Practices and Code-Switching as Identity Markers and their Linguistic and Sociocultural Ideological Implications within a Students' Community

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Abstract

Code-Switching is a bilingual practice that has received little attention in relation to learner's bilingual identities, as most efforts have gone to immigrant communities (Casielles-Suárez, 2017; Dara Hill, 2009; De Finna, 2007) or bilingual societies (Al-Emran & Al-Qyasi, 2017; Kossoff, 2014; Yat Mei Lee & Wang, 2015). In Chile in particular, research on Code-Switching has only covered a small portion of its use (Cancino & Díaz, 2020; Huilcán, 2019). Understanding bilingualism as a way of expressing identity, the purpose of this research is to characterize the use of Spanish-English Code-Switching in the community of students of English-focused and non-English-focused programs at the University of Chile, and thus, this research will enrich data on learner's bilingual identity. This is a qualitative, descriptive, and cross-sectional research that gathered data from three focus groups conducted with participants of both groups of students. The collected data was analyzed and contrasted in order to gain further insight into how Code-Switching and other bilingual practices and ideas about them are present in the group. The results showed that there was a community of shared practices, rules, ideologies, and values that was constructed through bilingualism in the group of students of English. Through this community, a romantic ideology was present in relation to a bilingual view of bilingualism, and an instrumental ideology in relation to the hegemony of English. Students of other programs shared the same ideologies but through a more monolingual approach.

Keywords: Code-Switching, Linguistic Anthropology, Language Ideologies, Bilingualism, Bilingual Identity

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Chapter I: Research Presentation

1.1. Introduction

In our modern world, where different cultures and languages are in constant contact, bilingual practices appear to be a highly common linguistic phenomenon. With different levels of awareness, almost each and every one of us have, at some point, been involved in bilingual practices at any level. From single loanwords in casual conversation, to fully bilingual communication in stricter contexts, and any other possible setting, bilingual practices are present throughout the majority of our society. The interplay between language and culture has been widely investigated and discussed, and it is commonly understood that the two are mutually constitutive (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). For that reason, bilingual practices of any kind come to become a central point in the topic of identity, especially considering that the majority of our world's population can be said to be bilingual.

In that context, Code-Switching appears as one of the possible bilingual practices that, as the name suggests, involves the switching between languages. This concept, along with other bilingual practices, has been studied under different language views throughout the years. As Grosjean (1985) pointed out, much research has been made from a monolingual view of bilingualism. As a response to this, different authors have called for bilingual practices to be studied under a bilingual view (Franceschini, 1998; Grosjean, 1985). This turn in research becomes particularly important for anthropological studies. Since language plays such an important role in the identity of individuals, a bilingual approach allows us to see how bilingual practices have an impact on identity: how they are used to claim or express one's identity in a community, how they are used to differentiate one's community to another's, and, in short, how bilingual practices and communities influence each other.

Code switching has been extensively studied in different bilingual societies and communities of immigrants (Casielles-Suárez, 2017; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Martínez, 2010), however, there are many different situations in which Code-Switching is generated, and as Fraceschini recognizes, the existence of different situations "suggests that there are

scenarios of [Code-Switching] for which the current research paradigm has to be expanded considerably" (1998). Research on bilingualism in relation to identity in Chile has been little, and it has mostly been focused on communities with ethnic descent and immigrants in a situation where Spanish (the majority language) endangers the status of their own language (Makihara, 2005; Pozo, 2018). Furthermore, the practice of Code-Switching has been scarcely studied, and it has been in relation to Mapudungun (Huilcán, 2019), or its pedagogical use in the English as a Foreign Language classroom (Cancino & Díaz, 2020). Thus, no research has been done yet in Chile regarding bilingual learner's identity and Code-Switching.

The aim of this research is to shed light on the phenomenon of Code-Switching in a bilingual community of learners of English, in a context where Spanish is the native and the majority language of the community. By doing this, we aim to provide a deeper understanding of how the practice of Code-Switching appears in this setting, how it influences and is influenced by identity and the community, and what language ideologies are present in relation to the phenomenon. We will do this through qualitative research where we will be interviewing students of English and students of other programs in order to gather their own ideas about their language practices.

This research will be presented in 6 chapters. The first and current chapter deals with the introduction of the problem and our research questions and objectives. In chapter II, a full description of the methodology and participants will be provided. Chapter III will be focused on the theoretical framework, where we will discuss key topics and concepts to the understanding of the research, such as linguistics anthropology, bilingualism, bilingual practices, and language ideologies. Next, in chapter IV the results of our research will be presented and thoroughly analyzed. Finally, chapters V and VI will deal with the discussion of results and conclusions, respectively.

1.2. Questions and Objectives

Questions:

This research will aim to answer the following questions:

- How is the Code-Switching culture structured in students at the University of Chile?

- What is the relationship between the Code-Switching culture and identity elements?

- What are the language ideologies present and their implications?

- How is the understanding of Code-Switching different between students of English Linguistics and Literature and students of other programs?

Objectives:

The following are the main and specific objectives of this research:

Main objective: To characterize the use of Spanish-English Code-Switching in the community of students of English-focused and non-English-focused programs at the University of Chile.

- Specific objective 1: To describe what are the sociocultural rules of Code-Switching in these students.

- Specific objective 2: To characterize the relationship between the culture of Code-Switching and the identity of its users.

- Specific objective 3: To analyze the social, cultural, and linguistic implications of the language ideologies found in this community.

- Specific objective 4: To contrast the thoughts of students of an English-focused program and students of other programs regarding Code-Switching.

Chapter II: Methodology

2.1. Research Design

In this research we will focus on the practice of Code-Switching from the perspective of the participants. For that purpose, this research has been designed as qualitative, descriptive, and cross-sectional, as this design will allow us to examine what the individuals think about this practice and how they experience it.

2.2. Participants

A total of 17 students participated in our research. 12 of them were students of the program of English Linguistics and Literature at the Faculty of Philosophy and Humanities of the University of Chile, and 5 of them were students of other programs of the same faculty. This classification was useful for us to make a comparison between a community of students of an English-based program and others who are not a part of it. Next, a brief description of each of the two groups will be presented, for a more detailed characterization see Appendix A.

The group of students of English Linguistics and Literature was composed of 11 students that identified themselves as female and 1 as male, and their ages ranged from 19 to 24 years old. Three participants described themselves as being in the first half of completion of their 4-year program, and 9 in the last half. These students are in constant contact with and usage of the English language due to the nature of their program, and thus, they were considered to be more prone to perform bilingual practices such as Code-Switching. Additionally, their study of linguistics provides them with more awareness of such practices and different concepts and trends about them. Another characteristic of this group is that, because they are enrolled in such a program, they have more motivation towards its use. All participants were middle socioeconomic class.

The group of students of other programs was composed of 4 students who identified as female and 1 as male. Their ages ranged from 19 to 25. Regarding the degree of completion of their 4-year programs, 3 of them were in the first half of their program and 2 in the last half. The programs in which these participants were enrolled included: Hispanic Linguistics and

Literature (3 participants), History (1 participant), and Philosophy (1 participant). Because these participants are not currently studying an English-based program, they are in less constant use of bilingual practices than students of English, however it is not considered to be absent because of their academic practices. The level of awareness of and motivation towards their linguistic practices is varied. All participants were middle socioeconomic class.

In order to guard the participant's privacy and anonymity, we will refer to them by their initials.

2.3. Instruments

The research instruments that we are choosing for this study are focus groups and interviews. The reason why we selected these instruments is related with the description of Freitas et al. about "the two main means of collecting qualitative data are the individual interview and the observation of participants in groups" (1998). In that sense, we also used group and individual interviews to meet the schedule of the participants with our own.

We believe that focus groups have a much more isolated group treatment to particularize experiences and meaningful linguistic content for the qualitative nature of the research, as well as a much richer interactional content in a somewhat controlled setting. Another consideration is that focus groups will provide us with information about how the participants would interact using English among peers and their preferences of use. Also, focus groups will let us explore the collective experience of the participants and thus, we will see how they can characterize and understand their view of the practice of code-switching while discussing and negotiating its different features. In the case of group and individual interviews, the same guidelines were followed, and they were based on the focus groups' guidelines.

2.3.1 Focus Groups

Focus groups were planned to match all the different criteria previously explained, however, not all of them were met because of participant's availability and the difficulty to contact people virtually because of the pandemic. A pilot focus group was organized, and its participants were 4 female students of English Linguistics of the advanced cycle. The first focus

group was planned to focus on English language students. It was composed of 5 female students of English Linguistics, 3 of them are female students of the advanced cycle, and 2 of them are female students of the initial cycle. The second focus group was mixed, hence focused on students of English and students of other careers. Its participants were 3 students of English, 1 of them a male student of the initial cycle and 2 female students of the advanced cycle, and 2 female students of other programs from the initial cycle.

2.3.2 Group and Individual Interviews

The first interview was done with two students of other programs, both female, one in the initial cycle, and one in the advanced cycle. The second was an individual interview with one student of other programs, male, and in the advanced cycle.

2.4. Procedures

Because of the context of the COVID-19 pandemic, all stages of this research had to be conducted online via Zoom. A pilot focus group was conducted in order to measure the experience of the roles of the participants and the moderators, as well as to identify, acknowledge and address any issues of interaction because of the structure of the topics of discussion presented and the precision of the sentences used to present them to the participants. Following that, two focus groups, a group interview, and an individual interview were conducted. For all focus groups and interviews (including the pilot), students were sent a consent form by email that they had to send back signed before the time of the meeting (See appendix B).

During the meeting, first, the general topic (language practices in relation to English) was introduced. Then, all participants were given a moment to introduce themselves, which was followed by an ice-breaker question. Finally, the conductors presented each specific topic of discussion, to which the participants had to talk about according to their own experiences and ideas. A single interview was conducted, which followed the same structure.

All focus groups and interviews were recorded. For the analysis, first, all of the collected audio data was transcribed into text. After recognizing the main analytical categories

that surfaced, the data was classified, put together, and thoroughly analyzed, the results of which can be found in Chapter IV.

2.5. Models of Analysis

The analysis models we choose were Morgan's model of speech community (2004), Geeraerts's models of the rationalist and romantic ideologies (Geeraerts, 2008), Grosjean's model of monolingual and bilingual view of bilingualism (Grosjean, 1985), and Ushioda's (2017; 2020) and Bourdieu's (1977) theory on linguistic capital.

Chapter III: Theoretical Framework

3.1. Linguistics Anthropology

The concept of linguistic anthropology for Gal (2009), as the study of language in culture and society, helps us understand and characterize the scope of the field, where linguistic practices are evidence of social formations: "Linguistic anthropology analyzes linguistic practices not only as the instruments of social life, but rather as the ground on which social and cultural conflicts are fought." By dealing with social events from social practices, the research of the field recognizes and analyzes structures and institutions that influence individuals and communities, recognizing their changes throughout their historical process, especially those that are related to community development. In that sense, Gal mentioned that linguistic anthropology has significance in political and economic formations, scientific and religious enterprises, as well as in the more traditional study of group boundaries and social identities. In the case of the way social institutions and linguistic structures are reproduced, authorized, and continually transformed, they constitute resourceful elements, within the sociocultural scope of linguistic anthropology, to provide the semiotic concepts related to their functioning (Gal, 2009). The analysis and interpretation of those concepts generate differences of collected data based on cultural, social, economic, and geographical differences, as well as insights for further development of communicative phenomena as social acts.

The significance of linguistic anthropology is derived from its capacity to characterize evidence and make it procedural from research. Also, it can cover the scope of studied variables that are in constant growth, thus encouraging the development of the field itself. Gal comments that the establishment of evidence from social practices leads to the comprehension of the phenomena, and the domain of linguistic anthropology has been placed on the intellectual rather than applied or performative realm: "The Boasian tradition gives linguistic anthropology significant institutional recognition, intellectual influence, and prestige within the discipline of anthropology" (Gal, 2009). We agree with the author because it is true that linguistic anthropology has an intellectual consideration in the anthropological field, and also

that it has a complete literary and semiotic backup for future unresearched social practices that are in constant growth.

Considering the interest that linguistic anthropology has on social interaction, the made-up guidelines in the strive of making communication effective regarding its explicit and inferential features are a source of inspiration and legitimation for novelty disciplinary and interdisciplinary uses. By means of historical shifts in the development line of the field, the documentation of people whose cultures were changing due to colonial pressure was pioneered by Franz Boas (historicism), Edward Sapir (social function of language), and Benjamin Lee Whorf (linguistic relativity), among others. By changing the focus of directly documenting traditions and values, the studies of verbal, folklore and poetics meant a ground for other linguistic-related concerns to appear. In that sense, European dialectology influenced linguistic anthropology from regional distribution of forms, definitions of languages, standardization, dialect boundaries and historical change (Gal, 2009). The scope of attention of linguistic anthropology has been influenced and shaped by different movements such as structuralism (sign phenomena), functionalism, Russian formalism, as well as anti-formalism, literature (semiotic reading, neo-Marxist critics), language philosophy (ordinary language philosophy, truth conditionality, language games, indexicality of reference) and even phenomenology.

In the decade of 1980, there was a change of the concept of culture, redefining the position of language within sociocultural phenomena. For Gal, this change made culture to be seen as a set of embodied practices within institutions, and those practices can change institutions themselves (2009). By this redefinition, language changed from a symbolic, later cognitive practice to a rather sociocultural practice. For different uses "Every act of language, be it written or spoken, is a statement about the position of its author within the social structure in a given culture" (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985). Thus, the individual and social dimensions of language are interacting with other sociocultural elements that relate to human interactions regarding their influence towards traditions, customs, and habits.

The importance of contemporary linguistic anthropology comes from the need to revamp investigation in this area to emphasize "the reshaping of linguistic theory from an interactionalist and culturalist perspective and culturalist perspective, and the revamping of anthropological investigations of meaning and action from the perspective of a semiotically grounded understanding of language, culture and social institutions'' (Gal, 2009).

