The linguistic debate in Chile: ideologies and representations of languages and multilingual practices in the national online news

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Abstract

Linguistic ideologies, or beliefs about languages and their use, are key to dynamics and changes in language choice, language minorisation and death. Linguistic ideologies, especially those of monolingualism, have long been part of nation-states' policies (Shohamy, 2006; Fairclough, 2015) despite the prevalence of multilingualism in social domains (Meyerhoff, 2008). Chile, the context of this research project, is a multilingual country with a surprisingly limited amount of language legislation (Leclerc, 2015) most of which focuses on governmental plans to make Chile bilingual by 2030 (Minsegpres, Mineduc and Minec, 2014) and the foreign language education in schools, namely, the teaching of English, the only foreign language taught in public schools since 2010. At the same time, the use of indigenous languages is not regulated, and Spanish is the de facto official language. In view of such laissez-faire regulations of Chile's linguistic setting, it is crucial to explore public domains beyond language policy to explain the ongoing minoritisation of indigenous languages and the growth of the dominant languages.

Thus, this thesis examines how dominant and minoritised languages are represented in popular national online newspapers. The collected data includes 8877 news articles published in ten most widely-read Chilean online newspapers between 2010 and 2016 and containing references to Chile's local (Mapudungún, Rapa Nui, Aimara, Quechua, Yámana, Huilliche, Qawasqar, Kunza and Spanish) and foreign languages (English), as well as variously labelled multilingual practices, such as bilingualism and multilingualism. The time period for data collection was established due to the rising importance of language in indigenous issues (Rojas, 2016) and an increase of government's attention to foreign language education (Minsegpres et al. 2014) in these recent years. A corpus of 3 717 129 words was compiled to reveal how media represent languages and linguistic practices and what discursive strategies are used to conduct the metalinguistic debate.

Corpus-linguistic and critical discourse analytical tools were used to analyse the data. Quantitative tools were employed to establish frequencies, the statistical significance of the findings and their salience. Qualitative tools were employed for a close analysis of concordance lines, extracts and full texts. Quantitative steps of analysis were crucial to identifying the ideologies that underlie specific representations of languages and linguistic practices.

The findings spread across the communicative value of languages, their roles as group identity markers and market commodities. In terms of the communicative value of language, only English and Spanish were represented as tools of both written and spoken communication in the corpus. However, the communicative value of English is more salient than that of Spanish which indicates that the media are invested in the reproduction of discourses of the importance of communicative competence in English in line with the governmental educational policies. At the same time, indigenous languages of Chile are mainly represented as lacking communicative value as spoken varieties and completely detached from the written tradition. In fact, the only discussion of communication in indigenous languages had to do with discourses of endangerment and loss of speakers.

Findings also suggested a pattern in representations of languages as market commodities and identity markers: the more pride value a language has, the less 'profit' is attached to it. Indeed, while Mapudungun was represented as tied to a specific territory and group, English had almost no representation of 'pride' value whilst its market profitability was often highlighted in the corpus. Consequently, indigenous languages were represented as having no market value.

Regarding discourses about linguistic practices, bilingualism dominates the media coverage and is represented positively. Bilingualism is predominantly construed as an individual characteristic, whilst multilingualism is rather represented as a societal phenomenon. Interestingly, neither qualitative nor quantitative tools showed a link between bilingualism and Chile. The representation of linguistic diversity in the corpus was dominated by aspirations for recognition of linguistic and cultural diversity in Chile.

In terms of the discursive construction of these representations, the media tend to avoid explicit value judgements about languages and construct meaning in subtle ways through presuppositions which is indicative of their ideological underpinnings.

Overall, this thesis highlights the problematic from the linguistics point of view common-sense ideas in how languages are represented in Chilean online news, namely from the nationalist and monolingual ideological stances. To some extent, these media representations serve as a reflection of national language policies, where indigenous languages are made invisible and left to their own devices. On the other hand, English and Spanish are the focus of Chile's media attention which follows the government's pursuit of the elite bilingualism dream.

Epigraph

'A language is a dialect that got put up in the shop window'

(McWhorter, 2016)

'Any language can serve good and evil purposes, whether humane or monstrous ones'

(Phillipson, 2008a, p. 251)

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Contents

List of acronyms

ASALE	*Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española* (Association of Academies of the Spanish Language)
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CILE	*Congreso Internacional de la Lengua Española* (International Congress of the Spanish Language)
CL	Corpus Linguistics
CONADI	*Corporación Nacional de Desarrollo Indígena* (National Corporation of Indigenous Development)
DA	Discourse analysis
EIB	*Educación Intercultural Bilingüe* (Intercultural Bilingual Education)
INE	*Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas* (National Institute of Statistics)
KWIC	Key word in context
L1	First to the left; the term is used to describe the position of collocate in relation to the query term. In this thesis, the acronym is not used to refer to mother tongue or native language.
LP	Language Policy
MI	Mutual Information
MINEDUC	*Ministerio de Educación* (Ministry of Education)
PEIB	*Programa de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe* (Intercultural Bilingual Education Programme); this term in used in Chilean educational policies
QT	Query term
RAE	*Real Academia Española* (Royal Academy of Spanish)
WS7	WordSmith Tools 7.0.

In this thesis, cursive is used for quotes in languages other than English, and capitalisation is used for lemmas and query terms.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Chile is often regarded as a homogenous and monolingual Spanish-speaking nation (Cancino, 2013), especially when compared to other countries in South America. At the same time, the state legally recognises nine *etnias* or *pueblos indígenas* (indigenous ethnicities or peoples) and their languages in Chile. I moved to Chile in 2009, and the invisibility of this cultural and linguistic diversity surprised me. Later, as an English pedagogy student, I was even more puzzled by the neglect of these languages in the national curriculum at the time when English became one of the top education goals in the country.

The motivation and rationale for this research were determined by an ongoing debate on languages and rising movements of indigenous groups in Chile, as well as by the vast research gap in the field of media discourse and representations of languages and language ideologies in the Chilean context. Languages and language-related issues have long been overlooked in sociolinguistic research on the Chilean context. Whilst the questions of national and ethnic identity in Chile have been researched from the anthropological and historical perspectives (Larraín, 2001; Donoso, 2004), no studies to date have addressed the role that languages, national, indigenous and foreign, have played and continue to play in the political and social dynamics in the country. At the same time, whilst one understanding of nation is 'a state of spirit' in a community of communication, mass media are channels that promote a collective identity by creating a shared communicative space (Bartolomé, 2001, p. 9) with all the ideological foundations that underpin power relations in the society in general.

Therefore, this thesis provides an analysis of what languages and multilingualism in contemporary Chile mean as represented in online media discourse. The purpose of this work is to look at ALL languages of Chile, minoritised and dominant (see section 1.4 for discussion of the terms), to create a holistic account of ideas and beliefs about languages and multilingualism that circulate in the national media. The thesis also aims to investigate whose voices the media reproduce in the linguistic debate, how representations of languages relate to the ongoing growth and displacement of

languages in Chile and what role ideas about languages play in power relations in the specific national, historical, social and economic circumstances of the country.

Why is it important to study representations of languages? As Blommaert asserts, 'language *is being changed* by debates' (1999, p. 435). This means that the valorisations of languages in discourses affect speakers' ideas and beliefs about languages. We shape these ideas through interaction with people and public discourses, in which media currently play a central role. By observing linguistic debates in the media, no matter how marginal, we can gather evidence of how ideas about language evolve or stay the same over time.

Such analyses are important because it is impossible to change the status of a language without changing the ways we talk about it (Lo Bianco, 2008, 2009). Then, in order to change the situation of indigenous languages in Chile, it is necessary to consider the ways in which the media talk about them in present. As this chapter demonstrates, the invisibility of cultural diversity in the Chilean context goes together with minoritisation of indigenous languages, decrease in their use, taken for granted official status of Spanish and the government's urge to respond to global demands for the acquisition of English. Taking into account the growing prominence of new media in daily life, their importance in shaping these discourse cannot be underestimated. Also, if the new digital media have the potential to reverse the information flow and change power relations (Sayre *et al.*, 2010), it remains an open question whether Chilean online news contributes towards changing dominant discourses about languages.

Through the lens of media representations of languages and the ideologies that underpin them, this study presents debates about languages and multilingualism as a reflection of cultural and political tensions in Chile's post-colonial society. Ideologies of language are linkages between languages and group/personal identity, justice and social order (Woolard and Schieffelin, 1994). For this reason, representations of languages and language ideologies are a concern beyond the study of language and are invested into broader social issues: social mobility, social and economic stratification, poverty, equality in education, participation in political life. These affect numerous people, and in particular, people who do not fit the model of a 'nation's citizen' face struggles as an outcome of unequal nation-state order.

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Blommaert (1999) states that not all periods in history deem language of equal importance: there are rises and falls of interest and intervention into language affairs. However, what is clear is that the history of language is 'a story of people who use them, manipulate them, manufacture them, name them' (Blommaert, 1999, p. 425). This thesis looks at a large corpus of recent data (2010-2016) from online newspapers to quantitatively (corpus linguistics) and qualitatively (critical discourse analysis) examine how they contribute to the creation and spread of ideas about languages, an issue that has been under-researched in the Chilean context.

Regarding the research gap that motivated this study, the research on representations of languages and multilingualism mainly focused on European context and North America (Jaffe, 2007a; Milani, 2007; Piller and Cho, 2013; Vessey, 2016). When in Chile indigenous peoples and their languages have historically been a 'non-problem' for language planning and nation-building (Rojas, 2015), it is surprising that in other South American countries no similar research exists. This thesis aims to contribute to filling this gap, and, in doing so, also to give prominence to language issues as issues of distribution of power and social inequality in Chile. Findings presented in this thesis contribute to Chilean studies and more broadly to Latin American studies. This does not only include sociolinguistics, discourse analysis and corpus linguistics, but also social sciences more broadly.

It is also important to point out that in sociolinguistics, the study of language and the media have been excluded from the systematisation of the knowledge in the field. It has been regarded as a side influence of linguistic change but rather not considered a serious factor until recently when both mass media and computer-mediated communication gained more interest among sociolinguists (Androutsopolous, 2016). Then, this thesis aims to enrich the field of sociolinguistics by demonstrating the usefulness of media data for language ideology research.

The following section briefly introduces Chile as a nation-state, its demographics, the current linguistic situation and state language policy (LP). It also continues to outline the gap in research about languages and linguistic practices of Chile. Section 1.3 presents general information about the media in Chile. Section 1.4 discusses the current contentious issues and terms in sociolinguistics relevant to this study and my stance towards them as a researcher. Section 1.5 presents the research questions

that help fill the research gap outlined in this chapter. Section 1.6 describes the structure of this thesis.

1.2 Chile: history, demographics, linguistic diversity and language politics

Before delving into language issues in present-day Chile, it is necessary to briefly lay out the historical circumstances that preceded the current linguistic situation in Chile and the origins of present-day Chileans. Before 1536 when the Spanish colonisation of Chile started and brought the Spanish language to the country, Chile had been populated by a variety of discrete autochthonous peoples (Caistor, 1998). In the north, the territory of Chile was inhabited by the *Diaguitas*, *Atacameños*, *Collas* and *Aimaras* who were under the influence of the Inca Empire at the time. The central and southern parts were inhabited by the Mapuche groups – the *Mapuches*, *Pewenches*, *Williches*, *Picunches*, *Lafkenches* – from the Aconcagua river to the south and across the Andes in today's Argentina. In Patagonia, the canoe nomads *Chonos*, *Kawashkar* and *Yaganes* and land nomads *Aónikenk* and *Selknam*[1] lived. The Rapa Nui people inhabited The Rapa Nui Island (also known as Easter Island). It is located in the Pacific Ocean some 3800 km away from continental Chile.

The beginning of the formation of the nation-state in Chile was marked by the establishment of the first government – *Primera Junta Nacional de Gobierno* - in 1810 and eight years later Chile seized being the colony of Spain. All members of the Junta were *criollos*[2] from aristocratic colonial families of European origin as were most of the key figures in the independence of Chile. This was only the beginning of the establishment of the country's frontiers. The present-day borders (see Figure 1-1) are the result of multiple military confrontations, wars and treaties with the indigenous peoples (the conquest of Chiloé in 1826, establishment of Fort Bulnes to incorporate Magallanes region in 1843, 1861-1883 occupation of Araucanía, annexation of Rapa Nui in 1888 among others) and with neighbouring countries (e.g., the war of the Pacific in 1879-1883, the Peace treaty with Argentina in 1984).

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[1] Different spellings of names of ethnic groups and their languages can be encountered in different sources. See Appendix 1 for the full list of differing names and spellings for each indigenous people.
[2] This term is used to refer to the descendants of European colonisers who were born in the American colonies of Spain.

Figure 1-1 Map of Chile[3]

It is important to note that the establishment of borders and incorporation of territories into the new republic cost many lives, at times, of the whole peoples (e.g. the Selknam) as the state has treated them with repression and violence. Indeed, the Chilean state still treats the indigenous peoples of Chile violently, and deaths are common in confrontations with the police[4]. The conflict between the Mapuche people and the Chilean state is ongoing (Haughney, 2006) and is a salient issue on the national agenda and in the media (Bengoa, 1999; Richards, 2010; Del Valle, 2015). Like a century ago, the border disputes also continue (Chile-Bolivia sea border

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[3] Retrieved from https://www.lonelyplanet.es/america-del-sur/chile
[4] The most recent death was in November 2018 and a lawsuit for genocide of the Mapuche people against Chile and Argentina was presented in the international court (see https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/apr/12/indigenous-mapuche-accuse-chile-brazil-genocide)

dispute). Then, the history demonstrates how the borders as the pillars of nation-states change over time; and the constituting peoples struggle for survival, rights and recognition with the powerful, dominant group.

As borders were established, the Chilean nation was moulded ethnically, culturally and linguistically. Bengoa (2000) notes that in the 19th century, Chilean establishment tried to construe Chile as a western civilisation erasing the indigenous peoples from the national 'imaginary'. In the 20th century, the priority in nation-building was to create a unified nation with a single language and culture (Bengoa, 2000, p. 7). Because Chilean nation-state developed over the centuries as a profoundly unequal society (Bengoa 1999), it is not surprising that throughout history, the governments disregarded the demands for rights and recognition of indigenous peoples in Chile and excluded their languages and cultures from the national imaginary.

In fact, the discourses about indigenous peoples in the 19th century had the idea of 'civilising' as its central pillar (Bengoa, 1999). In order to justify the need to incorporate lands into the new Chilean state, the framing of indigenous peoples as 'underdeveloped' and 'barbaric' was employed by the powerful classes at the time. Moreover, this openly racist and discriminatory discourse was accompanied by reductionist policies of the state, oftentimes covert aimed at the extermination of the indigenous peoples (Pinto Rodríguez, 2003). There is evidence from the work of prominent writers and linguists of the time in Chile and elsewhere in South America that this discourse transcended the debates about language in the colonial and early republic times (Bengoa, 1999; Pinto Rodríguez, 2003; Grey Postero and Zamosc, 2006; Rojas, 2015).

The ethnic background of present-day Chileans is crucial for understanding the construct of Chile as a nation-state. Like state borders, it is also far from straightforward and uniform despite the government's campaigns to homogenise the nation throughout history. As anti-indigenous sentiments spread widely since the establishment of the republic (Crow, 2013) and the discourses of *blanqueamiento* (whitening) are still salient in Chile (Waldman Mitnick, 2004), we have to be sceptical of self-reported data on the ethnic background of Chile's nationals. At the same time, the census questionnaire only includes the nine indigenous peoples recognised by the Chilean state in the Law No. 19253 on the norms of protection, promotion and

development of the indigenous people (Mideplan, 1993)[5]. As the data in this study demonstrates, this list is not comprehensive and news reposting shows awareness of other indigenous groups and languages (see Appendix 9 and section 5.1 for an overview of references to different languages in the corpus). Figure 1-2 lists the legally recognised indigenous peoples of Chile. Appendix 1 presents the list of names of the indigenous peoples and their languages with alternative spellings.

- *Aimaras*
- *Atacameños*
- *Collas*
- *Diaguitas*
- *Kawashkar*
- *Mapuches*
- *Quechuas*
- *Rapa Nui*
- *Yaganes*

Figure 1-2 The indigenous peoples of Chile recognised in the Indigenous Law of 1993 (in alphabetic order)

The 1993 Law also established CONADI, *Corporación Nacional del Desarrollo Indígena*, a state institution aimed to attend to indigenous affairs in Chile. CONADI works with all indigenous peoples and covers the whole territory of the country in managing questions of return of lands and general issues of the indigenous development that allegedly has to happen via the strengthening of their culture and identity (Vergara, Foerster and Gundermann, 2005). In fact, the role of the institution is the realisation of points listed in the Indigenous Law[6].

Grebe (1998) points out that the existing profiles of the indigenous peoples produced by the state were not based on detailed and trustworthy information, i.e. they lacked the emic criteria, excluded smaller in numbers indigenous peoples and often used flawed census data (1998, p. 21). She also stresses that linguistic determinism

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[5] 67.874 respondents (3% of the indigenous population) did not belong to the indigenous peoples listed in the questionnaire.
[6] Language and education-related goals of the Law are listed on page 10 where language policies are discussed in more detail.

defined the classification of indigenous peoples in the country. This means that language loss tends to be interpreted as the disappearance of the indigenous people, even though the community maintains other cultural practices. For example, the Huilliche people are not considered a separate people in the Indigenous Law and the Huilliche language is often considered a variety of Mapudungun (Sadowsky *et al.*, 2015; Loncon Antileo, 2017).