3.1.1. The Concept of Culture in Linguistic Anthropology

Regarding the concept of culture in linguistics and its insights Migovych (2018) shows three possible relationships between language and society that came from sociolinguistics: social structure may influence or determine linguistic structure or behaviour; linguistic structure may influence or determine social structure; and a bi-directional view in which language and social structure may influence each other. The Whorfian hypothesis played a role in research by considering that language determines the way speakers view the world; an inextricable relationship that sets language as the medium of expression as well as of determination of speech acts ideas, mental activity, and impressions. The importance of these considerations for further characterizations of language is that different languages would mean different cultural experiences and expressions. Migovych, mentioning Wardhaugh's considerations of language as an implicit agreement, states "we cut nature up, organize it into concepts, and ascribe significance as we do, largely because we are parties to an agreement that holds throughout our speech community and is codified in the patterns of our language" (Wardhaugh, 1998). The common agreement is just at a basic level, where lexical, grammar and syntactic principles systematically structure language use, thus culture is more focused towards semantic and pragmatic considerations, customizing the interaction of users. In that sense, we understand culture as it includes a diversity of considerations related to speech acts, rhetorical structures, sociocultural behaviors, as well as transmitted and acquired knowledge; its manifestations include body language, gestures, concepts of time, hospitality customs and expressions of friendliness.

In a broader sense regarding the view of culture in linguistic anthropology, multiculturalism is related to the linguistic resources of speakers that identify themselves with

different cultures and language uses, as the coexistence of people from different backgrounds. What makes cultural practices meaningful to research is that they set up the distinction between different practitioners regarding their behaviors and values that are expressed through language use. Multicultural precepts towards cultural diversity in communication provides background for the identification, and definition of bilingual and multilingual practices. Also, the multicultural view in terms of the intercultural and cross-cultural relationships between cultures and languages come from an urban and industrialized intellectual tradition. Through this view, supranational cosmopolitans (through internet access, travel privileges, knowledge of several languages, and freedom of use of bilingual practices, such as codeswitching) as well as people who do not relate themselves with more than one national culture, can be considered as limits within the spectrum of intercultural and cross-cultural interactions (Kramsch, 1998). Other considerations of culture and society that affect language use, such as romantic and instrumental views of language, are part of the set of models that influence the selection of linguistic elements, as well as their reasons and purpose.

With this reshaping in consideration, the scope of linguistic anthropology has been set on real monolingual, bilingual, and multilingual speech communities and speakers, instead of an ideal hearer/speaker, on performance instead of linguistic competence; on linguistic repertoire and speech act instead of abstract grammar and sentence (Gal, 2009). The changes on the scope of linguistic analysis meant that individual language and its personal features were the focus of research, and these were considered to influence the structure of the language, as opposed to understanding the language as the defining factor of the individual's choices. Therefore, researchers focus on language use and its different contexts. They aim for understanding the way in which social interaction and language use work together, increasing the amount of evidence and acknowledgement of linguistic-related social practices and for further development of research that is constantly following human linguistic behavior that changes socially and historically.

3.2. Bilingualism

3.2.1. Bilingualism and the Monolingual Bias

According to Ellis (2006), monolingualism has traditionally been understood as the norm, as the unmarked case, considering that most people are monolinguals, and bilingual people are an exception. This assumption can be called the monolingual bias, and in her words, linguists have traditionally been biased from it as well. Nevertheless, efforts are being put towards the opposite idea, accepting that multilingualism is the norm, as it is now accepted that there is a majority of multilingual and bilingual speakers in the world (Ellis, 2006). Bilingualism is often described as a continuum where, at one end there are monolinguals who are only able to communicate in one language, and on the other end, there are bilinguals who can speak their two languages perfectly. However, neither of the two situations is the normal case, as Grosjean (1985) explains, the majority of the individuals are located in the different intermediate points of this continuum.

Regarding this monolingual bias, Montrul (2013) says that the representation of monolingualism as the norm and bi- or multilingualism as abnormal in terms of communicative purposes comes from the view of the people of the United States, who conceive bilingualism as harmful and pollutant to pure monolinguals. Being this North American view dominant in the development of the study of bilingualism, it meant the formation of views regarding those findings and results.

Grosjean (1985) provides us with a deeper understanding of that monolingual bias, which he calls the monolingual view of bilingualism, and in response, proposes the bilingual (or wholistic) view of bilingualism. From the monolingual view of bilingualism, a bilingual is considered as a person that has complete mastery of their two languages, that is, they are able to speak both languages at a native level. Bilinguals are two monolinguals in one. In that sense, the mixing up of the two languages is considered a mistake because it is understood as interference of one of the languages in the other.

3.2.2. Bilingualism and the Ideal Native Speaker

Because of the strong monolingual bias, where bilingualism comes from a native-like use of two languages, native speakers come to be extremely relevant. "The idealized model of L1 speaker has been deployed for decades as a point of reference in linguistics and language teaching, being the yardstick against which L2 users were compared and measured" (Zubrzycki, 2019). Montrul (2013) also says, in relation to this, that the native speaker has always been the pinnacle of language use. Because of that, the agreement on a more dynamic approach to define and think critically about bilingual practices has been changing and broadening research of bilingual phenomena, recognizing prescriptive and descriptive views and their thoughts, therefore functional approaches are more studied and developed in analysis.

In relation to this, Grosjean (1985) mentioned that, as a consequence of the monolingual view, bilinguals have been described and evaluated in terms of the fluency and balance they have in their two languages The standardized or ideal speaker-hearer under the monolingual view is constrained towards different linguistic, hence cultural, dimensions of language in communication. From that it can be inferred that control over two languages to the same individual and social activities, are not a catalogued in terms of how effective their use for communicative purposes is but rather regarding how proficient those are based on the standard language.

3.2.3. The Bilingual Approach to Bilingualism

In opposition to the monolingual view of bilingualism, Grosjean proposes the bilingual view of bilingualism, where bilinguals are considered:

An integrated whole which cannot easily be decomposed into two separate parts. The bilingual is NOT the sum of two complete or incomplete monolinguals; rather, he or she has a unique and specific linguistic configuration. The coexistence and constant interaction of the two languages in the bilingual has produced a different but complete language system. (Grosjean, 1985)

In other words, a bilingual is someone who can use two languages separately or together for diverse purposes in different domains of life, to the extent required by their needs and those of the environment. Rules and relationships of speakers and their languages are differently articulated in different sociocultural contexts, as well as the appraise of specific languages and the rejection towards others, because of sociocultural and/or linguistic reasons. Recognizing that bilingual's proficiencies vary and that they are nuanced provides a wider scope of unexplored phenomena related to bilingual interaction and how they interact with other bilinguals, as well as monolinguals.

Communicative Competence

An important aspect of the bilingual view is the communicative competence of speakers. Since the focus on the native speaker is discouraged and regarded as unnecessary, a focus on communicative competence can be preferred. According to Montrul (2013), communicative competence is the ability to use language in different discursive contexts and the ability to communicate with an interlocutor effectively, regardless of knowledge and grammatical or pronunciation mistakes. In that sense, the importance of communicative competence lies within its functionality of the different contexts, and how it can be adequate for an effective interaction. Montrul (2013) also adds that, for the speakers, communicative competence is a critical element for speakers to consider bilingual practices in mainly monolingual contexts. In this case, the most important aspect to evaluate what is communicatively effective is how the expectations of use of a particular language variety affects its actual use, associated with personal experiences and activities.

3.2.4. Bilingualism at an Individual Level

According to Montrul (2013) a bilingual is someone who makes use of primary and secondary languages. A primary language is understood as the most performed in different contexts, and the secondary language is the one that is less used. This differentiation puts an emphasis on the dimension of frequency of use.

Hamers and Blanc (2004) describe bilinguality as a psychological state in which the individual has access to more than one linguistic code to be used for communication. The

authors also state that the access will vary along different dimensions: psychological, cognitive, psycholinguistic, social psychological, sociological, sociolinguistic, sociocultural, and linguistic. From this definition, the individual is the person who decides whether they are bilingual or not, as they are the only ones who are aware of their psychological state. However, as a result of the monolingual bias where a native speaker is the standard that a bilingual must achieve, not many speakers do not consider themselves proficient enough to be a bilingual. Zubrzycki (2019) points out that for people outside academia, the monolingual bias is still strong.

Idiolects

Idiolects are sets of lexical and structural features that are constituent of an individual's repertoire to enable communication. In that sense, the psychological sense encompasses the individual linguistic competences of all speakers, irrespective of whether are profiled as monolingual or multilingual. The deployment of the communicative strategies of speakers belong to individual's' idiolects.

An idiolect is a person's own unique, personal language, the person's mental grammar that emerges with other speakers and enables the person's use of language, from an interactional view. The individual's sociocultural context is going to impact the speaker's decision to select among these sets and to switch between a more formal register or a more emotional-centered speech fluently. Thus, speakers can accommodate their use according to whatever they need to express, such as their identity, drawing from all of their known varieties without neglecting their features and utility.

The importance of the insights of bilingualism these authors made comprises the ways the definition of bilingual practices has been changing in an intricate process. The transition from a binary definition of bilinguals to a more varied and dynamic contemplates the consistent research over the phenomena from sociolinguists, education researchers and linguistic anthropologists. The description of sociocultural rules, the characterization of culture and identity relationships, the contrast of thoughts between students and the analysis of implications related to language ideologies are issues that can be related to the bilingual

practices mentioned above, and the deepening of the study of Code Switching are also background to withstand social change through their linguistic considerations in bilingual practices.

3.2.5. Bilingualism at a Societal Level

Montrul (2013) also provides another classification of languages in relation to their sociopolitical status according to which they could be classified as majority and minority languages in a bilingual context. The former is the language used by a majority group, has an official language treatment as well as language of a state nation and country, therefore it is associated to the education system, media, and any governmental activity. The latter is the language spoken by culturally, politically and/or socially minor groups.

3.3. Bilingual Practices

Bilingual practices can be understood as any practice that involves a multilingual speaker using their linguistic repertoire, which includes items from what can be considered different varieties, and which are the result of language contact. In this section we will explain the concept of Code-Switching along with other bilingual practices.

3.3.1. Code-Switching

A simple definition of Code-Switching is that it is a bilingual practice that, as the name suggests, involves the switching of codes. However, much like any other concept that involves the existence of languages, there are different implications that appear when dealing with it.

First, we can see that there is no agreement on what constitutes the switching of codes. On the one hand, for some authors it involves switching languages: "Codeswitching is a speech style in which bilinguals alternate languages between or within sentences." (Macswan, 2017). On the other hand, other authors believe that it refers to the switching of varieties: "An individual's use of two or more language varieties in the same speech event or exchange." (Woolard, 2004), "The use of two language varieties in the same conversation." (Myers-Scotton, 2006). Additionally, for authors like Auer, it is the "alternating use of two or more 'codes' within one conversational episode" (1998). Although the differences between these definitions may seem small, preferring one or the other will have direct consequences in

research of this practice, since it determines what instances fall under the scope of the research and what instances are part of a different phenomenon.

Currently, there is no agreement regarding what is a language, a variety, or a code. Latest ideas tell us that none of these notions is discrete, and the boundaries between each of them are fuzzy. According to Alvarez-Cáccamo, "research starts on the assumption of the pre-existence of two or more languages." (1998) and so, if it is difficult to tell what a language is and what is another, assuming that in a certain situation there is Code-Switching can be arguable in certain contexts. Whatever the linguist considers to be a language, variety, or code, may not necessarily coincide with what the speakers think of their own speech. As Peter Auer (1998) says, "code-switching is supposed to be the juxtaposition of two codes such that participants see it as such", and "the question of what counts as a code is not easily answered, for it must refer to participants', not to linguists' notions of 'code A' and 'code B.'" Similarly, Rita Franceschini states that:

> "The analysis of [Code-Switching] presupposes clear concepts of what can be taken as a single code or a single language. However, in dealing with real data, and assuming an emic approach as well as taking the intuition of speakers (or groups of speakers) into account, these distinctions often become blurred." (Franceschini, 1998)

This concept emerged around the second half of the 20th century, where it was considered to be the result of language interference. This was due to the monolingual view of language (Grosjean, 1985), according to which languages are separate systems that should not be mixed (See section 3.2.1.). Thus, Code-Switching was considered a weak performance of a bilingual person. As quoted by Alvarez-Cáccamo (1998), Haugen referred to the switching of languages (before Code-Switching existed as such) in the following words: "Speakers may switch from one language to the other, but at any given moment they are speaking only one, even when they resort to the other for assistance." (1950). Because the concept was born from these ideas, it developed with the assumption of the existence of distinct, discrete codes (Alvarez-Cáccamo, 1998).

The concept has come to evolve over the years as ideas regarding language are in constant development. Franceschini says in relation to how to consider Code-Switching in comparison to monolingual practices: "Consistent monolingual practices would then be situated at the ends, as rather exceptional cases, whereas the phenomenon of [Code-Switching] would be situated somewhere in the middle, together with other practices realized in language contact." (1998). This puts Code-Switching not as the rare case but as a regular common practice.

3.3.2. Translanguaging

The concept of translanguaging is defined as "the deployment of a speaker's full linguistic repertoire without regard for watchful adherence to the socially and politically defined boundaries of named (and usually national and state) languages." (Otheguy, García, & Reid, 2015), and so it can be understood as a response to a monolingually biased understanding of bilingualism. It is used "to describe the linguistic practices of speakers labeled as bilingual or multilingual, and to describe as well the many ways that those practices are leveraged for a variety of purposes, especially in education." (Otheguy, García, & Reid, 2015). Through this approach, the idea of switching between one language to another is left behind, and speakers are considered to have one full linguistic repertoire, made up of elements that can be used in different contexts. It opposes to the concept of Code-Switching, because it "still constitutes a theoretical endorsement of the idea that what the bilingual manipulates, however masterfully, are two separate linguistic system." (ibid.)

3.2.6. Named Languages and the Nation-State

The social level of bilingualism also has an effect on bilingualism at an individual level. Otheguy, García and Reid (2015) mentioned that languages are elements that are encompassed in speaker's expression and their social context. Named languages are defined by social and psychological senses. The social sense of the languages relates to the social, political, or ethnic affiliation of its speakers, and as the names of enumerable things that are socially or socio-politically constructed, maintained, and regulated, like English and Spanish.

Named language gained prominence with the rise of modern nation-states during the 18th and 19th centuries. According to Makihara (2010) "The nation-state and a national standard language, are particular outcomes of centuries of struggles among competing political and economic groups." These were politically useful in, as they gave citizens of a nation-state a sense of belonging to a specific community, and that sense of unity gave strength to the nation-state. "A shared language serves as a powerful force in building this sense of association. especially through media and education" (Makihara, 2010). Although these efforts took shape over two centuries ago, their effects are still present today, as "the principle of linguistic homogeneity remains a central organizing principle in modern nation-states." (May, 2017).

Named languages cannot be defined linguistically since they are not, strictly speaking, a linguistic object, but they provide an understanding of languages as entities: "The distinction between languages-or what constitutes different languages as opposed to subvarieties of a language-is far from objectively and linguistically clear and is instead always in many respects socially and politically constituted." (Makihara, 2010)

3.3.3. Diglossia

Diglossia is a concept that, as Garrett (2004) explains, refers to a specific type of bilingualism where the two codes coexist in a single community, but they are characterized by a functional differentiation and social compartmentalization of the codes. While this concept originated for a narrower type of situations, where the two languages were hierarchically differentiated, it has been revisited by different authors who have significantly broadened its scope, applying it to situations that are more intensely multilingual than it was intended (Garrett, 2004).

According to Gafaranga "Under diglossia, language alternation as normative linguistic behavior is denied. The norm is for the languages to be kept separate in terms of the domains in which they can be used." (2007). And so, from Gafaranga's interpretation, it is possible to understand this concept as Code-Switching from a strongly monolingual approach.

3.3.4. Borrowings

Borrowings are understood as the introduction of foreign vocabulary into a system. As Appel and Muysken (2005) point out, this phenomenon, which is the result of language contact, can become quite complex, as the details of how the item appears in the language can vary widely. Haugen (1950) provides a typology that differentiates between loanwords (Morphemic importation without substitution), which can take place at a phonemic level or not; loan blends (morphemic substitution as well as importation), and loan shifts (morphemic importation without substitution) (Appel & Muysken, 2005). Other typologies have also been proposed, however, a recurrent question is how these differentiate from other phenomena, like Code-Switching. According to Auer and Wei (2007), early studies of linguistic borrowings did not consider language contact in the context of multilingualism, and it was considered as a secondary phenomenon which presupposed the existence and stability of the language systems in contact.

Rodríguez-González and Parafita-Couto state that "It is commonly believed, however, that whereas (Code-Switching) is only done by bilingual speakers, borrowing from English is found in the speech of Spanish native speakers with a low degree of proficiency in English and in monolinguals" (2012). However, as it was discussed in section 3.2., it is very difficult to make a clear distinction between bilinguals and monolinguals, and a focus on level of proficiency is also problematic. Another idea regarding the distinction between Code-Switching and borrowings is provided by Poplack and Meechan (1998) who say that "Codeswitches should show little or no integration into another language. Lexical borrowing, on the other hand, refers to the incorporation of a lexical item from one language into another, with only the recipient system operative."

The distinction between Code-Switching and borrowings is unclear, as it has been recognized by Appel and Muysken: "It is not possible to distinguish individual cases of code-mixing from not-yet-integrated borrowings on the basis of simple diagnostic criteria." (2005); and by Rodríguez-González and Parafita-Couto: "There seems to be little agreement within

the field of Spanish-English contact regarding the difference between borrowing and single-word switches" (2012).

3.3.5. Pidgin Languages

A pidgin is a language that emerges from extended or repeated social contact between members of two or more groups that have no language in common. (Garrett, 2004), and it is also the native language of nobody (Appel & Muysken, 2005). It is described by Garret (2004) as a reduced or simplified language, with simple phonological structures and limited vocabularies, which means that pidgin-speakers make maximal use of minimal linguistic resources. A pidgin is never a primary language of a community, as it is an auxiliary language for particular contexts of interaction (Garrett, 2004). Franceschini compares pidgins to Code-Switching, referring to them as having similar a polygenesis of similar social conditions (1998).

3.3.6. Creole Languages

A creole language emerges when a pidgin language becomes a native language for a community. In other words, it is the evolution of a pidgin language over generations. Garrett (2004) adds to the definition of creoles that these are more complex lexically, grammatically, and stylistically. It is the primary language of a community, and it is associated to their ethnic identity.

3.4. Identity

For the observation and the analysis of groups and communities, identity is an element that has its own significance. Socially speaking, identity is one of the sources and outcomes of culture that influences language as an element of culture production. Bucholtz and Hall (2004) define identity as "an outcome of cultural semiotics that is accomplished through the production of contextually relevant sociopolitical relations of similarity and difference, authenticity and inauthenticity, and legitimacy and illegitimacy." In that sense, identity and language use are associated to both individuals and communities. Through repetition, the lexicogrammatical patterns selected to use language effectively in terms of identity and emotions shape the social actor's way of being in the world (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004).

For the purpose of community identification and differentiation, practice, performance, indexicality, and ideology are understood to interact together in the creation of identity. Bucholtz and Hall (2004) mentions that all of these elements are responsible for mediating and producing the practice of individuals and communities, and that ideology is influenced by practice. In words of Geeraerts (2008), ideologies work as "a guiding line for social action, a shared system of ideas for the interpretation of social reality", thus, ideologies are necessarily linked to a sense of community.

 In a social context, individuals interact within different communities, i.e., with different individuals who also interact in other communities. Within interaction, acts of subjectivity influence the way identities are formed and the reasons of their formation, so they can provide the necessary thoughts to understand the way sameness and difference affect the motivations of the practice of language. As one pair of those tactics, adequation denotes both equation and adequacy of sufficient sameness between individuals or groups in a motivated social achievement of preserving identity from social change. And as being the converse of adequation, distinction is made by the partially or sufficient difference between the set of cultural practices from individuals and communities (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004).

Sebba and Wotton refer to the complexity of the relationship between language and identity, saying that "the relationship between code and identity is necessarily much more complex than one-to-one" (1998). According to the authors, language can be used to evoke and manipulate social identities, but this relationship draws on cultural resources located both inside and outside the interaction itself. From this idea we can extract that language works as an index of culture, not only at the micro-level where the situation takes place, but it goes beyond, to the macro-level.

Regarding the elements that bilingual or monolingual individuals use to configure their identity, Bailey claims that "compared to monolingual, monocultural individuals, multilingual individuals have an expanded set of linguistic resources for the omnipresent task of positioning self and other, and often a broader range of social categories that can be made relevant through talk" (2007). The importance of this idea is that identity works as a device

that makes individual and social features of speakers relevant to the use of a determined code or approach to communicate, thus being aware of the social categories that underline their interaction. For that reason, any ideas related to language use and any language ideologies will be relevant, as they will impact all considerations and understandings regarding identity in all levels.

3.5 Language Ideology

Ever since language ideologies became an object of study in the last few decades, different authors have given their own take on defining the concept from different angles, as it has been repeatedly stated (Godley, Carpenter, & Werner, 2007; Kroskrity, 2004; 2010; 2016; Woolard, 1998). This term is interchangeably referred to as language ideologies, linguistic ideologies, or ideologies of language.

According to Kroskrity (2010), ideologies are a set of "beliefs, 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." He also describes them as attempts to rationalize language use, and that these attempts are multiple (in opposition to a homogeneous view, multiplicity accounts for plurality of ideologies within a single community according to meaningful social divisions such as class, gender, elites, generations, and so on), context bound, and necessarily constructed from the user's sociocultural experience. Another important aspect that Kroskrity explains is that ideologies may or may not be explicit (Kroskrity, 2004; 2010), however, according to Silverstein (1998), the presence of language ideologies in speakers is a necessary entailment of the indexicality of language, because of how it is constructed in a specific sociocultural context.

Woolard (1998) also puts an emphasis on this characteristic, while providing the following definition: "Representations, whether explicit or implicit, that construe the intersection of language and human beings in a social world are what we mean by 'language ideology.'" Another interesting point that Woolard adds regarding Language Ideologies is that they are not about language alone, but they "envision and enact ties of language to identity, to aesthetics, to morality, and to epistemology" (Woolard, 1998), so she adds individual choices

to the previous definitions. Similarly, Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) say that "Ideologies of language and identity guide ways in which individuals use linguistic resources to index their identities and to evaluate the use of linguistic resources by others.", explaining how language ideologies have an impact on people's identity expression.

Another aspect that was present in Kroskrity's definition (2010), was the political one. For Judith Irvine, the political aspect of language ideologies appears more emphasized as a crucial aspect: "the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests" (Irvine, 1989). This aspect of Language Ideologies is also brought up by Milroy (2000), who found two different examples, one in Britain and one in the United States, that show that Language Ideologies work as a tool for stigmatizing and marginalizing groups.

3.6. State of the Art

Many studies have been done regarding Code-Switching from different perspectives and different communities, however, no previous research was found to have been done regarding this particular practice in a bilingual community in Chile. There are two main approaches in which Code-Switching investigation has been conducted.

The first approach is a study focused on syntactical and morphological rules that allow its occurrence. This kind of study of Code-Switching allows researchers to challenge the analysis of bilingualism which considers mixed languages as accidental, because describing the rules of this bilingual practice would prove its systematicity (Belazi, Rubin, & Toribio, 1994; Eichler, Hager, & Müller, 2012; Kracht & Klein, 2014; Lyu, Tan, Chng, & Li, 2015; Mahootian & Santorini, 1996; Talang-Rao, 2014; Woolford, 1983).

The second approach, on the other hand, has a stronger focus on the social aspect of this practice. Code-Switching has been studied in different communities and regarding a wide variety of more specific aspects of its social function. For example, research has been done in bilingual communities in Oman, regarding the frequency of its use and how it is perceived (Al-Emran & Al-Qyasi, 2017). It has also been studied in a Chinese-English bilingual community in relation to the expression of emotions (Yat Mei Lee & Wang, 2015). Another study was made

by Kossoff (2014) with a focus on Code-Switching in different levels of Arabic in the context of Twitter in a polyglossic community. A common context where Code-Switching research efforts have been put is in communities of immigrants (Casielles-Suárez, 2017; Martínez, 2010), as well as on the linguistic consequences of contact/conflict between migrant population (Pozo, 2018). Other studies were focused on the ethnical identity that the use of Code-Switching carried for members of an Italian-American community in the United States (De Finna, 2007). In Great Britain, studies were conducted to picture patterns of language use and attitudes of the German/English community of 'Emigranto' (Eppler, 1994).

Some pedagogical studies of Code-Switching in the context of immigrant communities have also been made. (Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Dara Hill, 2009). Another context in which Code Switching has been studied, though to a much lesser extent, is in EFL learning communities. Liebscher and Dailey-O'Cain (2005) focused on advanced learners of English who used German-English Code-Switching both for classroom and non-classroom functions.

In Chile, some research has been done regarding Code-Switching, however, it has not been extensive. One investigation studied Code-Switching in terms of its use for conveying different pedagogical functions in an EFL classroom (Cancino & Díaz, 2020). Another study focused on bilingualism in the Rapa Nui community and how Rapa Nui and Spanish interact in the newer generations (Makihara, 2005). Research has also been done regarding its use in Hip-Hop music, both in terms of the grammatical aspect and the identity aspect of the practice (Huilcán, 2019), and in relation to language ideologies (Becerra, et al., 2020).

Chapter IV: Analysis of Results

In this chapter we will proceed to present the results and analysis of the collected data. This analysis will be done by connecting the ideas that were brought up by the participants to those of different relevant authors. The chapter is divided into three sections which are in correlation to three of our four specific objectives. Section 4.1. will focus on describing what are the sociocultural rules of Code-Switching in these students, whether through its use or the lack of it. Section 4.2. will focus on characterizing the relationship between the culture of Code-Switching and the identity of its users in a way that it becomes a speech community. Finally, section 4.3. will focus on analyzing the social, cultural, and linguistic implications of the language ideologies found in this community. The fourth objective (To contrast the thoughts of students of an English-focused program and students of other programs regarding Code-Switching) will be completed throughout the development of the other three objectives, as it involves contrasting all of the previous ideas among the two studied groups of students.

Because was conducted in Spanish, quotations will be presented first in Spanish, followed by a translation of our own in brackets.

4.1. Sociocultural Rules that Guide Code-Switching

As part of the description of the sociocultural rules of Code-Switching, we collected data from the participants to identify their ideas of the cultural rules that guide the use (or avoidance) of Code-Switching and other bilingual practices. The results will be presented in two sections, one for each group.

4.1.1 Bilingual Practices and Code-Switching in Students of English

The students were asked about situations in which they identified the use of different languages at the same time. They mentioned situations that can be classified in two types: academic and non-academic, being the latter the less frequent according to them. In academic contexts, most of the participants mentioned their classroom as a context in which Code-Switching and other bilingual practices happen but is discouraged, as they are mandatory English monolingual settings. About these thoughts, the students of English mentioned that:

"En inglesa los profes son bien paqueados con eso. Como '*inglés-only*.'" [In the English program, teachers are very strict about that. It's like *English-only*'] (D. M., female, student of English).

One of the characteristics of the English program at the University of Chile is that it has an educational model that puts a strong emphasis on fluency in English as a second language, as it was stated in the executive summary of the self-evaluation process for accreditation of the program (Comisión de Acreditación de la Licenciatura en Lengua y Literatura Inglesas, 2015). For that purpose, the majority of the classes are given in English language only. This causes the students to see them as situations in which an English monolingual speech mode is forced upon them. Nevertheless, this rule is sometimes dismissed during the class. For example, in the following quote the student refers to a situation in which the professor switched to Spanish during the class:

"Como que siento que al cambiar a la lengua madre de todes, como que intentó apelar a que le contestaran y a que le entendiéramos bien lo que él estaba intentando decir; que a veces incluso a los profes, yo siento que les pasa que no son capaces de transmitir tal cual lo que quieren decir, a pesar de que son secos en inglés." [I think that by shifting to everybody's mother tongue, he tried to encourage us to reply to him and to make us understand what he was trying to convey; sometimes even teachers, I feel, they are unable to convey exactly what they want to say, despite their knowledge in English] (D.M., female, student of English).

Thus, in this case switching to Spanish took place in some situations where the use of English was not perceived as effective enough to communicate ideas, make questions, or comment during the class, or when teachers were eliciting students' participation.