In 2017 out of 17.6 million population of Chile 2.2 million (about 13%) declared to belong to an indigenous ethnic group, a number which went up by 2% since the last census (INE, 2013, 2018). Santiago and the metropolitan region concentrate the largest indigenous population in the country with about 700.000 people who declared indigenous origins there. The rest of the population (about 85%) can be regarded as 'Chileans' in the sense of unified and popular nation project adapted in the 20th century (Bengoa, 2000)[7].

The increase of indigenous population since the last census shows that the attitude towards indigeneity has changed over two centuries of Chile's independence. The fact that more people self-declare belonging to an indigenous group demonstrates its positive revalorisation. This means that negative discourses around the indigenous people have evolved from extremely racist, exclusionary and discriminatory to more inclusive and, in the least, politically correct. Indeed, Foerster and Vergara (2000) point out that in the 1990s, the Chilean government radically changed its approach to the relationship with the indigenous peoples by for the first time acknowledging them as the roots of the Chilean nation and an important part of its social diversity. Although not much has changed in practical terms, it clearly marks a shift in official discourses about indigenous peoples of Chile.

Regarding the make-up of the indigenous population of Chile, the Mapuche represent the most numerous people and make up 80% of the total (INE, 2018). The Mapuche are the most politically involved indigenous people of Chile. The Aimara are the second largest people and make up 7% of the total of the indigenous population (INE, 2018). Like the Mapuche who spread across the Andes in Argentina, the Aimara is a transborder people that is present in Bolivia and Peru in significantly

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[7] This does not mean that indigenous peoples do not consider themselves Chilean; the census questionnaire only differentiates nine indigenous groups and no questions about national identity are listed in the questionnaire.

higher numbers. Other indigenous peoples in Chile are not as numerous, and each makes up less than 5% of the national total.

The Mapuche as the voice of the indigenous peoples of Chile – how they act on behalf of other peoples and fight for rights and recognition of all indigenous peoples in the country. Due to the high numbers of the Mapuche in the country, they represent the most politically active indigenous people not only in Chile but also in Argentina. As they make up a critical mass among the indigenous minorities, it makes them a symbol of indigenous resistance in the Southern Cone region. Their demands are shared by other indigenous peoples in Chile. Overall, the Mapuche movement has developed around the *campesino* demands (return of indigenous lands, improvements in infrastructure, resistance to major economic projects in forestry, mining and hydroelectric plants, etc), the ethnic demands (respect towards the indigenous identity, appropriate education and the official status of Mapudungun among others) (Foerster and Vergara, 2000); and the ethnonational recognition demands (territorial autonomy, representation of the indigenous peoples in the parliament, freedom of indigenous political prisoners, indigenous consultation as a form of political participation) (Meza-Lopehandía, 2019).

In terms of indigenous languages, only six languages are spoken in Chile (Mapudungun, Aimara, Quechua, Rapa Nui, Kawesqar and Yagan) and one is in the process of revival (Kunza). All indigenous languages of Chile have been to a great extent displaced by Spanish. The UNESCO's and Ethnologue's evaluations of the vitality of indigenous languages of Chile are alarming (Appendix 2 presents tentative data on language vitality and numbers of speakers). To use Mapudungun as an example, its sociolinguistic situation is characterised by low numbers of monolingual speakers, a significant number of bilinguals Mapudungun-Spanish with different levels of proficiency in both and a large number of monolinguals in Spanish (FUNPROEIB Andes and UNICEF, 2009, p. 130). Education is one of the nation-state's tools for homogenising population that plays a crucial role in the displacement of indigenous languages[8]: if thirty years ago more than half of the Mapuche children entering school were monolingual in Mapudungun, now almost all of them start education as monolinguals in Spanish (FUNPROEIB Andes and UNICEF, 2009). Incorporation of the indigenous peoples into the capitalist endeavours of the nation-

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[8] Language education policy is presented on page 12.

state also resulted in 'chileanisation' of the Aimaras who worked in saltpetre mines after Chile incorporated their lands into the nation-state (Donoso, 2004; Mamani, 2005).

However, in recent years, the attention of indigenous activists and academics has been drawn to indigenous languages as one tool of political fight for rights within the nation-state. The decay of indigenous languages fired up the concern for the rights to language and communication among the Mapuche, and bottom-up efforts have been made to elevate the status of Mapudungun and expand its domains of use. for instance, Mapudungun has so far acquired official status in the communes of Galvarino (in 2013) and Padre Las Casas (in 2014). Among others, current demands include (1) demands of inclusion into the curriculum in the region of Araucanía beyond the existing programme of intercultural bilingual education and (2) granting official status in the whole region. These are relatively recent developments in LP for Mapudungun from the bottom-up.

Regarding the academic research gap in the field of LP and representations of indigenous peoples and languages in Chile, a body of studies exist that focus mainly on the Mapuche: their public discourses (Carrasco Muñoz, 2000, 2002, 2005), discriminatory and racist discourses about the Mapuche (Merino, 2007; Merino *et al.*, 2009), media representations of the conflict between the Mapuche and the Chilean state[9] (Muñoz Román, 2010; Richards, 2010). Some research has also been done on the social construction of Mapudungun by the Mapuche and Chilean social actors (Lagos Fernández, 2010, 2012), language ideologies (Lagos Fernández, Espinoza and Rojas, 2013; Rojas, Lagos Fernández and Espinoza, 2016) and linguistic attitudes towards Mapudungun (Gundermann, 2014), the role of Mapudungun in ethnic and national identity (Gissi Barbieri, 2010; Crow, 2015) and on the revitalisation of the language (Catrileo, 2005). Beyond the work of academics, Crow (2015) asserts that Mapudungun 'is far from being an invisible language' (2015, p. 53). Also, despite the decreasing numbers of speakers, Mapudungun maintains some traditional domains of use, such as the prayers and other rituals (Loncon Antileo, 2017). Overall, most of these studies show that Mapudungun exists in diglossic conditions as a minoritised and oppressed language, and its social functions are restricted.

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[9] For an overview of the Mapuche movement in the post-dictatorship Chile see
Padilla Pairican, F. (2014) *Malon: la rebelión del movimiento mapuche, 1990-2013*. Santiago: Pehuén.

However, other indigenous languages are not as widely covered in academic research and are significantly less 'visible' in that sense. Some work has been done on discourses about identity in the north of Chile and the role of the indigenous peoples, the *Aimaras*, *Atacameños* and *Collas*, in it (Gundermann, 1999, 2000, 2014; Rodríguez Venegas and Duarte Hidalgo, 2018). No studies about the representations of indigenous languages or associated language attitudes were identified: the academic literature mostly focuses on describing the varieties or their current state and status (Zúñiga, 2006, 2007; Gundermann, González and Vergara, 2007). Specific studies on representations of languages of Chile are presented in detail in section 3.6. of Chapter Three.

Interestingly, representations of immigrants in the Chilean press have attracted some attention in academic research (Stefoni, 2001; Staab and Maher, 2008; Browne Sartori and Romero Lizama, 2010; Liberona Concha, 2015). This is caused by an increase of news coverage on immigrants in Chile, and media tend to problematise the influx of immigrants in Chile making the news a site where racial and nationalist discourses become legitimised very much in line with the right-wing press in other countries (Gabrielatos and Baker, 2008; Baker, Gabrielatos and McEnery, 2013). Immigrants who make up 2% of Chile's population represent another group of the population that diversify the cultural and ethnic background of the country. The majority of them are nationals of Peru, Colombia, Venezuela[10] and Bolivia (INE, 2018).

To sum up the current demographic situation in Chile, the majority of its population is either *mestizo*[11] or *criollo* by ethnic background. As in the case with numbers of speakers of languages, data on the ethnic background is self-reported and, hence, should be treated with caution. Especially so, when much of what is known is based on the racial thinking of 19th century and is reflected in the work of Chilean authors of the time (Gutiérrez, 2010). Then, having discussed the history of nation-state establishment and the demographics of Chile, the question arises: how is this reflected on language policies in the country?

Despite the presence of multiple languages in Chile (FUNPROEIB Andes & UNICEF, 2009), the country is predominantly Spanish-speaking, and Spanish is a *de facto*

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[10] With the crisis in Venezuela; the number of Venezuelan migrants on temporary visas has tripled from 2015 to 2016 (Silva Dittborn and Ballesteros Valdés, 2017).
[11] Mestizo is a term applied in reference to persons born from parents of different races.

official language. Leclerc (2015) notes a lack of official language policy, i.e. written laws and regulations that would have an impact on functions, use and acquisition of languages (Cassels Johnson, 2013). Indeed, the Constitution of Chile (from 1980) does not mention any national or official languages. All the laws that mention language use in their wording are summarised in Table 1-1.