Another academic setting where the students recognize a switch between language was in Zoom's small groups. Because of the pandemic, classes have been in online format for the last two years, which gave space for a whole new set of ways of interaction. In that sense, many teachers use the tool of breakout rooms, where students can work in smaller groups that the teacher can choose to join or not. In relation to it, students agreed that:

"*Cuando la profesora no está presente* en la reunión, por ejemplo, de la sala de clases, ahí se habla harto español para explicarse las tareas, *para romper un poco el hielo igual.*" [*When the teacher is not present in the meeting*, for example, in the classroom, that's when we speak a lot of Spanish to explain the assignments, and *to break the ice, too*] [Added emphasis] (M. L., female, student of English).

In these small rooms, students switch to Spanish when first talking with their classmates after being sent to these rooms by the teacher, especially when the teacher is not present. Once they have established a friendlier and warmer environment in Spanish, they continue to develop the activities presented by teachers in English. Although (as we will mention further) students often prefer to use English freely, when forced to act as monolinguals of English, Spanish becomes the language of closeness and complicity, whereas English is seen as something formal and distant.

Outside the classroom but still in academic-related settings, students use Code-Switching for communication related to academic tasks and homework, as it is expressed here:

"Sería cuando hago trabajos con mis compañeras (…) que hablamos español constantemente y de repente hacemos un *spanglish* medio ahí extraño *y pasamos, no sé po, del inglés al español sin… como sin darnos cuenta a veces*, o muy como naturalmente." [When I work on assignments with my classmates (…) we speak Spanish constantly, and sometimes we turn to *Spanglish, and we switch, I don't know, from English to Spanish without… without even realizing it*, sometimes, like very naturally] [Added emphasis] (D. M., female, student of English).

"En mi seminario no hablamos en inglés, entonces ahí hacemos harto code-switching porque nos tenemos que referir a los tecnicismos (…). Esos *tecnicismos* están en inglés, entonces como que el Code-Switching está constantemente pasando, cachai, porque estamos conversando en español, pero estamos conversando en español sobre cosas que son en inglés." [In my seminar we do not speak English, so we do a lot of Code-Switching, because we need to talk about technicisms (…). These *technicisms* are in English, so Code-Switching is constantly taking place, you know, because we are

speaking in Spanish, but we are speaking in Spanish about things that are in English] [Added emphasis] (K.S., female, student of English)

In these situations, Code-Switching or bilingual practices are not mandatory as they are in class, but they appear as a natural communicative practice for these students. This is also supported by this quote:

"Como que uno está tan acostumbrado a la clase que de repente *salen* como palabras en inglés." [You are so used to the classroom that sometimes words *come out* in English] (I. E., female, student of English).

Here the student referred to words *coming out* in English, implying that the decision to use mixed languages is not conscious. In non-academic contexts, the participants mentioned that they may include English utterances in more relaxed, informal, and social situations: when talking with friends or relatives about their common interests, when joking, sharing secrets or delicate information. These ideas can be found on these quotes:

"Y fuera de ámbitos académicos, la verdad yo lo uso muy poco, a menos que no sé po, estemos así como todos tirando la talla y sea gente que también sea de la carrera, o que también estudie en el ámbito de inglés." [And outside of academic contexts, I don't really use it much, unless I don't know, we were joking and there were people from the same program too, or people that also studied in the field of English] (J. T., female, student of English).

"A veces me comunico con mi pololo en inglés cuando hablamos por videollamada solamente *para que no nos interfieran* otras personas en nuestra comunicación." [Sometimes I speak with my boyfriend in English on video calls, only *so that other people would not interfere* in our conversation] [Added emphasis] (M. P., female, student of English).

Code-switching was commonly stated to be used when forgetting or not knowing words in one language (either English or Spanish) and recurring to the other as the solution, which can be seen on this example:

"Como decir Code-Switching. Y *no recuerdas* cómo explicarlo bien en español, pero sabes que el término en inglés todos lo van a entender, entonces acudes a ese término." [Like saying, Code-Switching. And *you do not remember* how to say it in Spanish, but you know that everybody will understand it in English, so you resort to that word] [Added emphasis] (M. P., female, student of English)

Another relevant context where Code-Switching appeared was that of the internet, especially through social media. This was identified by some participants, for example:

"Se da más como en contexto así como virtual… como que lo virtual viene de cierta manera del mundo angloparlante, como el trollear, el mismo como twittear, lo del ghosting que también se da más por redes sociales." [It occurs more frequently in a virtual context… It is like the virtual, in a way, comes from the English-speaking world, like trollear, the concept of tweetear, or ghosting, which also appear more frequently on social media] (C. M., female, student of English).

"[En el grupo de whatsapp del curso] Creo que cuando se trata como de bromas o de tallas, *siempre son en inglés*, y son escritas, entonces como que tiene más impacto creo yo." [[On my class's whatsapp group] I believe that when it is about jokes, they are always in English, and they are written, so it is like it has a greater impact] (M. C., female, student of English).

"Igual es lógico que la mayoría de esas situaciones sean en, como en el mundo de internet po si, como la vía de influencia que podría tener el mundo anglosajón con Chile. Aparte de, como en las películas, o las series, o sea todo generalmente en internet." [It is logical that the majority of these situations be in the world of the internet, it is the medium of influence that the Anglo-Saxon world could have over Chile. Besides movies, or tv shows, everything in general is over the internet] (D. C., male, student of English)

Here, different bilingual practices are mentioned, which can take the form of borrowings (known as anglicisms), or Code-Switching through memes, and cultural references.

When deciding the appropriate or inappropriate circumstances to use bilingual practices or Code-Switching, the speakers referred to two main factors: In the first factor was the sense of a safe space. It was mostly characterized as contexts in which the speakers felt comfortable enough that they would not be shamed for not performing perfectly or would not be judged for bragging about being bilingual (see section 4.2.1. for further discussion on this idea). The second factor was in relation to their interlocutors. Possible interlocutors were primarily classmates or other people that have studied English and/or who have had frequent contact with English. They consider speakers that would have enthusiasm to use Code-Switching and other bilingual practices. These people were characterized mostly as young adults, and also a small portion of adults if they consume media in English and spend time on the internet. They mentioned that English use among young people is more homogeneous because they are more likely to have experiences participating in virtual contexts, under the circumstances that we live in a globalized society with constant technological development and where there is higher contact with the English language. These ideas can be found on this example:

"Pero yo diría que mainly, gente joven." [But I would say that principalmente, young people] (D. M., female, student of English).

"Y el contexto en el que se pueden usar esas palabras también es específico gente de nuestra edad podría entenderlo solamente. O gente mayor que tenga contacto con internet." [And the context in which you can use those words is also specifically people our age, they could understand them] (D. C., male, student of English).

"Expresiones que, quizás jóvenes que no hablan inglés, igual las van a entender, pero [adultos] no lo entienden por el rango de edad, que es así como alrededor de los 60 años." [Expressions that, maybe young people who do not speak English would still understand, but [adults] wouldn't because of their age, which would be around 60 years old] (L. V., female, student of English).

Adults were considered to be generally less proficient in English, and so this group was not considered to be as bilingual by the participants, with the exception of those who had

studied and worked with the English language. Also, adult's lack of familiarity with younger generations' cultural references was also an important factor. For these reasons, the practice of Code-Switching would have to be limited when interacting with the majority of adults, and only a small portion of that group would be considered safe interlocutors.

In relation to this, level of English proficiency and familiarity with the English language was a predominant factor for the use of Code-Switching, as it could only occur among people with a higher level of proficiency.

"Yo creo que de los usuarios, sería cualquier persona que tenga como un conocimiento como medio o intermedio, o suficiente de inglés." [I think that the users would be any person that had medium or intermediate, or enough level of English knowledge] (M. C., female, student of English).

"Y siento que [Mis compañeras y yo] ya estamos como en esa etapa de inglés en el que podemos hacer un switch sin que suene como interferido. (...) Como... no sé po, C1, C2, no sé de lengua nivel avanzado no sé qué, en que ya tenemos como más conocimiento del idioma y de cómo utilizarlo." [And I feel like we [My classmates and I] are already at a stage in English where we can switch without it sounding like interference. (...) Like... I don't know, C1, C2, I don't know, in Advanced English something, where we already have more knowledge of the language and how to use it] (D. M., female, student of English).

A high level of proficiency in English, however, is often considered to be more easily attainable by people with higher economic resources, so it could be interpreted that it was mostly people in that situation who would be able to code-switch:

"También la gente que tiene el privilegio o la plata para poder estudiar inglés en algún instituto, o que fueron a un colegio relativamente caro en donde se estudiaba inglés, puede que también hagan ese tipo de Code-Switching." [Also, people who have the privilege or the money to be able to study English in an institute, or those who studied in a relatively expensive school where English was studied, maybe they do that sort of Code-Switching.] (J. T., female, student of English)

Nevertheless, some participants still recognized the use of Code-Switching in other groups of people with less proficiency, or of a different age group, as it can be seen in the following quotes:

"Pero igual hay muchos adultos que tiran tallas en inglés sin saber mucho inglés." [But still there are many adults who make jokes in English without knowing much English] (M. P., female, student of English).

"Mi mamá tiene 50, pero ella conoce algunos términos y de repente los usa también, pero siempre [se] da como un contexto familiar, como relajado" [My mom is 50 years old, but she knows some words and sometimes she uses them too, but it always occurs like in a relaxed family context] (D. M., female, student of English).

From all the above-mentioned ideas, it can be said that students of English, in general, use Code-Switching in a wide range of contexts (academic and non-academic), as it has become a part of their daily use that often comes out naturally. In that sense, both instrumentalist/rationalist and romanticist language ideologies were strongly present, as bilingualism allowed them to express their bilingual identity, and it also allowed them to function in different settings and with different types of interlocutors (For further discussion on this topic, see section 4.3.). Exposure to media on the internet (usually coming from an English-speaking world) appears as a relevant factor that influenced the bilingual behavior, as it is a source of cultural references. Constraints that make these students avoid Code-Switching in some situations are mainly the monolingual policies imposed in classroom settings, interlocutors with a perceived low level of English proficiency, interlocutors being too old to understand English cultural references, and the fear of being judged. Finally, considerations regarding the economical characterization of code-switchers show us the complexity of the implications of the language ideologies. Because it is understood that those who have more resources are the ones who are more likely to learn English, they are also the ones who have access to the benefits of learning English (according to the Instrumentalist ideology). As a corollary, people with less resources are the ones who would need these benefits the most, but because they do not have the resources, they are unable to acquire them.

4.1.2 Students of Other Programs

The students of other programs had different experiences and ideas about the use of English. The use of English in general was less frequent, and the main setting for its use was academic, following an instrumentalist ideology (See section 4.3.2.). For example:

"En la carrera por lo menos, en lingüística sí se usa harto el inglés, en hartos textos en inglés." [In my program at least, in linguistics you use a lot of English, in many texts in English] (K. C., female, student of other programs).

"Yo leo harto en inglés, pero textos que son de carácter académico, pero nunca he leído un libro de literatura en inglés." [I read a lot in English, but texts that are of academic nature, but I have never read a literature book in English.] (O. M., male, student of other programs)

"En el caso académico, yo también manejo ciertos conceptos que son técnicos, que son propios de la disciplina que no tienen traducción, que se dicen tal cual son no más." [In the academic case, I also use certain words that are technical, that are a part of the discipline and that do not have a translation, you just say them as they come.] (O. M., male, student of other programs)

As it can be seen, English is mostly used for reading academic texts to write for academic purposes. Technicisms are also considered as an instance of bilingualism, however these are also of academic nature. For the non-academic settings, they considered that the use of borrowings that come from the internet was the most common:

"Y incluso hay palabras [del inglés] que han empezado a usar en español, por ejemplo 'lurk' y al español lo transcriben como 'lurkear.'" [And there are even words [in English] that are now being used in Spanish, for example 'lurk', and in Spanish it is written 'lurkear.'" (C. V., female, student of other programs).

This idea of the internet as a relevant factor in language and language contact was understood similarly for both groups of students. However, the main difference for the students of other programs is that, because of their lack of familiarity with the use of English,

these students often felt that their participation was limited in bilingual contexts. This can be seen on this quote:

"Hay una persona que veía [en Twitch] y me costaba un poco entenderle porque su acento era británico, y no estaba tan familiarizada con ese tipo de acento." [There was a person I used to watch [on Twitch], and it was a bit hard for me to understand them because their accent was British, and I wasn't so familiar with that kind of accent] (C. V., female, student of other programs).

When speaking of the general use of bilingual practices (as opposed to their own, specifically), for this group of students, age and social media use were also factors that determined who was able to perform bilingual practices:

"Yo creo que es una cuestión que está más presente en los jóvenes, desde el tema de las redes sociales, el internet." [I believe that it is something that is more present in young people, because of social media, the internet] (O. M., male, student of other programs)

From the mentioned ideas, we can say that Code-Switching was not used in its traditional form, but bilingual practices were still present. Still, these students did not participate much in these, and only recurred to them when necessary. The reasons were usually tied to a less effective communication. In online contexts such as forums, social media, and streaming platforms, their use of language was constrained and it felt limited for them, as they were forced to act as English speakers, however, these contexts were also seen as a source for new linguistic elements to be imported in the Spanish language (i.e., borrowings). As it was stated before, the main context for use of English for these students was academic texts, linked to an instrumental ideology. Other contexts of use did not appear, so it can be interpreted that the use of bilingual practices is not too common.

4.2. Code-Switching and Identity

Building on from the previous sections, and as part of the analysis of the relationship between the culture of Code-Switching and the identity of its users, we collected data from the participants to characterize their ideas and how a sense of community develops as a result. This section will be arranged into one subsection that will display the results obtained from

data of all students. A final paragraph will summarize key findings and thoughts about the results.

It was found that there is a speech community based on shared ideas and sentiments regarding language practices, which is formed by the students of English. This idea is also supported by the fact that those ideas and sentiments are not shared by students of other programs. It follows from this that language serves as more than a communicative device, and it has an incidence over the cultural identity of the people who have practices in common.

4.2.1. Identity Within a Community

According to Morgan (2004), speech communities are groups of people that share, not a language necessarily, but a shared belief and value system regarding their own culture, society, history, and communication with others. This means that a code is not a requirement for group membership, but the most important aspect is that there is a common symbolic and ideological communicative system. This can be realized through the community members' language choice, variation, and discourse as representing generation, occupation, politics, social relationships, identity, and more.

As it was mentioned in section 4.1., the group of students of English have a common practice that involves the use of a bilingual speech mode in contexts where they are relaxed and unconstrained. In relation to this, a community is generated, where students feel free to perform bilingually among their peers who are also members of said community. Within this community, we can also identify the existence of a certain system of values and rules regarding language choice that is shared among members. These previous ideas can found, for example:

“Es inevitable de que formemos parte de este grupo que utiliza el Code-Switching, porque convivimos con ambos lenguajes en nuestro día a día.” [It is inevitable that we are a part of this group that uses Code-Switching because we live with both languages in our everyday lives] (K.S., female, student of English).

This community is also described by its members as having adopted some cultural traits associated with a different culture. As it was mentioned by this student of English:

"Yo siento que, en especial la gente de inglesa, tiende a ser como muy British, como no sé, tomo tecito y me visto así, como inspo británica, y siento que sí afecta po, porque es como una mini, o sea no de mala forma, no digo que sea malo, pero sí se ve como una micro cultura, como un microclima." [I feel that the people, especially those that study my English program, tend to be very British, like, I don't know, drinking tea and dressing like this, like British inspo, and I feel that it does affect, because not that it's anything bad, but it's like a mini culture, like a microclimate] (D. M., female, student of English).

This assimilation can be attributed to the fact that the specific group mentioned studies English following General British English as the target variety. Because of the shared circumstances and academic history of these students, and because of the particular linguistic environment in which they find themselves, a sense of distinction from others is present, and so a link between their language, occupation, and identity is made.

In other cases, this community is not perceived as bound to being a student of English, but it exists in relation to any other English-Spanish bilinguals. As it was mentioned by these students of English:

"Y por lo tanto tenemos como las mismas bromas, aunque sean en otro idioma, y eso igual hace que sea mucho más cómodo estar como en ese grupo de personas que con otros que tienen como otro tipo de humor." [And so we have the same jokes, even if they are in another language, and it makes it much more comfortable to be around that group of people than with others that have another kind of humor, completely different] (C. F., female, student of English).

"Me siento mucho más cómoda en grupos con gente que sé que habla un poco de inglés o que no me va a juzgar. (…) Es mucho más fácil que entiendan tus referencias culturales a la hora de hacer bromas o las palabras o los conceptos que estás usando." [I feel much more comfortable in groups with people that I know speak some English or that will not judge me. (…) It is much easier that they understand your cultural

references when telling jokes or words or concepts that you're using] (L. V., female, student of English).

Here, the community is characterized by the participants as sharing the same cultural references such as jokes and words. In other words, through language, they are able to express their intersubjectivity. Another idea that came up is that of feeling comfortable around other bilinguals, which can be interpreted as having a perceived connection with other members of the same community, with their language working as the common element among them, hence the social function of language. Just as members of this community feel comfortable around other bilinguals, the opposite effect is present when they are around others who are not bilinguals, which results in them feeling uncomfortable or constrained. In that sense, some students of English mentioned that:

"No es tu lengua materna, entonces es como raro sabiendo que todos los demás hablan en español como interactuar con alguien que no has interactuado nunca, y hacerlo en inglés." [It is not your mother tongue, so it is kind of weird, knowing that everybody else speaks Spanish, to interact with somebody you've never interacted with in the past, and to do it in English] (K.S., female, student of English).

"De repente pueden pensar que uno es como medio snob o engreído por decir las cosas en inglés, entonces eso hace que uno igual se sienta de repente cohibido a hablar tan naturalmente." [Sometimes they may think that you're snobbish or smug for saying things in English, so that makes you feel shy and it keeps you from speaking so naturally] (J. T., female, student of English).

Lastly, students of other programs did not express a sense of belonging to a similar community. Instead, they expressed the inability to participate as a consequence of the lack of familiarity with this community, even when voluntarily taking part in bilingual communicative situations. So, it has been stated by the student of other programs that:

"Hay una persona que veía (en Twitch) y me costaba un poco entenderle porque su acento era británico, y no estaba tan familiarizada con ese tipo de acento. Entonces en esa instancia, yo solamente me limitaba como a escuchar y a lurkear. Estar desde las

sombras y no participar tanto." [There was a person I used to watch (on Twitch), and it was a bit hard for me to understand them because their accent was British, and I wasn't so familiar with that kind of accent. So in that case, I would just listen and lurk. Kept myself in the shadows and did not participate as much] (C. V., female, student of other programs).

In other cases, students of other programs preferred to not lurk in these situations but to avoid them altogether:

"O si veo cosas que están en inglés en internet, las salto porque no me gusta leer cosas que no sean académicas en ese idioma. Básicamente no las entiendo, no me dan risa, no me dan gracia." [Or if I see anything in English online, I skip it because I do not like to read non-academic things in that language. Basically, I do not understand them, they don't make me laugh, they're not funny] (O. M., male, student of other programs).

What is important in this example is that the code itself is not the main issue, as they express that they can read in English, but the issue comes from the lack of cultural familiarity that is needed to understand these instances, and this did not happen for the students of English. This lack of cultural knowledge is, then, what keeps this group of students away from the speech community of bilinguals.

According to Bailey, "through talk we position ourselves and others relative to co-present interlocutors, the communicative activities in which we are engaged, and various dimensions of the wider world, including social identity categories and their relative value." (2007). Thus, the decision of the students of English to avoid using English with nonbilingual people, as well as the decision of non-students of English to avoid participating in bilingual situations is in itself an act of identity.

From the gathered data we can interpret that the students of English are members of a speech community who share similar cultural traits and practices, and who felt at conflict when communicating with others who are not a part of it, as their cultural expression is constrained, but they felt comfortable among other bilinguals. Bilingual practices are also used as a tool for establishing their membership to the community. On the other hand, students of

other programs had the opposite effect, as they felt disconnected and detached from bilingual situations, even when being able to understand the language, because of their lack of contact with the other culture and the feeling that English can't provide a better way for their expression or communication with others. Thus, language appears to be not only a code for saying things, but through its use (or lack thereof) it becomes a social device. Furthermore, this proves to us that the constant contact with the English language does not only have linguistic consequences, but cultural consequences as well. Although both groups are of similar age, socioeconomic level, and education, and both are able to use English for at least some functions, a bilingual identity only appeared in the students of English.

4.3. Language Ideologies and their Implications

As part of the analysis of the linguistic ideologies found within the communities, we collected data from the participants to identify their ideas regarding language for an interpretation of the social, cultural, and linguistic implications of those ideologies.

Language ideologies are beliefs, feelings and conceptions of language structure that construe the interaction of speakers, and those representations of identity, aesthetics, morality, and epistemology guide the linguistic resources indexed to the identity of speakers. Thus, language ideologies are sociocultural experiences that affect the ways in which people evaluate to interact with other speakers (Kroskrity, 2010; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004; Woolard, 1998) Also as a political aspect we consider that language ideologies have social and linguistic relationships related to the speakers' cultural system, moral and political interests (Irvine, 1989; Milroy, 2000).

Our analysis will be arranged in six subsections in which each ideology will be analyzed contrasting the ideas of both students of English and students of other programs.

The predominant ideologies present were the instrumentalist and romantic ideologies. The instrumentalist ideology was very strong in both groups of students, who perceived English to be a beneficial tool for finding better job opportunities and for the specialization of language use, among others. For the students of other programs, this was the main ideology.

For the students of English there was also a romantic ideology regarding their bilingual practices.

4.3.1. The Status of the English Speaker

One of the main issues that the participants recognized as a consequence of Code-Switching and other bilingual practices was a sense of feeling judged by other people around them, especially people who do not speak English. This was portrayed as some sort of common sense, that dictated when it was acceptable or not to speak English. In the following quotes, we can see some examples of this idea that was very common among the students of English:

"A uno le dicen que, no sé, *qué te creís po*." [They tell you, I don't know, *who do you think you are*] [Added emphasis] (K.S., female, student of English).

"Es que te ven altiro como así *pasado rollos*, erís como súper *engreído* casi que hablai en inglés así como que estai *sacando en cara* que podí hablar en inglés" [They immediately see you as *haughty*, you are very *smug*, almost as if you spoke English *bragging* that you can speak English] [Added emphasis] (J. T., female, student of English).

"De repente uno pronunciaba bien una palabra y lo *molestaban*, así como '*ay, ella o él, que sabe inglés*'. [Sometimes you pronounced a word correctly, and they would *tease* you about it, like '*she or he knows English, smarty-pants*!'] [Added emphasis] (I. E., female, student of English).

"Va a sonar como engreído que tú le hables en inglés (…) intentando como sonar, como que es un nivel superior." [You will sound smug if you speak to them in English (…), trying to sound like it's a superior level]. (M. C., female, student of English).

These characteristics are not intrinsic to the English language, but instead, the association made by the people is indexical of what the English language represents in our society. In Bourdieu's words: "What speaks is not the utterance, the language, but the whole social person." (Bourdieu, 1977). In that sense, the ability to speak English appears to be a symbol of superiority, something to brag about, as if the person that speaks English were trying to position themselves over others. This is an implicit ideology that validates English as a

hegemonic language. According to Jackson Lears (1985), Gramsci's characterization of hegemony is that it is a 'spontaneous' consent given by the population to the general direction imposed on social life, which comes from the historical prestige of a dominant group. When participants agree that using a language marks superiority, they are validating the power of the dominating group where it comes from. In this case, the English language is connected to the United States and England, two historically hegemonic countries that hold political, economic, and cultural power over the rest of the world. In Gramsci's theory, in order for a group to become hegemonic, it is not enough to have material power. To have consent from the subdominant groups is also necessary, and this status given to the English speaker is one form of consent, as it has a spontaneously given higher and superior value.

While our participants state that their use of English is attributed to communicative purposes rather than trying to sound more powerful, their insecurity and the feeling of being judged shows their own awareness of the social positioning of this bilingual practice. Thus, people are subconsciously consenting to the hegemonic power of the dominant groups (i.e., the United States and England), which can be seen realized through the emergence of the common sense that English marks superiority.

In the same fashion, participants agreed that they felt much more comfortable when speaking English with other people who also speak English or with people that they knew beforehand and who would not judge them, as it can be seen on these quotes:

"A mí sí me pasa que me siento mucho más segura o cómoda con ... en grupos de gente que, incluso si no es que lo hagan como con la misma frecuencia que yo, pero que sé que no me van a juzgar por hacerlo." [I feel much more comfortable in groups of people where, even if they don't (speak English) as often as I do, I know they will not judge you.] (C. F., female, student of English).

"A mi igual me pasa que me siento mucho más cómoda en grupos con gente que sé que habla un poco de inglés o que no me va a juzgar." [I also feel much more comfortable

in groups of people that I know that they speak English or that they will not judge me] (L. V., female, student of English).

These ideas show us that there is awareness of the social representation that lies behind a bilingual speaker, which causes some level of insecurity on those who feel that they will be unjustly judged by others, especially by people who are not members of their own speech community. The hegemonic power of countries such as the United States are the cause of this notion, as it appears as a common sense that is present in bilinguals who shared this idea. As a result, this general consent to the 'higher status' of the English speaker is perpetuated and the hegemonic order is maintained.

4.3.2. The Instrumentalist Ideology

In general, the instrumentalist language ideology was found throughout the discussions with the participants of both communities. According to Ushioda (2017), through an instrumentalist language ideology, a language, and especially English, is valued as a necessary means to achieve a personally or socially desirable end. For her, learning English is becoming increasingly associated with factors such as necessity, utility, advantage, social capital, power, advancement, mobility, migration, and cosmopolitanism. In the case of our research, students valued English as beneficial:

"A mí en realidad, el hablar inglés como que sí me da como muchas más *posibilidades de trabajo*, *de mejor vida.*" [Actually, in my case, speaking English does give me *many more job opportunities*, *a better life*] [Added emphasis] (R. V., student of English).

"Aprender inglés de repente te *abre muchas puertas*, tanto *laborales* y *calidad de vida.*" [Learning English sometimes *opens many doors*, both for *work* and for a *better quality of life*] [Added emphasis] (K.S., student of English).

For these students of English, learning this language was associated with a better life and more job opportunities. In that sense, English is regarded as a skill that puts them in an advantageous position, in contrast to an alternative scenario where they did not have this skill. According to Bourdieu (1977), a linguistic variety is a linguistic capital within the market, and from this perspective, this capital can be translated into profit. In this case, this profit equaled

something as relevant as a better life and secured job alternatives. In the case of students of other programs, this recognition of the value of English was also found, but in a slightly different way, as these students mentioned that:

"Está tan como colonizado el uso de inglés, que para cualquier cosa que tengamos que hacer *tenemos que* saber inglés si queremos como *sobresalir.*" [Using English is so colonized that for anything that we have to do, we have to know English if we want *to stand out]* [Added emphasis] (A.R., student of other programs).

"[El inglés] uso y por un buen rato cuando estoy trabajando nomás. Para mí es *una mera herramienta.* Eso sería. Es *una mera herramienta.*" [I use [English] for a good while only when I'm working. For me, it is *just a tool.* That's it. *Just a tool*) [Added emphasis] (O.M., student of other programs).

"No sé, a mí nunca me gustó mucho [El inglés] pero aun así como que *es necesario* como para salir, seguir haciendo otras cosas aparte" [I don't know, I never really liked [English], but still it is necessary to get out, to do something else.] (K.C., Student of other programs).

As it can be seen in the previous quotes, for the students of other programs English was associated mostly with it being a necessity for functioning within the academic sphere, either for being able to perform, or as an advantage to stand out. It was found that learning English was a necessity in order to get out of their life situation. The idea of it being a necessity is also present in some cases for the students of English when talking about other people who do not know English:

"Yo siento que ahora igual hay como una pequeña *obligación* de aprender un poco. Sí o sí en algún momento tienen que ocuparlo." [I feel that now there is an *obligation* of learning it, they will need to use it at some point] [added emphasis] (M.P., female, student of English).