Table 1-1 shows that the limited language legislation in the country demonstrates the dominance of Spanish as common-sense and taken for granted. However, the absence of explicit linguistic policies does not mean that Spanish established itself as dominant in a neutral way in Chile and the Americas. Hidalgo (2006) describes how in colonial Mexico Spanish was imposed through most influential domains of language use, which among others included political administration and communication with the public. Using the example of Quechua and Aimara, Heath & Laprade (1982) show how colonial language policies imposing Spanish had an enormous impact on the displacement of these two languages. The policies of castilianisation in Latin America became systematic in the 18th century (von Gleich, 2010) and penetrated all spheres of life of the local population even when explicit language policies were lacking or absent.

Tourism (2011)	- provide information about services in at least two languages, Spanish and English
Education (1990, 2009)	- use the Spanish language[12] correctly in both oral and written forms as one of the main objectives of schooling - optional indigenous languages module (also known as *Educación Intercultural Bilingue*) in schools with at least 20% of students of indigenous ancestry[13]
Language use in courts and civil marriage ceremonies (2004)	- an interpreter must be provided for those who do not speak Spanish
Entertainment (1980)[14]	- 85% of artistic performances in Spanish must be carried out by Chilean nationals

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[12] The law does not specify the variety of Spanish, but it is implicit that it refers to the Chilean standard as proposed in the textbooks published by MINEDUC.
[13] The language taught is defined by the ancestry of the indigenous students, e.g. in schools where at least 20% are Mapuche, Mapudungun is taught.
[14] The law on live artistic performances on the radio, TV, theatres, social clubs and other entertainment contexts (Full text available at https://www.leychile.cl/Navegar?idNorma=29016)

Surprisingly, one law establishes obligatory use of English in tourism alongside Spanish, and this legally institutionalises the use of a foreign language. Introduction of such law shows the importance given to English in Chile and the government's will to legislate language use. This is a significant step in language legislation for a country where the use of indigenous languages is not regulated, and linguistic rights of *pueblos originarios* are not protected by the Indigenous Law. In fact, in terms of use of indigenous languages the law provides a vague formulation of what the state commits to achieving for indigenous languages: '*El reconocimiento, respeto y protección de las culturas e idiomas indígenas contemplará: a) el uso y conservación de los idiomas indígenas, junto al español en las áreas de alta densidad indígena* (Mideplan, 1993, art. 28). Remarkably, the wording of the law points to the density of the indigenous population for protection and conservation of languages. Such an approach does not do justice to the realities of Chile's indigenous peoples and does not outline what density is considered sufficient to expect state support. Other measures of support include the establishment of a national educational programme, help in the creation of media in indigenous languages, promotion of cultural and artistic expression, the establishment of indigenous languages, cultures and history departments in universities (Mideplan, 1993).

However, not much of what is listed above came into being since 1993. Only one department of indigenous languages was created at Universidad de Chile in 2012[15]. Regarding the national educational programme that would promote the use of indigenous languages, *Educación Intercultural Bilingue* (EIB or PEIB) only targets students that declare indigenous origin and in schools where at least 20% of students are indigenous (MINEDUC, no date a). Indigenous language module is also optional for indigenous students to choose. In these conditions, the programme does not have the potential to reach a NATIONAL level of coverage that it aimed to be in the first place.

Chile was one of the last countries in Latin America that incorporated EIB programme as late as the 1990s (FUNPROEIB Andes and UNICEF, 2009). Also, the existing PEIB is based on the transitional bilingualism model, where indigenous languages were taught to facilitate the learning of Spanish. Loncon Antileo (2010) also stresses

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[15]The purpose of *Cátedra Indígena* is to promote and exchange the indigenous knowledge with the general public (http://www.uchileindigena.cl/quienes-somos/)

that in terms of indigenous language education, Chile is behind other countries in South America. For example, although not entirely unproblematic (Schmelkes, 2009), in Mexico studying indigenous languages is possible at the university level, language learning programmes are long established, and organisations dedicated to the protection of linguistic rights of indigenous peoples exist.

At the same time, PEIB in Chile faces financial difficulties and mechanisms of appropriate teacher training, among other issues (Lagos Fernández, 2013). Indeed, as Lagos Fernández (2013) stresses using the example of the Mapuche students enrolled in EIB in Santiago, the programme does not help the acquisition of indigenous languages but serves instead as another tool of discrimination. This is because (1) it aims to make the indigenous peoples intercultural even though they already are [as carriers of both indigenous and nation-state cultural characteristics]; (2) represents an additional subject-matter that marks a cultural difference between students that is not valued in national curriculum. Riedermann Fuentes (2008) also underlines that the programme does not address the issues of discrimination, racism and undervaluation of the indigenous people in Chilean majoritarian culture.

At the same time, non-indigenous students get to spend time learning other subjects that are construed as having a higher priority in educational discourses (MINEDUC, 2004). One of such subjects is English, and it was proclaimed the national goal in 2014 (MINSEGPRES, MINEDUC and MINEC, 2014) while since 2010 it has been the only foreign language taught in public schools. English is also the subject that is evaluated by the Agency of Quality in Education along with maths, reading skills and natural sciences. While there is no explicit legislation that would make learning English obligatory since 2010, the Ministry of Education (MINEDUC) only issues learning programmes[16] for English and stopped publishing programmes for other foreign languages. Therefore, via covert and implicit mechanisms, foreign language education in Chile became limited to the teaching of English.

Other initiatives that are financed by the government promote the teaching of English and have a national outreach. For instance, the long-established *English Opens Doors* programme brings native speakers of English to Chilean schools to assist teachers in the classroom. *We Learn* programme provides training for teachers and

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[16] These include learning goals and contents for teachers to achieve each academic year. These are available for both primary and secondary school levels and schools are encouraged to start teaching English as early as possible.

school managers and *Inglés para Porvenir* that focuses on the promotion of teaching English to young learners[17] (MINEDUC, no date b), to name a few.

This enormous effort to promote English in the 2000s is often justified in public discourse by pressures of globalisation and the need to achieve economic success at the state level (MINSEGPRES, MINEDUC and MINEC, 2014). Indeed, it has been claimed that Chile is trying to respond to the demands of knowledge of English as a tool of international communication (Rohter, 2015) and a language of power and access to information and scientific progress (Fábrega, 2006). The belief that English can improve the country's economic competitiveness is not only reflected in educational policies but also in digital media (EducarChile, no date; Chile Hoy, 2011) which makes online news an attractive domain for exploration of discourses about English in Chile.

However, these efforts have not yet been successful, and census data suggests Chileans' quite modest familiarity with the language: only 9.5%[18] reported being able to maintain a conversation in English (INE, 2013)[19]. Similarly, at least 53% of students in the penultimate year of school do not achieve A1 level of proficiency in English[20] , and only about 12% achieve intermediate B1 level (Agencia de Calidad de la Educación, 2014). This means that a clear majority of Chilean students leave school without sufficient knowledge to use the language at a basic level.

Having overviewed the existing explicit and implicit language policing efforts in the country, these can be summarised as follows. Firstly, the strategy that Chilean government adopted in relation to indigenous languages is that of "benign neglect" (Wright, 2003) which means that the state leaves languages to the mercy of their speakers and external circumstances that the state covertly establishes. Top-down legislation for indigenous languages is limited to symbolic actions that make no positive impact on the state of languages or the status of minoritised peoples in Chile. The existing language policies do not consider it a right to speak and learn a language; in fact, the government started to discuss a project of law on language

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[17] Updated information on new initiatives is provided by the Ministry of Education (see https://ingles.mineduc.cl/)

[18] Within these 10% the predominant age groups are 15-29 year olds (664.257 persons) and 30-44 year olds (437.453 persons).

[19] 2017 Census questionnaire did not include the question about competence in English.

[20] The test measure only the listening and reading skills and uses CEFR framework to determine levels.

rights for the indigenous people as recently as April 2017 (Meza-Lopehandía, 2017), and it still remains at the stage of a project.

Despite these adversities, indigenous peoples challenge the uniform image of Chilean nation-state, and their languages disrupt the monolingual linguistic picture of Chile. Although it is often assumed that 'the 'national question' for most Latin American countries had been largely settled by the beginning of the twentieth century', indigenous movements continue to challenge the state and claim the collective rights of land, language and education (Haughney, 2006, p. 8), as is the case all over the continent (Warren and Jackson, 2002). In contrast, Stavenhagen (2010) asserts that the way in which the indigenous peoples have been treated in Chile until now is as 'outsiders' who do not make part of the 'civilised' society and represent something culturally foreign to the European-centrist model of the nation. This is very different from, for example, Peru and Mexico, where *indigenista* movements are prominent and have been used for building the sense of national identity (Chang-Rodríguez, 1984; Korsbaek and Sámano- Renetería, 2008). Crow (2013) claims that in post-dictatorship Chile (from 1990 onwards) political discourse and government's initiatives regarding indigenous peoples had the purpose of creating an image of a "harmoniously multicultural Chile". Then, there is a gap to be filled in relation to how indigenous languages fit and are constructed in the national imaginary of Chile in public discourses.