Even in the cases were there was a consciousness that this need for learning English was due to sociopolitical forces, or in the cases where they explicitly stated preferring not to use English, it appears to be accepted as the undeniable reality. This goes in

accordance with the following idea: "In many ELT contexts, learning English is not a matter of personal choice but a curriculum requirement or a necessity, and this often holds true even beyond compulsory stages of education." (Ushioda, 2020). This feeling of obligation to learn English is, then, a direct consequence of the instrumentalist ideology. This can be explained with Bourdieu's work. For him, "Language is not only an instrument of communication or even of knowledge, but also an instrument of power." (1977), because of this, people are more drawn to acquire the variety that has a higher value and that provides more chances of success in the market. Regarding this value, the author explains: "A language is worth what those who speak it are worth, i.e. the power and authority in the economic and cultural power relations of the holders of the corresponding competence." So, the fact that these students recognize the instrumental value of English as valid is indexical of the power relations that exist in the world, as they are recognizing English speakers as economically and culturally powerful.

Ushioda (2017) also explains this indexical relation between language learning and society by saying that "macro-level socio-political ideological structures and meso-level institutional structures are exerting significant downward pressures on the micro level of social activity where language learning and interaction take place." Thus, when someone makes the connection between using English and academic success, job opportunities, and quality of life, they are also referring to the wish of accessing the market in which English is valuable, and this happens because said market influences individual decisions to learn this language, so this works both ways.

A relevant notion that is linked to the instrumentalist ideology is that these benefits would only be acquired by learning English at a high level of proficiency, consequence of a monolingual ideology of bilingualism (See section 4.3.5.). In relation to this idea, it was said that:

"Cuando sales de esta carrera, no todas las personas salen con el mismo nivel. Algunas tienen un nivel mucho más grande, donde pueden optar a trabajos mucho mejores o mucho más fácil. Otras personas tienen que seguir estudiando para perfeccionar su inglés y optar… poder ahí recién optar a un trabajo." [When you graduate from this program, not all people get out with the same level. Some people have a much higher level, so they can opt to much better jobs, or access them more easily. Other people have to keep studying to improve their English and only then… you can look for a job] (M.L., female, student of English)

"Aquellos que saben *más* inglés pueden ocuparlo en sus ámbitos laborales, en sus ámbitos como de educación, y claramente, son los que por ejemplo pueden postular a becas en el extranjero, que pueden realizar como publicaciones de artículos. [Those who know *more* English can use it in their working sphere, in their educational sphere, and clearly, they are the ones who can apply for international scholarships, publish articles] (A. R., female, student of other programs)

On the contrary, for some of the English students an instrumentalist ideology was recognized as problematic, as they agreed that it was just an idealized expectation that other people have. Regarding this, the students mentioned that:

"La gente piensa que se te abren muchas puertas (…) socialmente se piensa que vas a estar salvado, que hablando otro idioma, y que eso sea inglés, tú como persona te salvaste al momento de encontrar pega." [People think that it opens doors (…) socially, it is believed that you will be saved, that speaking another language, and if this language is English, you will be successful when looking for a job] (J. T., female student of English).

"Claro, las personas siempre tienen como esta expectativa de 'no, si tú sabes inglés, vas a tener trabajo en todos lados, vas a poder viajar, vas a poder trabajar en el aeropuerto', pero a veces como que *la realidad no es así.*" [Sure, people always believe that 'if you know English, you will get a job everywhere, you will be able to travel, you will be able

to work at the airport', but sometimes *reality is not like that*] [Added emphasis] (M. L., female, student of English).

"Yo creo que estas expectativas vienen de las personas que no hablan inglés, porque quizás no tienen mucha cercanía con lo que es el campo laboral." [I think that these expectations come from people who do not speak English, maybe because they are not as close to the labor market] (M. L., female, student of English).

These students felt that the idea of English as being so beneficial and profitable was unrealistic and the result of lack of real experience in the field, however, this means that they recognize the presence of the ideology in the people around them, even if they are critical towards it. For Ushioda (2020) the instrumental value of English is in opposition to a cultural value. If we consider both as the ends of a spectrum, it can be concluded that only some of the students who are part of the English program stand closer to the cultural value end of it. This group of students is characterized as a group whose members use English commonly in their daily lives, be it inside the classroom or outside, so it could be inferred that in some cases they do not see it as much of a tool because it is much more integrated in their lives and they are able to see it as something that is part of their culture.

In general, the instrumentalist language ideology was present throughout most of the participants, who believed that learning English would prove to be beneficial for them. This ideology was either validated, accepted, or present in the participant's circles, leading them to reject it, however, this was the least common case. These findings were in agreement with previous studies regarding this ideology, and so they are another instance that demonstrates the way in which society and languages are related.

4.3.3. The Rationalist Ideology

Closely related to the instrumentalist ideology, this model was proposed by Dirk Geeraerts (2008) who states that, under this ideology, a standard language is understood as a neutral medium of participation and emancipation which would allow all speakers to mutually understand and communicate with each other as well as allowing for the spread of culture and education. This ideology took shape during the 18th century but still exists nowadays in a more

globalized version, where English has taken the place of a standard language at a global level. The idea of English language as a medium of participation was found present in our participants:

"También el cambio de idioma permite participar en comunidades de cosas que te gustan, que no necesariamente están en español." [Switching languages also allows you to participate in communities of things you like that are not necessarily in Spanish] (M. C., female, student of English).

"Como el inglés es más hablado por casi todo el mundo, es como el idioma que te enseñan en el colegio en diferentes países, claro, te abre a esta comunidad. (…) Claro, te expande totalmente a otras partes del mundo." [Since English is spoken almost all over the world, it is the language that is taught in schools in many countries, so it gives you access to that community. (…) Sure, it totally expands you to different parts of the world.] (M. P., female, student of English).

"Uno de repente tiene interés en algo, en una comunidad, y no necesariamente uno está ahí con personas que hablan inglés o que sean nativas, sino que son personas que al igual que tú están aprendiendo inglés, o tienen el mismo nivel que tú de inglés, y te comunicas con ellos." [Sometimes you are interested in something, in a community, and you are not necessarily there with people that speak English or that are native speakers, but they are people that, just like you, are learning English, or they have the same level of English that you do, and you can communicate with them] (L. V., female, student of English).

It is possible to identify that English is understood as a neutral medium that allows people to participate in the world. According to our participants, because English is used at a global level, it allows them to access a broader community, which is not necessarily English-speaking, but it is formed of different communities in the world. Another change that the rationalist model has suffered in the last years due to globalization is its considerations regarding varieties. In the earliest version, varieties were considered to be an impediment to the benefits of pursuing a standard. Because the discussion now has moved to a global level,

these varieties take the form of local languages, and rather than being understood as impediments, the new perspective considers multilingualism as a form of functional specialization. In today's world, different communicative situations require different languages, so multilingualism allows for people to be able to participate in these situations. In other words, people can choose to use one language for some purposes and another language for another purpose. Also relevant to this idea is that languages are considered a means of communication, as opposed to a means for expression of identity (Geeraerts, 2008). This idea was also present in the view of our interviewees:

"Yo tengo Reddit y uno se va metiendo como a los foros así que a uno le va interesando, y en mi caso me metí a un foro que se llama AskLatinAmerica, y ahí es pura gente de otros países latinoamericanos pero que se habla sólo en inglés en el foro. Y no sé, me puede contestar alguien de Perú, alguien de Argentina, pero me va a contestar en inglés, y la pregunta tiene que ser en inglés." [I have a Reddit account, and you can enter forums that are interesting to you, and in my case, I joined one that is called AskLatinAmerica, and it is full of Latin American people but you can only speak English in the forum. And, I don't know, someone from Peru can reply to you, or someone from Argentina, but it will be in English, and the questions must be in English] (V. M., female, student of other programs).

"Al menos desde el punto de vista académico, usualmente he estado leyendo harto en inglés, (...). Pero claro, o sea tener un intercambio de palabras con una persona en inglés, así como una conversación fluida es poco o nada." [At least from an academic point of view, I've been reading a lot in English (...). But sure, I mean, the situation where I exchange words in English with another person, as in a fluent conversation, is very rare or nonexistent] (O. M., male, student of other programs).

In these examples, it is possible to see that for students of other programs multilingualism is also recognized as functional. English language is associated as the neutral medium for participation in online platforms, or sometimes as the language for the spread of

knowledge, but it is not necessarily the medium for daily communication. Thus, the idea of different languages for different situations is present.

In general, participants see English as something that allows them to participate in a wider community, which is exactly one of the main aspects of the rationalist model. English is believed to provide access to more people, more information, more knowledge, because it is used as a neutral medium that permits mutual understanding. Functional multilingualism was also present, especially for students of other programs who may use English in a smaller but more specific set of situations.

4.3.4. The Romantic Ideology

Geeraerts' (2008) provides us the romantic ideology as a counterpart of the rationalist ideology. The romantic ideology is characterized as the view of language as the means of expressing an identity rather than as a means of communication. Hence, all language varieties are acknowledged and validated, since they allow for the expression of the speaker's own identity and worldview. For the students of English, this notion was present in bilingual practices, which is a regular form of speech that is a part of their identity, as it is said in the following quote:

> "Yo siento que en general [el Code-Switching] va a ser como parte de toda nuestra identidad de nosotres como estudiantes de inglés porque, como decía antes, es algo que el inglés forma parte de nuestra vida diaria." [I feel like [Code-Switching] will be a part of our whole identity as students of English, since, as I was saying, English is a part of our daily life] (K.S., female, student of English).

We can see how the student expressed that Code-Switching is valued as a marker for her own and her community's identity. In this sense, it can be understood that neither English-only nor Spanish-only would be good enough for expression of their identity, as they are not monolinguals, so it is through bilingual practices that full expression can be achieved. Regarding the embodiment of language varieties as a specific identity, Geeraerts mentioned that "a preference for one language or language variety rather than another implies that the specific identity of a specific group of people is neglected or denied" (2008). That way, since

some students feel identified with a monolingual speech mode, they neglect the bilingual speech mode as a language variety. In this sense, we found that one way in which bilingual practices allowed students to express their feelings in a truthful manner was the following:

"Cuando estás hablando en una lengua aprendida, y no sé po, estás enojado o tienes pena o quieres gritar, *normalmente utilizarías tu lengua materna* porque *emocionalmente hablando* como que *no hay ninguna palabra que reemplace el significado*, quizás, que tú quieres dar, *transmitir en esta lengua aprendida*, o no a la perfección." [When you are talking in a learnt language, and I don't know, you are angry o you are sad or you want to cry, *normally you would use you mother tongue* because, *emotionally speaking*, it seems there are *no words that can replace the meaning*, maybe, that you want to deliver, *to carry in this learnt language*, or not perfectly] [Added emphasis] (D.M., female , Student of English).

Here, the student explains how they prefer to switch to their mother tongue, which is related to the ability of expressing emotions and feelings in a more truthful manner, which could not be achieved through a learned language. Later on, they add:

"Relacionándolo con identidad... Es como *mi forma de conectar con mi propia cultura y mi emocionalidad a través de mi lenguaje*, porque se identifica conmigo de una forma que quizás en esta lengua aprendida no me podría identificar." [In relation to *identity*, it is kind of my way to *bond with my own culture and my emotionality through language*, because I feel identified with it in way that this learnt language maybe could not allow me] [Added emphasis] (D.M., female, student of English).

Thus, Spanish provides the opportunity to embody all of these sociocultural and identity elements (bonding with their own culture, expressing their own emotions, linking their thoughts and their expression of identity), and so it becomes a more familiar intermediary between the speaker's most authentic thoughts and feelings and the outside world, which could not be achieved by English. In relation to the concept of idiolect, a bilingual person would select which code to use according to the sociocultural context in which they are. That way, speakers can accommodate their language to what part of their identity they need

to express, drawing from all of their linguistic resources. A similar selection can be found in the following example:

> "Pero claro, cuando uno está con personas que no, que no están como en la misma sintonía, por decirlo así, con respecto a eso, quizás uno como que no sé, a veces uno pronuncia las palabras mal a propósito, porque todo el mundo, o sea, por ejemplo, nadie diría [məkˈdɒnldz], todos dirían [makˈɖonal] no más, entonces, porque así se entiende" [But yeah, when you are with someone that, in a way, is not on the same page as you, maybe you, I don't know, sometimes you mispronounce words on purpose, because everyone, I mean, for example, no one would say [məkˈdɒnldz], everyone would just say [makˈɖonal], so, because that is how it is understood] (I.E., female, student of English).

In this quote, we can see that there is consciousness, and even agency, about such selection of idiolect. It is expressed that this selection is not accidental or based on knowledge, but instead it is based on the speaker's wish to validate their identity as a member of a specific community through the purposeful selection of phonological features. In relation to the romantic ideology, Geeraerts adds: "If people may so to speak have different identities, they may use different languages to express those identities." (2008). Thus, it is possible to state that recognizing the switching of codes as useful for expressing different aspects of a person's identity comes from a romantic ideology of bilingualism.

For students of other programs, the romantic ideology is also present but with a rather monolingual focus based on Spanish. These students recognize Spanish as a way of adhering to the Chilean culture, as this student states regarding the influence of the English language:

> "Entonces creo que de a poco... Igual ha reafirmado un poco como la nacionalidad y la identidad nacional de las personas, como 'Ah, soy chileno, no voy a estar hablando inglés'." [So I believe that little by little... it has reaffirmed nationality a little as well, and the *national identity of people*, like 'Ah, I am Chilean, I'm not going to be speaking English'] [Added emphasis] (A.R., female, student of other programs).

From this idea, follows that English language and its influence are considered as a device derived from colonialism for the same purpose of continuing to dominate and restructure (oppress and exclude) language varieties and use. There appears to be a concern that it could, eventually, lead to language loss. This correlates with Geeraerts's (2008) model of the romantic ideology as well. As he explains, from this ideology, standard languages are considered to be a tool for oppression and exclusion, as they place the identity of users of non-standard varieties in a vulnerable position. This is what students mentioned regarding that idea:

"Bueno, de por sí, creo que [mis compañeros y yo] partimos de una base como de un odio generalizado a los yankees y al colonialismo, al uso del lenguaje, y que finalmente el lenguaje igual construye realidades. Y al final estamos dominados en muchos sentidos de nuestras vidas, y el lenguaje del inglés es una de las, como, principales razones por las que estamos como colonizados." [Well, I believe that [my classmates and I] start from the basis of some kind of *general hate* towards yankees and *colonialism*, to their language's use, and that, finally, *language also constructs reality*. And, in the end, *we are dominated* in many aspects of our lives, and *English language is one* of the *main reasons* why we are sort of *colonized*] [Added emphasis] (A.R., female, student of other programs).