Secondly, the supremacy of Spanish in society is implicit and presupposed in state policies. The role of Spanish as a national and state language is a premise of all language legislation, implicit and explicit. This vision was established since the colonial times and the early independence period: indigenous languages of Chile never represented a problematic issue for the Spanish-speaking elites; they were not even considered in the debate on the official language of the country (Rojas, 2015, p. 88). Because of this image of Spanish as an obvious choice in language legislation throughout history, its representations make up yet another research gap as it remains unclear how the language is construed to be a founding pillar of the Chilean nation-state.

Finally, English seems to play a crucial role in the country as the government not only passes legislation to promote teaching and learning of the language but also invests financially to support the numerous initiatives described in this section. From the

government's point of view, English is closely associated with globalisation and economic success and lays the path to more successful capitalism for the country. However, the policies have not so far been as successful, and the strategy to make Chile bilingual by 2030 seems unattainable. Because the 'campaign' for English is quite recent, even less is known about how the language is construed in public discourses and how it fits into the linguistic picture of modern Chile.

1.3 The media in Chile

In Chile, the mass media represent central agents in the making of 'common sense' and the spread of dominant discourses in society (Santa Cruz Grau and Olmedo, 2012). Santa Cruz Grau & Olmedo (ibid.) assert that the autonomy of the media in Chile is partial due to their condition of business enterprises that need to obtain financial gains from their work (as do other media elsewhere in the world). This speaks of the enormous power that mass media have over people's minds while they are not entirely free financially. The purpose of this section is to present the particularities of mass media in Chile, including the online media, and tendencies in media consumption in general terms.

In their 'x-ray screening' of the Chilean media, Jiménez & Muñoz (2008) note a high degree of their centralisation at the political, economic and territorial levels which means that they concentrate enormous power. Indeed, in terms of ownership, if we look at the printed press in Chile, two conglomerates, *El Mercurio* and *COPESA,* control all nationally distributed newspapers[21] and almost all regional newspapers (Browne Sartori and Castillo Hinojosa, 2013; Mellado *et al.*, 2018). Both conglomerates are conservative leaning in their political affiliation. Indeed, both *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera* are considered traditional and conservative newspapers as is the Chilean printed press in general (Browne Sartori and Castillo Hinojosa, 2013, p. 247). Such homogeneity in the ownership of the media and their close ties to the market represents a threat to freedom of speech and expression in Chile. Although in free market conditions national media are independent of state control, they are managed by the economically powerful, and less dominant voices are absent from news reporting due to the lack of resources to establish influential mass media with a different mission and vision (Couso, 2012). These less visible mechanisms of

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[21] There are five newspapers of national circulation: *El Mercurio, La Segunda, Las Últimas Noticias* (owned by *El Mercurio* conglomerate) and *La Tercera and La Cuarta* (owned by COPESA).

silencing of actors and topics are more effective than those of the state due to their covert nature.

Regarding links of the media conglomerates and the market, their owners possess other large businesses in different economic sectors (Mellado *et al.*, 2018) which suggests financial ties of the national newspapers with the most powerful and wealthy classes in the country. These conglomerates also incorporate other media, including television and online newspapers (Jiménez and Muñoz, 2008). The fact that only two conglomerates control most media in the country speaks of lack of pluralism in the media landscape and even ideological monopoly on the news market. In her influential journalistic investigation into the 'magnates of the Chilean press', Olivia Monckenberg (2011) gives evidence of the enormous influence the participants of these conglomerates have had and still have beyond the media sector in Chile and how they employ their media outlets to advance their economic interests.

However, more and more people go online to look for information, and the number of consumers of print newspapers is decreasing (Bennett, 2016, p. 7). In Chile, internet access covers 95% of the territory of the country and 77.5% of the population are estimated to have access to the Internet (Internet World Stats, 2019). Online news is the fourth most used medium of communication after open TV, radio and cable TV, and its readership slightly exceeds that of print newspapers (Hasbún-Mancilla *et al.*, 2017, p. 168). At the same time, online news enjoys a similar level of readers' trust and credibility as the printed press; it is also perceived as an independent source of information that has a similar level of quality as print newspapers[22] (ibid.).

Also, Mellado *et al.* (2018) stress that in digital journalism in Chile, the picture is a lot more varied in terms of economic and political affiliation. Although some national newspapers have a satellite online news website (e.g. *Emol.com* for *El Mercurio* newspaper and *LaTercera.com* for *La Tercera*), many digital newspapers do not belong to any conglomerate which suggests that they are economically less powerful. This means fewer resources for expenses and heavier reliance on newswires (Mellado *et al.*, 2018, p. 15). In their analysis of the content and functions of the media in Chile, Mellado & Lagos (2014) found that both print and digital press in Chile function more as disseminators of information rather than as interventionists: this means, news stories tend to be more information dense rather than intending to

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[22] A description of particularities of online newspapers is given in Chapter Three, Seection 3.3

draw readers' attention to a particular problem and its potential solution. At the same time, they note salience of the entertainment function of online news. In terms of pluralism in reporting, presentation of diverse points of view and political opinions, respondents evaluated news websites with 7.9 out of 10; radio services received the same mark, followed by cable TV (7.6), open TV (7.3), print newspapers (7.1) and magazines (7.1) (UDP, 2011).

Overall, online news seems to represent an accessible alternative source of information that is in some aspects outpaces the printed press and the 'sensationalist television' (Monckeberg, 2011, p. ii). Whilst researchers looked at newspaper articles and editorials to investigate topics ranging from climate change to the national vision of education (Santa Cruz Grau and Olmedo, 2012; Hasbún-Mancilla *et al.*, 2017), no studies have so far addressed representations of Chile's languages and language ideologies in Chilean media and their role in dissemination of such discourses among the general public. For this reason, online news is a new source of data on the issue that is gaining popularity among Chileans. Studies on the role of the media in the linguistic debate are presented in sections 3.2 and 3.3. Section 4.4 in Chapter Four provides a detailed background of news websites used for data collection.

1.4 Positionality of the researcher regarding the current contentious issues in sociolinguistics

As mentioned in 1.1, the personal motivation to pursue this study developed from my experiences as an immigrant in Chile and a university student of TESOL. At the same time, my linguistic background and language experience in Belarus where I come from made me reflect on the sociolinguistic situation in Chile: the Belarusian language is minoritised in Belarus as a result of governmental policies of russification which I have experienced myself. It may sound surprising that a national language is oppressed in a nation-state, but this was made possible in Belarus thanks to the political will to construe Belarusian negatively. In a way it represents the continuation of colonisation policies of the Russian Empire and the USSR, and a similar internal colonisation (Cancino, 2013) has been carried out by the Chilean government throughout history in the ways it has treated languages, its vision of multilingualism and the ideas and beliefs about languages that it made dominant within the nation-

state paradigm. These ideas and beliefs have to do with how we conceptualise languages and language-related phenomena.

It is still common to see definitions of language as structured systems with clearly established boundaries, as countable and separate entities with distinguishable names. However, the debate about definitions of this central concept in sociolinguistics is ongoing. In a conversation with a tour guide in Bohol, the Philippines, to my question about the languages spoken on the island she replied: 'O*ur national language is Tagalog, but there are so many other dialects spoken here, and they are so different it is impossible to understand!*' My tour guide had it very clear: language is superior to dialect[23] in the linguistic hierarchy, and a national variety has the right to be called language while local languages, despite their perceived incomprehensibility, are reduced to the label of dialect. For her, the definitions of language and dialect are unambiguous and straightforward: she did not doubt a second to place Tagalog at the top of the linguistic ranking. From the perspective of an aspiring linguist, this was a puzzling response to hear as it had little to do with language as a subject of a scientific study but was instead based a lot more on the historical, social and political dimensions of language as a human-made product.

Then, understanding of language(s) in linguistics stretches between two poles: language as a rigid system and language as a social practice, and it is necessary to mark the researcher's stand on this continuum. As a researcher, I wanted to have a neatly defined object of study that I could without difficulty identify in my data and give clear and precise answers about it in this work. However, my doctorate journey did not allow me to adhere to clear-cut definitions of language. Its conceptualisation was determined by both the advances in sociolinguistics and the data that informed this study.

Because the media tend to present a clear and palatable picture of the world, it is not surprising that their representations tend to label, categorise, count, compare and evaluate languages in line with 'language as a system' view. When languages become a topic of media discussion, what often becomes the subject of such

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[23] Haugen (1966) discusses the problematic nature of these terms: these are ambiguous in their definition but clearly mark the subordinate position of 'dialect' and superiority of 'language'.

discussion is 'standard' varieties or imagined homogenous units described in grammar and dictionaries.

In fact, linguists themselves constructed such objectification of language in their attempts to observe, keep record and categorise linguistic phenomena. However, a new tendency in the study of language and society is to gradually move on to a more fluid concept of language and look at language in its relationship with society and critically examine the power dynamics that underpin it (see García, Flores and Spotti (2016) for an overview of positivist and post-structuralist approaches to languages and multilingualism in sociolinguistics).

Given the complexity and fluidity of the actual linguistic practices, Makoni and Pennycook (2007) define languages as inventions of colonial and nationalist endeavours that are not based on purely linguistic criteria. The construct of language was necessary to legitimise nation-states as was the suitable history, meticulously invented too, and notions of ethnicity and tradition (Makoni and Pennycook, 2007). They summarise the impact of languages as inventions have had:

> *[…] languages do not exist as real entities in the world and neither do they emerge from or represent real environments; they are, by contrast, the inventions of social, cultural and political movements. On the other hand, we would argue for the very real material effects of linguistic inventions since they influence how languages have been understood, how language policies have been constructed, how education has been pursued, how language tests have been developed and administered, and how people have come to identify with particular labels and at times even to die for them […]*

(Makoni and Pennycook, 2007, pp. 1–2)

Therefore, the definition of language as a social practice with underlying power dynamics agrees with my stance as a researcher of language representations. However, entirely moving away from structuralist views on language is not possible in a study of media representations of languages in a nation-state, as structuralist categories and labels are firmly established in public discourses. A prominent sociolinguist Jan Blommaert has written that labels, such as language and dialect, 'involve massive projections of power, status, values, norms onto the linguistic

phenomenon at hand' (Blommaert, 1999, p. 431). Because all labels that link linguistic practices and groups are problematic (Costa, De Korne and Lane, 2018), in this thesis from now on I will use the term MINORITISED languages when referring to Chile's languages commonly called indigenous[24] and the label DOMINANT in relation to Spanish and English. This is because these labels reflect the political power behind these languages and, at the same time, highlight the fact these hierarchical positions of languages are the result of power dynamics in the Chilean context. As Atkinson (2000) asserts, the term does not necessarily allude to the numerical imbalance between speakers of languages but to the political, social, linguistic, economic, cultural, legal and historical subordination (2000, pp. 186–187).

Thus, this thesis aspires to demonstrate that such ideas and beliefs about language make part of the broader understanding of people's immediate daily environment, the state, its institutions, its vision of the peoples and linguistic diversity within it, all of which are weaved together with invisible threads. Keeping in mind the involvement of language in politics, history and culture, I aim to analyse representations of languages in the Chilean media in a critical way highlighting their social, political and economic implications.

1.5 Research questions

This thesis aims to address the research gap in the field of language representations and ideologies in Chile by looking at a large corpus of news reports where languages are mentioned or represent the central theme of the article. Both quantitative and qualitative methods are used in this study to provide a holistic overview of representations and an in-depth analysis of specific discursive constructions that appear in Chilean national online media. The following research questions are addressed in this study:

1. How are Chile's languages (official, minoritised, international) represented in Chilean news websites?
   1.1. What languages numerically dominate the corpus of Chilean news?
   1.2. What similar and distinct themes emerge in relation to each language?

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[24]The term indigenous is regarded as problematic due to its ambiguity, colonial legacy and often derogatory connotations (Legère, 2019).

1.3. Are languages represented as having similar value (for different social actors and in different domains)?

2. How is multilingualism constructed in Chile's online newspapers?

    2.1. What linguistic practices (bi-, multi-, monolingualism and others) dominate the corpus of Chilean news?

    2.2. At what level (individual, state, societal) is multilingualism most frequently discussed in the corpus on news articles?

    2.3. What languages are mentioned in relation to multilingual practices in the corpus of news articles?

    2.4. What themes dominate representations of multilingualism?

Then, the main interest of this study is to evaluate how multilingualism and different linguistic varieties are represented in Chilean online media and why these representations are salient in media reporting. The study also aims to uncover whether Chilean media represent Chile as a multilingual country and Chileans as multilinguals.

1.6 Structure of the thesis

The thesis has the following structure. Chapter Two discusses the theoretical framework and the key terminology employed in the study. These include representations, discourse(s) and language ideologies. Chapter Three considers the role of the media in linguistic debates and examines relevant previous studies on representations of languages and language ideologies. Chapter Four presents the data and the methodology used for this study. Its first part presents the data, including the criteria for its selection and the background information on the selected news websites. The second part focuses on the methods and procedure for analysing the data. Chapters Five and Six present findings that address RQ1, namely how languages are represented in terms of their value in different spheres of use. Chapter Seven presents findings that address RQ2, i.e. representations of multilingualism in Chilean online news. Chapter Eight revisits the research questions in connection with the findings of this study and discusses the limitations of the study, as well as directions for future research.

Chapter 2. Theoretical background

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss the key concepts employed in this thesis to analyse representations of languages of Chile in the corpus of online news. I start with an overview of the terms 'representations' and 'discourse(s)'. Then, I discuss the value of language, the concept of ideology and linguistic ideologies more specifically, how these are related to each other and media representations of languages. Considering that the framework of this study is based on language ideologies and critical discourse analytic (CDA) approach to the data, these concepts are central to the analysis and interpretation of the results.

2.2 Discourse and representations

The concept of discourse has been used widely in academic research, and its interdisciplinary use (politics, discourse analysis, media and communication studies) explains the vast array of existing definitions. From the field of discourse analysis (DA), in general terms, discourse is understood as any 'meaningful symbolic behaviour' (Blommaert, 2005, p. 2) that includes various forms of interaction, such as language and other kinds of semiosis.

Then, mass media represent one mode of discourse as it makes up a unique social practice with specific institutional structures that govern them. The term discourse is used in this thesis in this sense to narrow down the scope of this study to online news websites. Therefore, the term 'online media discourse' is used here as it represents a systematic way of producing and reproducing social realities through reporting. This is a common way in which the term is used in academic research: 'the language associated with a particular social field of practice' (Fairclough, 2013a, p. 230).

However, the term 'discourse' is also used in this study in the plural. In its plural form, 'discourses' refers to the 'different perspectives on the world' (Fairclough, 2003, p. 124) that emerge in media discourse or broader public discourse. These concern the same social object, but the construal of this social subject will depend on the position

of those who emit it, their social group belonging, aspects of identity, the goals they seek by proposing such discourse, etc.

To take discourses about languages as an example, the volume titled 'Discourses of endangerment' (Duchene and Heller, 2007) identifies endangerment as a perspective on language loss in academic and public discourses and unpacks its underlying ideas and shows how it came to be a whole. Nevertheless, the discourse of endangerment is far from being dominant in public discourse. An example of a dominant discourse would be the discourse about benefits of English[25] as an international language (Nettle and Romaine, 2000; Romaine, 2009) with its representational building blocks: English as the language of technology, trade, globalisation, etc. which disregards the negative effects of the spread of English. An example of a resistant discourse, or a discourse that opposes and challenges dominant ones, would be that English is the language of colonialism and a language that caused displacement of other languages. Then, this thesis also uses the term 'discourses' in plural to group representations that take a similar perspective on languages and linguistic practices in Chile and to situate them in linguistic dynamics beyond Chile's borders.

There are two main features of discourses (plural) that mark its distinction from discourse (singular). Firstly, one distinctive feature of discourses is their relation to the context in which they are enacted. Because discourses are tied to the social, historical and political context, they not only transmit language but also allusions to social and power relations, values and beliefs that are internalised in the enactments of discourses (Fairclough, 2013a, p. 231). This means that discourses have socially conditioned underlying foundations that are not always explicitly stated. Then, it follows that discourses are used 'to represent, evaluate, argue for and against, and ultimately to legitimate or delegitimate social actions' (Hart and Cap, 2014, p. 1). In other words, discourses are not neutral in the ways they represent social reality and are 'associated with particular values, ideologies and identities' (Mautner, 2016, p. 17), or, in other words, the agents that produce and disseminate them.