"Igual... sería importante que esa, a lo mejor, *influencia del inglés en nuestro entorno se mantuviera sólo en el ambiente como del internet*, de las redes sociales, porque (…) *nos empezaría poco a poco a quitar un poco* de *identidad*" [It would be important though, maybe, that *the influence of English in our environment remained on the internet*, on social media, because (…), *it would start to strip away, little by little, some of* our *identity*] [Added emphasis] (D.C., male, student of English)

For these participants, English language is perceived as an instrument of exclusion and oppression that endangers their community's identity. In relation to this idea, May states that "If dominant language varieties come to occupy the public domains, minority language varieties tend to be delimited to private (familial, community) domains, resulting in a diglossic

language situation." (2017), the author adds that diglossia "might well lead, over time, to the eventual shift and loss of minority languages, even in multilingual communities" (May, 2017). Keeping May's idea in mind, we can say that participants were able to recognize the possible problem with the expansion of English language, and thus, a romantic valorization of Spanish language is perceived. Although English in Chile is not a majority language, at a global level it is, as it is considered the language of the world. In that sense, it is understood as a dominant language that little by little could come to displace the participant's mother tongue. In other words, English is perceived as an intrusive language that can affect Spanish use, status, and the sociocultural features (traditions, costumes, habits) they reference.

In general, the romantic ideology was present throughout the participants in two different ways: for the students of English, bilingual practices allow for the expression of their whole, complete identity. On the other hand, for students of other programs, language contact and the influence of English, in its role of dominant global language, were perceived as a threat to their local identity and their own mother tongue.

4.3.5. The Monolingual Ideology of Bilingualism

As explained by Grosjean (1985), a monolingual view of bilingualism considers that bilinguals are people who possess a high level of proficiency in their two languages, becoming two monolinguals in one person. From this viewpoint, a bilingual's language systems should remain separate and contact between them should be rare. Each language should be dominated at a monolingual level, and Code-Switching and borrowings are considered conscious and intentional, and often categorized as interference.

It is possible to see that students of English have found this ideology to be present in their surroundings. Because of the nature of the program, class interactions are not only encouraged to be in English, also they are made mandatory in some classes. This decision follows the idea of aiming for students to reach a high level of proficiency. This is a common pedagogical practice that understands immersion as a way of enhancing language proficiency acquisition, and thus, interference from other languages is discouraged. About this, it was mentioned:

"En inglesa los profes son bien paqueados con eso. Como '*inglés-only*.'" [In the English program, teachers are very strict about that. It's like *English-only*] (D. M., female, student of English).

"Como que en mi seminario, nuestra profesora como que no nos permitía hablar español, como que todo tenía que ser en inglés." [In my seminar class, our teacher would not let us speak Spanish, everything had to be in English] (M. L., female, student of English)

We can see in the previous quotes how the classroom is characterized as a mandatory English monolingual setting, Spanish use is strictly discouraged, and thus, bilingualism cannot take place. Considering the use of two languages as an interference means use of bilingual practices would interfere in the communicative situation.

As Grosjean states, "the ideal bilingual subject is the one who does as well in one language as in the other. All other subjects are somehow 'less bilingual'" (Grosjean, 1985). In the following quote, a student talks about this proficiency requirement for bilingualism:

"Tengo compañeres de sección [que llevan menos años en la carrera] y siento que están mucho más bajos en cuanto a vocabulario (…), me da más incomodidad el hablar en inglés porque siento que no va a existir una comunicación tan efectiva con el otre. [I have classmates [who have been in the program for less years] and I feel that they are at a much lower level regarding vocabulary (…), it is much more uncomfortable to speak in English because I feel like the is not going to be an effective communication with them] (R.V., female, student of English)

Thus, the student chooses to avoid conversation or interaction with other students or speakers because of the negative communicative expectations the student has from the level of English of others, which is in relation to a lower level of proficiency. This is an implication that a monolingual ideology has on individuals who will judge others and will not consider them bilingual enough to communicate.

Students of other programs also recognized contexts where a monolingual speech mode was inforced. For example:

"Yo tengo Reddit (…) y en mi caso me metí a un foro que se llama AskLatinAmerica (…) *pero que se habla sólo en inglés en el foro.* Y no sé, me puede contestar alguien de Perú, alguien de Argentina, pero *me va a contestar en inglés, y la pregunta tiene que ser en inglés. Es como una regla así formada.*" [I have a Reddit account (…) and in my case I joined a forum called AskLatinAmerica (…) but you can only speak English in the forum. And, I don't know, someone from Peru can reply to me, or someone from Argentina, but they will answer me in English, and the question must be in English. *It is like an established rule.*] [Added emphasis] (V.M., female, student of other programs).

"Cuando se trata de alguien que habla inglés como lengua materna (…) no te dejan escribir en otros idiomas, ni en español, ni en portugués, ni en nada. Te borran el mensaje directamente. En ese sentido son muy categóricos. Así como '*No. Solamente inglés.*'" [When it is about someone who speaks English as their mother tongue (…) they don't let you write in other languages, not in Spanish, nor in Portuguese, nor any other. They instantly delete your message. In that sense they are very categorical. Like '*No. English only*'"] [Added emphasis] (C.V., female, student of other programs).

Here, the idea of online groups, forums, and live streams as situations in which English is the main and mandatory language is mentioned. In said contexts, Spanish and other languages are considered to be intrusive, as they are under a monolingual ideology Both students use online services that allow them to interact with speakers of different languages. In this context, they make a difference between English and Latin-American Languages, in which English is the selected language to interact. On the other side of the communicative situation, and enclosed within the monolingual ideology, the English native speakers chose to limit the use of other languages apart from English, just as the teachers did for the students of English.

One of the consequences of the monolingual ideology on the perception of the bilingual speaker is that their skills have almost always been appraised in terms of the monolingual

standards (Grosjean, 1985) For that reason, there are students or speakers that their level of English is considered as insufficient. The students mentioned that:

"Cuando sales de esta carrera, no todas las personas salen con el mismo nivel. Algunas tienen un nivel mucho más grande, donde pueden optar a trabajos mucho mejores o mucho más fácil. Otras personas tienen que seguir estudiando para perfeccionar su inglés y optar... poder ahí recién optar a un trabajo." [When you graduate from this program, not all people get out with the same level. Some people have a much higher level, so they can opt to much better jobs, or access them more easily. Other people have to keep studying to improve their English and only then... you can look for a job] (M.L., female, student of English)

As a consequence of this, people who feel constrained in those situations can categorize themselves as less proficient, even when they are able to communicate in English, but because of a monolingual standard they may feel excluded and relegated to the background of the situation.

"Hay una persona que veía [en Twitch] y me costaba un poco entenderle porque su acento era británico, y no estaba tan familiarizada con ese tipo de acento. Entonces en esa instancia, yo solamente me limitaba como a escuchar y a lurkear. Estar desde las sombras y no participar tanto." [There was a person I used to watch [on Twitch], and it was a bit hard for me to understand them because their accent was British, and I wasn't so familiar with that kind of accent. So in that case, I would just listen and lurk. Kept myself in the shadows and did not participate as much] (C. V., female, student of other programs).

The lack of identification and familiarity with the language variety of an interlocutor suppresses the motivation to communicate with others and to participate in the interaction. It is worth mentioning that the mentioned online contexts are often multicultural and multilingual, but because of these constraints, communication with others is discouraged because of the expectations to reach native-like proficiency, which is the consequence of the monolingual view.

In general, the monolingual ideology was found present for participants of both communities in two different ways. On the one hand, both groups identified situations in which their linguistic repertoire was constrained by monolingual efforts. The students of English saw this realized through the prohibition of their bilingual speech during class, and for the students of other programs the most prominent context was online, where they felt unable to participate effectively in English monolingual situations, which for them was discouraging. This is explained as bilinguals' idiolect is made up of more linguistic features (Otheguy, García, & Reid, 2015), and the influence of the monolingual ideology was on what part of the idiolect they were able to use; for monolinguals, they faced situations where, in order to participate in multicultural contexts, they were forced to use a linguistic repertoire that they did not own.

On the other hand, and in relation to the previous idea, the monolingual ideology appeared to have a consequence on individuals' evaluation of themselves and of others regarding their proficiency. Not only did students of English feel not bilingual enough to get a job, but also students of other programs, who admitted to being able to speak English to some degree, felt their language skills lessened due the monolingual requirements of online situations.

4.3.6. The Bilingual Ideology of Bilingualism

As a counterpart of the monolingual ideology (See section 4.3.5), from a bilingual (or wholistic) view of bilingualism, bilingual speakers are considered to be not the sum of two monolingual speakers but a single speaker with developed competencies in both languages (Grosjean, 1985). From this view, the levels of proficiency of the languages will depend on the need for that language and it will be domain specific. An implication of this view is that the mixing of languages is not considered an impediment, but a way of speaking in and of itself instead.

We are able to find this ideology, especially in the participants that are students of English. These students recognized performing bilingually in their daily lives, and so it is not viewed as an impediment. For example:

"En mi seminario no hablamos en inglés. Entonces, ahí hacemos harto code-switching porque nos tenemos que referir a los tecnicismos que vamos a utilizar a la hora de escribir la tesis." [In my seminar class, we do not speak English. So, we do Code-Switching a lot, because we need to talk about technicisms that we are going to use when writing our thesis.] (K.S., female, student of English)

"Pero eso es como muy automático. Porque las personas a veces igual hablamos en inglés de forma como automática, decimos una palabra en inglés." [But it is very automatic. Because sometimes we speak in English automatically, we say a word in English] (M. P., female, student of English)

"Y de repente hacemos un spanglish medio ahí extraño y pasamos, no sé po, del inglés al español sin… como sin darnos cuenta a veces, o muy como naturalmente." [And sometimes we speak Spanglish and we switch, I don't know, from English to Spanish without realizing, or like, very naturally] (D. M., female, student of English)

As it can be seen, these students of English speak of a regular use of Code-Switching in different contexts. For Grosjean, "The bilingual uses the two languages – separately or together – for different purposes, in different domains of life, with different people." (1985). In other words, it is recognized that a bilingual person can switch from bilingual speech in some contexts to monolingual speech in others, and so, because this is not seen as complicated, these quotes show that the ideology is present. This idea was present as well in some cases where students of other programs who considered themselves as bilinguals:

"Y yo no me daba cuenta de que estaba, por ejemplo, haciendo el cambio de inglés a español o español a inglés." [And I wouldn't realize that I was, for example, switching from English to Spanish or from Spanish to English.] [Our emphasis] (V. M., female, student of other programs)

This understanding of the mixing of languages as something normal and not interference was also present in another type of situation, where the participants were not necessarily speaking, for example:

"Suelo leer noticias de la BBC que están en inglés, pero también es como hispanohablante, entonces hay como una mezcla. No es como activo porque yo la verdad es que no hago nada más aparte de leer, pero sí encuentro que quizás es algo que nos debe pasar como a todos. Ya sea como con noticias o hasta con un simple meme, igual hay un contacto con ambas lenguas. I usually read the news from the BBC and they are in English, but I also do it as a Spanish speaker, so there is mixing, in a way. It is not active, because I am not actually doing anything other than reading, but I do find that maybe it is something that happens to all of us. Whether it is with the news or with a simple meme, there still exists contact between both languages.] (C. M., female, student of English).

To conclude this section, we can say that in the students of English, and in other cases of bilingual participants, the most common model of bilingualism was bilingual, rather than monolingual. These students recognize their bilingual speech mode as one proper way of speaking, and they do not express that this way of speaking could be called interference, as it is more natural for them. For the majority of the students of other programs, this idea did not appear.

Chapter V: Discussion

Through common cultural and linguistic practices, Code-Switching appeared to be a factor that helped shape a bilingual community of students of English. Through this practice, members were able to communicate with each other and to express their identities in a comfortable and truthful way. Furthermore, this practice and the community are not purely linguistic, as they are both influenced and influencing the sociocultural context that encompasses them. Thus, the member's thoughts and opinions about their own practice and the situations that they encounter because of their practices are a reflection of this complex relationship between language, society, and identity.

The idea that English is a tool that appears to be almost automatically linked to success is quite prominent in our results. Academic success, better job opportunities, access to more communities, and a better quality of life, are some of the mentioned benefits that make the language such a necessary tool and skill to acquire in life. It is possible to link this idea to the hegemonic position of the language. English is the language of power, but it is not the language itself that has power, instead, it is the people that the language represents (Bourdieu, 1977) that people associate with it, that instills that idea in the minds of the people. In that sense English language is most commonly associated, not with any of the English-speaking countries, but to the United States and England in particular. Both of these countries have been holding a strong political, economic, cultural, and social power at a global level for centuries, thus, the idea that English, their language, has a higher status is a product of that relation.

From the same hegemonic relation, it follows that a monolingual ideology emerges, which makes individuals judge their bilingual skills in English in relation to the standard varieties of hegemonic countries. In that sense, our results showed that only after acquiring a certain level of proficiency, i.e., speaking more like a native speaker from England or the United States, people would be able to acquire the promised benefits. Thus, it is possible to see how all three ideologies worked together: The hegemony of the English language provides

the foundations for an instrumentalist ideology, and a monolingual ideology of bilingualism reinforces the hegemony of the associated countries through the requirement to be as similar to them as possible.

The monolingual ideology also affects the extent in which bilinguals feel free to express their identity, especially in certain contexts where their linguistic repertoire is being constrained. The monolingual bias of bilingualism has had such an effect that a bilingual speech mode is often perceived as a mistake, limiting the means for expression of identity of many people, and this idea was present in our results. Although research in the past few decades has been critical towards that idea, it is possible to see that it has yet to be adopted by the general population. As a consequence, a characteristic trait of members of the community was the awareness that their bilingual practices should only be limited to specific interlocutors, and contexts, especially within their own community, as a bilingual speech mode is often discouraged and negatively judged with others. This situation can be understood in three different ways: as the result of monolingual language ideology that has dominated bilingual research and pedagogy, as the result of the perceived superior status of an English bilingual speaker, and lastly as a communicative decision. All of these three factors appear to be highly influential on how bilinguals are constrained to express only a portion of their identity.