The second characteristic aspect of discourses has to do with their manifestations. Fairclough (2017) maintains that 'discourses can be *operationalised*: *enacted* in ways

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[25] This discourse, its origins and distributing agents are discussed in detail in section 3.6.2 of Chapter Three.

of (inter)acting, *inculcated* in ways of being, *materialised* in, e.g., the forms of buildings' (2017, p. 16). Then, online media discourse is a site where discourses can be enacted through text, images, video materials and interactions in comments sections that take place on news websites. Indeed, multimodal analysis is a growing field of study which studies different semiotic resources used in a range of discourse genres (O'Halloran, 2011; Machin, 2016). Importantly, although online news include various forms of semiosis, only the language aspect of media discourse is under analysis in this study as it is still 'the most important semiotic form' (Fairclough, 2015, p. 8) which is especially true for online newspapers (see Chapter Three for discussion of characteristics of online media).

Both plural and singular form uses of the term position discourse(s) as a prominent site for critical analysis of language because the language-in-action is not limited solely to its linguistic component; it is a reflection of 'the processes, relations and structures of the material world, the 'mental world' of thoughts, feelings, beliefs and so forth, and the social world' (Fairclough, 2003, p. 124). Indeed, discourse in the singular is a product of media as an organisation (or a set of organisations) driven by specific interests. As Fowler (2013) puts it, media discourse is 'a structured mediation of the world' (2013, p. 120) which suggests that social realities are mediated through language in systematic ways typical of mass media.

Discourses in plural emerge from different social actors and groups that enjoy different levels of power and authority in a given society. Their analysis is necessary because they are 'relatively stable uses of language serving the organisation and structuring social life' (Wodak and Meyer, 2016, p. 6) and, at the same time, different ways of 'construing aspects of the world associated with a particular social perspective' (Fairclough, 2013a, p. 230). Discourses in plural are recurrent and systematic and can be traced in virtually any type of social action. Then, discourses about languages construe and construct linguistic reality, which makes their analysis central to CDA focus on the data adopted in this study.

Thus, discourse and discourses are obvious sites where representations of social and cultural entities manifest themselves (Fairclough, 2015); so the representation of languages and linguistic practices also situate themselves in discourses. Because discourses are representational, they do not construe things as they are but offer a view, a perspective or an angle on them. Such is the case of online media discourse:

in its workings, it offers multiple representations of social entities, including languages and linguistic practices that are of interest to this study.

Turning to the concept of representations, which are instantiations of discourse(s), Fowler (2013) defines media representation as a constructive practice (2013, p. 25). He explains that because entities, events and ideas cannot be presented or communicated neutrally, a medium is used to transmit them because it would be impossible to do it otherwise. This brings inevitable changes to the nature of the represented and, hence, affects how the represented is perceived by media consumers. Then, online media discourse contains multiple representational snapshots of languages and linguistic practice that make up systematic and structured views on them (discourses).

It is these representational snapshots in which this study takes an interest. More specifically, the notion of representation is adopted in this thesis because it is operational: while it is not possible to identify discourses as recurrent systematic representational practices from the first look at the data (Fairclough, 2003, p. 57), approaching representations first allows the researcher to gather instances of potential discourses. In other words, the concept of representations of languages helps operationalise discourses by accounting for specific examples where languages are discussed in the news. The linguistic realisations of media representations are presented in Chapter 4.

The process of representation is deliberate as it happens under control of the newsmakers. Then, the selection of what is to be represented and how it is to be represented is up to the editorial team. However, 'the practices of news selection and presentation are habitual and conventional as much as they are deliberate and controlled' (Fowler, 2013, p. 41). Indeed, representational work of news media happens 'following certain conventions of production, and habitual use in these circumstances gives rise to conventional significances" (Fowler, 2013, p. 25).

Like discourses, representations 'influence the phenomena they purport to represent' (Irvine and Gal, 2000, p. 79) and even may affect 'the formation of groups and serve to establish or conceal relations of power and dominance between interactants, between social groups and classes, between men and women and between national, ethnic, religious, sexual, political, cultural and subcultural majorities and minorities'

(Wodak *et al.*, 2009, p. 8). This highlights the importance of analysing representations as building blocks of any discourse, dominant or not.

Although not all aspects of representations are deliberately constructed as they appear in the media, representations are value-laden and ideological, which is crucial for the analysis of reporting on languages. Although media industry's reports tend to be in line with the dominant ideological paradigm not because of their cynical and deliberate intention to do so, their effects on the audience are the distribution of specific values and ideologies (Fowler, 2013, p. 24). This is especially significant now because digital technology has become more pervasive in everyday lives and representations of events, issues and entities affect our perceptions of them (Fairclough, 2013a, p. 549). Keeping in mind this increased exposure to digital media, their representations of languages can play an important role in the formation of the linguistic picture of Chile and the world for their audiences.

2.3 Language ideologies

Blommaert (2005) states that "[…] discourse (or semiotic behaviour at large) has been identified by almost every major scholar as a site of ideology" (2005, p. 158). Having established that values, beliefs and broader ideas underpin discourses and representations of languages, this section unpacks the concept of language ideology as they represent the theoretical framework of this study. To better understand the concept of language ideologies, first, it is necessary to briefly introduce the term ideology itself.

2.3.1 A brief overview of ideology

Ideology is a complex term that is vastly used in social sciences (Blommaert, 2005) and has a long history of evolution (see Eagleton (1991) and Woolard (1998) for an overview). It has been conceptualised differently by philosophers and social scientists, which resulted in a mix of negative associations around the term common both in academic thought and public discourse. It has been perceived as having a derogatory connotation (van Dijk, 2011) and as being vague and inapplicable to social realities (Woolard, 1998). Wodak & Meyer (2016) add that ideology has had a 'bad' connotation as it is often understood in derogatory terms 'when characterising the ideas or policies of *others:* whereas *we* have the truth, *they* have an ideology'

(van Dijk, 2011, p. 379). Such criticism can be explained by the elusiveness of the term and the multitude of definitions employed across approaches.

Like the concepts of representation and discourse(s), ideology is a central term in much of CDA approach to data. As a field, CDA is an interdisciplinary and eclectic problem-oriented approach to discourse analysis that aims to deconstruct ideologies by looking at semiotic data[26] (Wodak and Meyer, 2016, p. 4). However, if we take this field and its sub-approaches, even here there is no consensus on the definition of ideology. For instance, from the dialectical-relational approach to CDA, Fairclough defines ideologies as 'representations of aspects of the real world that are open to normative critique yet also necessary to sustaining existing social relations of power and the forms (economic systems, institutions, etc.) in which they are embedded' (2015, p. 32). Within the discourse-historical approach, ideology is defined as 'a perspective (often one-sided), i.e. a worldview and a system composed of related mental representations, convictions, opinions, attitudes, values and evaluations, which is shared by members of a specific group' (Reisigl and Wodak, 2016, p. 25). Finally, the socio-cognitive CDA strand understands ideologies as "general systems of ideas shared by the members of a social group, ideas that will influence their interpretation of social events and situations and control their discourses and other social practices as group members" (van Dijk, 2011, p. 380).

Albeit different, these definitions highlight the key features of ideology that are crucial for the examination of discourses. Ideologies are:

- partial, incomplete or one-sided in that they only offer one of the many perspectives;
- value-laden or of interested character;
- and shared by a specific social group.

The abovementioned definitions do not point to another essential characteristic of ideologies that relates to their realisation in discourse: ideologies can be implicitly embedded in the language (Woolard, 2016), i.e. they are the underlying ideas on what the explicitly stated is based. To illustrate these key constituting features of ideology I will use a headline from one Chilean online newspaper article that states:

'Varias aristas lo confirman: El chileno habla mal.' (Iribarren, 2016)

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[26] Although here I present CDA in very general terms, the approach can be fruitfully used in analyses of language planning and policy texts and discourses (see Lo Bianco (2009)).

Firstly, this statement illustrates well the implicitness feature of ideology: the author uses the verb confirm (*confirman*) in anticipation of how an average reader perceives the Chilean variety of Spanish[27]. It is presupposed here that readers agree that Chileans speak bad Spanish; they knew it all along, but now it is confirmed from multiple viewpoints (*varias aristas*). The evaluation of Chilean Spanish here is presented in such a way that it does not allow the readers to evaluate the statement because of its implicitness. In this sense, the implicitness of ideology helps present specific ideas and beliefs as the common sense which anticipates the acceptance of the idea by the readers. This is what del Valle and Meirinho-Guede (2016) call the naturalising effect of the ideology. Such naturalisation and normalisation of ideological representations in public discourses inevitably establish dominant ideologies that favour the most powerful social groups. Realisations of ideological implicitness are achieved through discursive moves presented in section 4.8.

Although seemingly the above example represents a dominant opinion, it is a one-sided view on the issue which demonstrates well the point of partiality of ideologies. A quick online search shows that numerous linguists try to demystify this statement. Such ideological difference can be explained by the differences in values that underlie their statements. Clearly, the example above based its judgement on certain ideas about what language is considered bad or good. In other words, ideological representations do not acknowledge the whole array of factors that affect the issue in discussion and often do not provide reasons for positive or negative representations.