Consequently, within the studied bilingual community, a bilingualist romantic ideology is generated, which was highly prominent in these students. The use of a more free and diverse language repertoire allows the participants to express themselves fully and truthfully. By means of expressing themselves and considering the bilingual speech, not considered to be interference to be avoided, but as a continuum of different registers that are equally acknowledged and validated. Therefore, the identity of these students and their community can be said to have developed, to a certain extent, a bilingual view of bilingualism. It is not fully bilingual because of the deep and historical influence of the monolingual view, that has made some of its values to still be present, for example, in the form of proficiency assessment.

Trying to differentiate Code-Switching from other bilingual practices, such as borrowings, was found to be highly problematic. Both of these phenomena aim to describe situations in which a person includes elements coming from a different language in an utterance, so by their definition there is no clear distinction, as certain, arguably less prototypical, situations could be described by any of the two. In that sense, in this research, the participants' ideas were equally fuzzy since, often, single-word technicisms were mentioned as instances of Code-Switching and sometimes they were called borrowings. It can be interpreted that since borrowings are usually understood as not requiring a high English proficiency, the use of bilingual practices for non-English students was often characterized as a borrowing, while English speakers often referred to their own practices as Code-Switching, which is traditionally understood as requiring a higher level of proficiency.

What this problem shows us is that language theory and efforts towards generating concepts that describe what could be, at some point, referring to different practices, cannot be applied to all situations, as boundaries become undistinguishable and are subject to the valuation of the speaker. Furthermore, an underlying issue is that both concepts are under the influence of a monolingual view that insists on understanding languages as discrete separate systems, while in reality languages have fuzzy and indistinct boundaries. Thus, any concept that emerges as an effort to conceptualize language contact phenomena, and that assumes a clear distinction between languages, necessarily brings us back to the same issue of the fuzziness of language in non-standard and less prototypical situations.

To conclude, it is possible to see that the monolingual bias has had a strong impact over all language thought, ideologies, and theories. We can see its effect on the way it impacts bilinguals' self-assessment, in how bilinguals are constantly being judged in terms of how native they sound, and in how theories regarding linguistic concepts have been developed, including the concept of language itself. Through education, this monolingual bias has been traditionally instilled in people's perception of language, and in turn, this serves to perpetuate the hegemonic order of the world. Although these ideas have been challenged by some authors in the last decades, their impact has been so strong that these ideas are still present and it has

had implications on the social, cultural, and pedagogical spheres, as it was found in the analysis of the studied community's thoughts.

It would be useful that these discussions were given a focus in language teaching education since, as it was explained, the ideologies that are supported by education will have an impact on speakers' understanding of themselves and their social group and position, i.e., their identity. That way, it would be possible to challenge the negative hegemonic influence that we have been imposed on.

Chapter VI: Conclusion

Through this research, both the community of English students and students of other programs shared their thoughts featuring different notions of bilingual practices which were analyzed to characterize their use and understanding of Code-Switching. The objectives we proposed to guide the study were: to describe what are the sociocultural rules of Code-Switching in these students; to characterize the relationship between the culture of Code-Switching and the identity of its users; to analyze the social, cultural, and linguistic implications of the language ideologies found in this community; and to contrast the thoughts of students of an English-focused program and students of other programs regarding Code-Switching. In this section we will review how each of these objectives was achieved.

Regarding our first objective, it was found that, for students of English, Code-Switching is practiced in a wide set of contexts, such as school and social media, and for different purposes, such as for establishing a friendly environment, for making jokes, and for making cultural references. In other words, it was a cultural and identity practice. As it is used on a daily basis, in this group of students Code-Switching becomes a natural activity for communicating effortlessly.

In the case of the students of other programs, the uses were not as wide, as the use of bilingual practices in general was limited to the academic sphere, or to using some specific words like loan words, technicisms and anglicisms, i.e., English was only used when necessary. They often felt unable to interact in English, and when facing bilingual situations they felt uncomfortable, detached, and disconnected. This was not necessarily a consequence of lack of English language knowledge, or because they were not enrolled in an English-based program, since they were able to perform English in other contexts. Instead, it was guided by a lack of identification in its use, as it is not a part of their daily, common speech, or in other words, their culture.

Code-Switching did not appear as a common practice for the students of other programs, but instead borrowings were. What is interesting is that, regarding the mentioned

situations, often there is no clear theoretical distinction between both types of instances (Code-Switching or borrowing). It was interpreted that, because Code-Switching is understood as a highly bilingual practice and borrowings do not require that level of proficiency, students of English were more likely to recognize a bilingual use, and non-students of English were more likely to recognize the use of borrowings. This is an implication of the monolingual view of language that dictates that it is only after reaching a high level of proficiency that a speaker can be considered bilingual.

As a result of this differentiated identification, a speech community can be identified, formed by the students of English and in relation to this bilingual practice, which leads us to our second objective. It was clearly found that the students of English shared common practices, beliefs, values, and ideologies regarding language use. In that sense, bilingual practices associated with a higher level of proficiency allowed students to have a much more effective and fluent communication, and interaction with other members of their bilingual community was more comfortable due to their shared language. Monolingual contexts were perceived as less preferable, as students felt forced to constraint their linguistic repertoire, either to English-only in class or to Spanish-only. Thus, these students felt at conflict when interacting with people who were not perceived as part of the community, who did not have enough English language proficiency and would judge them for their bilingualism. On the other hand, bilingual contexts that allowed them to perform as such generated a much more comfortable environment for them because, in these, they did not feel like they had to explain or justify their language choices, they would not feel judged, and communication could be much more effective and fluent, by being able to switch. Because of this, language can be said to be a determining factor for this community, as it portrays the social function of language as a sociocultural device that affects the experience of speakers to express themselves. In the case of students of other programs, it could be seen that they did not feel a part of the same community the students of English belong to, generating aversion from these students to use bilingual speech or an English monolingual speech.

Regarding our third objective, the most prominent language ideologies present were the instrumentalist ideology in relation to the status of the English speaker and a monolingual view of bilingualism which was true for students of both groups, as well as the romantic ideology in relation to a bilingual view of bilingualism for the students of English and a monolingual view for the students of other programs.

For most students, the English language was regarded as a tool that provided students with social, economic, academic, and cultural benefits. It was commonly understood that learning English was equivalent to success and better opportunities. This idea was also associated with the hegemonic status of the English language, which is indexical of global power relations that provided the foundations for this instrumental ideology. For that reason, demonstrating a use of English or bilingual practices would be a marker of a higher social status, as evidenced by their self-consciousness about sounding arrogant when speaking English or that it would be a symbol of superiority. This was also influenced by a monolingual view of bilingualism which posits a monolingual level of proficiency as the measurement for being considered bilingual, but prioritizing monolinguals of hegemonic powers as the standard. Thus, all of these three ideologies are bound and working together in the perpetuation of this relationship.

Nevertheless, this idea was challenged by some of the students of English who, through their experience and knowledge acquired within the program, had understood that relation as an idealization.

In spite of the previous ideas, when it comes to the community's identity constitution and membership, the most influential ideology was the romantic ideology, which appeared with a bilingual view of bilingualism. This view appeared under a postmodernist approach which considers that multiple languages allow for the expression of fragmented identities, which is a consequence of globalization. In this way, students felt that sometimes their mother tongue was more appropriate for expressing their identity as it provided for a more authentic expression of feelings, and other times a bilingual speech mode was preferred.

In the case of the students of other programs, the romantic ideology was present as well, but linked to a monolingual ideology. For them, the monolingual communication between the students of other programs is by the use of their mother tongue, as they perceive themselves as effective communicators rather than when using two languages. English was perceived as a threat to their native language, which translated also into a threat to their identity. Thus, bilingualism is associated as an intrusive cultural element that endangers their own culture and values as speakers of Spanish.

Regarding the fourth and last objective, throughout this chapter, a contrast was provided between the students of both communities, where it was made evident that the identity and social, cultural, and linguistic ideologies are clearly distinct between members of both groups. The only exception to this distinction was instrumentalist ideology, which can be explained by the strong empirical influence of the hegemonic powers.

By doing this research we were able to gain a better understanding in how Code-Switching is understood in a community of bilingual students of English, providing with more information regarding its relationship with identity in non-immigrant contexts and where the general context is monolingual in Spanish. It was clear that, although English is not associated to the ethnic identity of the group, a community and a culture around this bilingual practice was developed, proving, once again, that language works as much more than a communicative device, and it also serves a social purpose, allowing for the expression of identity and creation of culture. The presence of the linguistic ideologies analyzed allowed us to see the complexity and impact that the influences coming from the social, cultural, and linguistic hegemonies have had on us.

Limitations & Further Research

Many limitations arose while doing this research. Due to the COVID-19 pandemic which has affected our lives since 2019, everything had to be done long-distance. This forced us to take certain measurements, particularly while conducting the focus groups. Although videoconference platforms such as Zoom and Meet allowed us to conduct the focus groups,

many considerations had to be made due to the online setting. Through these platforms, social interaction lacks the non-verbal communication, which is very relevant, especially when trying to get a group of people that do not know each other to get comfortable enough to talk about their ideas. Furthermore, because these platforms rely on an internet connection, connectivity issues were also a problem that could not be avoided, which at times gave way to communicative issues.

Another issue that we encountered was the lack of a more varied group of participants. Many efforts were made to find more participants that allowed us to conduct research that was as representative as possible. In that sense, we could not achieve that to the extent we would have liked, and most participants were identified as female students of English of the advanced cycle. Nevertheless, regarding gender, we decided that because our research was not gender-based, we could continue. Similarly, not many students of other programs were willing to participate. We believe that this may have happened because people thought they were not proficient enough in English to participate, even though we tried to make it clear that no level of proficiency was required as the interviews would be conducted in Spanish. However, due to time constraints we had to continue with the participants that we were able to gather.

Regarding the focus groups and group individual interviews, we tried to avoid providing participants with any definition of Code-Switching, nor with a differentiation among different bilingual practices. This was done with the purpose of avoiding any bias in their answers. That way, we would get a more natural interpretation of their understanding of bilingual practices. If we had provided them with a definition of Code-Switching, the participants' ideas would have been more limited, and the concepts would have been more difficult to develop. However, as a drawback, the variety of ideas that came up about these bilingual practices made the characterization of Code-Switching less dense and with fuzzy boundaries between other bilingual speech phenomena, such as borrowings and technicisms.

Finally, because we are part of the group targeted for this research, our own previous ideas and expectations regarding what results would emerge were a limitation that we were often trying to avoid. However, we believe that it is also important to recognize that this can

only be avoided up to a certain extent, since it is impossible to separate the researcher from reality and many of these ideologies are subconsciously instilled in every individual's mind, including our own.

For further discussion, we recommend that similar research be conducted with a stronger presence of participants of other communities, in order to get a more complex and complete understanding of how Spanish, in opposition to English, impacts the identity of speakers and how it relates to the influence of the English language. Because our sample of participants was also very homogenous regarding gender, we were unable to see if it had any impact on the phenomenon studied, so further research with a gender perspective is also recommended. Similar research could also be conducted in companion with corpus analysis. This would allow for a clearer understanding of what the bilingual practices that the participants are talking about are.

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Appendix A

Initials	Program	Current status of Completion	Gender	Age
K. S.	English Linguistics and Literature	Advanced cycle	Female	24
M. L.	English Linguistics and Literature	Advanced cycle	Female	24
R. V.	English Linguistics and Literature	Advanced cycle	Female	22
J. T.	English Linguistics and Literature	Advanced cycle	Female	21
M. P.	English Linguistics and Literature	Advanced cycle	Female	22
M. C.	English Linguistics and Literature	Initial cycle	Female	19
L. V.	English Linguistics and Literature	Advanced cycle	Female	24
C. F.	English Linguistics and Literature	Advanced cycle	Female	20
I. E.	English Linguistics and Literature	Initial cycle	Female	23
D. C.	English Linguistics and Literature	Initial cycle	Male	21
C. M.	English Linguistics and Literature	Advanced cycle	Female	21
D. M.	English Linguistics and Literature	Advanced cycle	Female	23
C. V.	Hispanic Language and Literature	Initial cycle	Female	23
V. M.	Hispanic Language and Literature	Initial cycle	Female	22
A. R.	History	Initial cycle	Female	19
K. C.	Hispanic Language and Literature	Advanced cycle	Female	20
O. M.	Philosophy	Advanced cycle	Male	22

Appendix B

Carta de Consentimiento Informado

Consentimiento Informado

Usted ha sido invitada(o) a participar en el estudio sobre uso de idioma inglés que está siendo ejecutado por Ignacio González y Daniela Verdugo. En el estudio se pretende reunir información sobre el uso del idioma inglés en la comunidad de estudiantes de la Universidad de Chile.

Para esto, le solicitamos su participación en un focus group en su calidad de estudiante de Lengua y Literatura Inglesa, dado su conocimiento acerca de prácticas bilingües en la comunidad. Esta conversación será grabada en audio y durará aproximadamente 30 minutos. Su participación es siempre voluntaria. En todo momento está en su pleno derecho de negarse a participar en cualquier parte de la conversación o retirarse de alguna actividad cuando lo desee, y sin tener que dar ninguna justificación ni razón para ello.

Toda la información que usted entregue será de absoluta confidencialidad y la publicación de los datos será anónima. Ante cualquier duda o consulta puede contactar a los responsables del estudio, Ignacio González (ignacio.gonzalez.v@ug.uchile.cl), o Daniela Verdugo (daniela.verdugo@ug.uchile.cl)

Declaración de Consentimiento

He sido invitado (a) a participar de este estudio y entiendo que mi participación consistirá en participar de un focus group. He tenido tiempo para hacer preguntas y se me ha contestado claramente. No tengo dudas sobre mi participación.

Acepto voluntariamente participar y sé que tengo el derecho a terminar mi participación en cualquier momento, sin tener que especificar razón alguna.

_____   _____

Firma participante   Firma investigador que

toma consentimiento

Fecha: 22 de Septiembre, 2021