The partiality and implicitness of ideologies explain the negative connotations that ideologies have had in everyday discourses presented at the beginning of this section. While this representation of Chilean Spanish is completely negative, ideologies can communicate both positive and negative valorisations. As discussed in section 2.2, every representation is ideological in that it cannot give a complete representation of an issue from all different perspectives.

Regarding ideologies pertaining to a specific social group, to determine these, it is necessary to search beyond the text and examine additional sources on socio-political circumstances in which the text was produced. Careful consideration of

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[27] Distinctive features of Chilean Spanish are phonetical (for instance, weakening of final /s/ and /d/, aspiration of /s/ in between vowels and consonants among others) and grammatical (for instance, the use of *vos* as second-person singular pronoun is accompanied by specific verbal endings, e.g. *amái* instead of *amas*) (Rojas, 2015). Lexical differences are also notorious.

partiality, implicitness and underlying values of ideologies can help track their pertinence to a social group and explain its origins (which is not always possible without examining the context outside the data); this is crucial for fulfilling the objectives of this study (see section 1.1). Having exemplified the main features of ideology, the next section considers the concept of language ideologies and the corresponding field of academic enquiry.

2.3.2 Language ideology as a field of enquiry

Having considered partiality and implicitness as the main features of ideologies and constituents of discourse, we now turn to the concept of language ideologies which underpin the valorisations of languages and are specifically related to supposedly common sense ideas about the nature of language (Rumsey, 1990, p. 346). Language ideologies approach is different from CDA (presented in 2.3.1), and within sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology, it represents a separate field of enquiry as the term has been so widely used (Woolard, 1998). Language ideology research goes beyond the analysis of micro and macro structures of language to reveal power relations, but looks at ideology specifically at the intersection of language use and structure and includes other relevant issues in sociolinguistic research (ex. languages in contact, language planning and policy, questions of literacy and writing systems) to understand links between linguistic and cultural, social and political phenomena that resemble across the different contexts around the world (Woolard, 1998, p. 27). Because in language ideology field, ideology also represents a cluster concept with multiple dimensions to it (Kroskrity, 2004), language or linguistic ideologies have been defined in multiple ways highlighting various aspects of the concept.

This term, linguistic or language ideologies, was first introduced by a linguist and anthropologist Michael Silverstein who defined them as 'sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as rationalisation or justification of perceived language structure and use' (Silverstein, 1979, p. 193). For this study this idea is crucial: language ideologies underpin the ideas that speakers of languages have about their own and other people's use of language; these include judgements about aesthetics, appropriateness, morality, practicality and other aspects of language use.

However, these systems of ideas go beyond evaluations of features proper of languages, such as lexis, grammar or phonetics and extrapolate on the social characteristics of the speakers of a particular variety. As Woolard (1998) indicates, 'ideologies of language are not about language alone' (1998, p. 3): language ideologies link specific linguistic varieties to particular social groups, and this creates and reinforces 'meaningful social divisions (class, gender, clan, elites, generations, and so on)' (Kroskrity, 2000, p. 12). Then, language ideologies are instrumental in the identification and reproduction of social categories which refers to the mental associations of a particular linguistic variety with a particular social group and ideas about the 'prestige' and other associated characteristics of both languages and their speakers. It is through their prism that linguistic forms are interpreted as indicators of 'moral, intellectual, and aesthetic qualities of speakers' (Gal, 1998, p. 329).

This is why language ideology as a field of enquiry in sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology 'simultaneously problematizes speakers' consciousness of their language and discourse as well as their positionality (in political economic systems) in shaping beliefs, proclamations, and evaluations of linguistic forms and discursive practices' (Kroskrity, 2004, p. 498). Research about language ideologies is not only interested in how these manifest themselves but also why these emerged in the way they did, what values and moral groundings they are based on or what political interests are behind them. This argument brings us to values as a constituent of language ideologies. Kroskrity (2000) asserts that the cultural and social group that the individual belongs to can influence their language ideologies. The perceptions of language use then differ according to the social experiences, interests and values associated with that particular group. Indeed, del Valle and Meirinho-Guede highlight the essential link between the ideologies and socio-economic conditions of the groups that produce them (2016, p. 628) and regard the social context as one of the crucial categorising elements of language ideologies.

Because language ideologies are 'socially, politically, and morally loaded cultural assumptions' (Woolard, 2016, p. 7), ideological differences across and within social groups are to be expected; and the ideologies of the most powerful social groups become hegemonic in public discourse. These are the dominant and leading ideologies in a society that have been relatively stable over a period of time by the acquiescence of the dominated groups (Fairclough, 2013a). Indeed, dominant ideologies are 'unspoken assumptions on which ordinary people as well as elites

build social action and interpret the meaning of acts and events without question' (Woolard, 2016, p. 7). Considering the ubiquity of the media, dominant ideologies are likely to circulate in media discourse. However, the dominance of ideologies is only relative because the struggle for the hegemonic position is ongoing, and media represent the scene where alternative ideologies[28] can come in.

Regarding the reification of language ideologies in discourses, ideologies can be identified in language use itself in both explicit and implicit[29] talk about language (Woolard, 1998). This means that not only metalanguage, or the explicit talk about languages, can be ideological but also in discourses where language is not the main topic of discussion. These implicit beliefs are embedded in texts that make references to languages and can become more explicit in texts where language is the focus of discussion. Therefore, language ideologies are essential for understanding representations of languages.

These key constituting elements of language ideologies show why the field of language ideologies is important for social sciences in general and for this study specifically. Nevertheless, it is necessary to exemplify where these directly affect social practices and institutions' decision making in terms of these practices. As such, Woolard (1998) identifies the following: 'religious ritual, child socialization, gender relations, the nation-state, schooling, and law' (1998, p. 3). García and Torres-Guevara (2009) exemplify how monolingual ideologies that currently underpin the educational policies in the US lead to situations where bilingual ability is seen as a problem rather than a resource and result in unsatisfactory socialisation of multilingual students and poor learning outcomes[30].

Gal also stresses that language ideologies 'provide a justification for widely varying political arrangements' (1998, p. 329) and 'mobilize arguments about language that justify political and economic action' (2012, p. 40). This means that linguistic ideologies transcend the issues of language structure and language use and affect the social order more broadly. There is practically no social activity that does not involve language use, and due to this ubiquitous nature of language, the role of language ideologies in social, political, economic and personal domains of life can be

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[28] Section 3.5 discusses media affordances for alternative representations of languages.
[29] The analytic tools to tackle implicitness of ideologies in texts are presented in sections 4.3.2 and 4.3.3.
[30] The involvement of nation-states and its organisations in creation and distribution of language ideologies is presented in section 2.3.3.

immense. Woolard supports this idea saying that 'the attribution of social, moral, and political meanings to specific language varieties and the erasure of contradictions and variation affect patterns of language acquisition, style-switching, and shift' (1998, p. 19). To give another example, Irvine & Gal (2000) demonstrate how language ideologies played a crucial role in construction of discourses of otherness in Europe in the 19th century which contributed significantly to establishment of identity categories and highlighting the difference between the West and the East accompanied by the ideas about meanings of the civilised and the primitive.

In terms of creating and reinforcing difference, it is necessary to emphasise that 'language ideologies contribute to the production and reproduction of social difference, constructing some languages and varieties as of greater worth than other languages and varieties' (Blackledge, 2005, p. 33). Essentially, the difference is crucial for the perceptions of both speakers and the varieties themselves. In the case of speakers, they contribute to the construction of social hierarchy, while in the case of languages, it is the linguistic hierarchy that language ideologies ground. Languages are '*ranked* on the basis of a variety of criteria that have to do with the perceived "quality" of the language or language variety' (Blommaert, 1999, p. 431). Language ideologies help maintain this hierarchy of languages and linguistic practices (Fairclough, 2013a, p. 49) where non-dominant languages and practices become subordinated.

On the other hand, dominant languages become neutral 'voices of no man'; but this benefits the native speakers of these languages in numerous ways as will be argued later. The most common examples of this process can be observed in nation-states, where policies to regulate the sociolinguistic situation are applied at the state level (see 2.3.3 for details). However, this also happens beyond state borders and even on the global level when languages 'compete' for the regional status or global *lingua franca* status. It is not that languages 'fight' for the position themselves but rather the struggle for linguistic hegemony is a part of social, political and economic struggles of language speakers and institutions[31]. Because such differentiation across languages exists, speakers' linguistic resources inevitably vary 'in ways which correspond to the class and other divisions of the society' (Fairclough, 2013b, p. 48); which shows how language ideologies are embedded into the broader social order.

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[31] The practices of institutions that promote languages and their role in media representations of languages are presented in section 3.6.

Language ideologies also affect individuals' linguistic behaviour, one example of which is linguistic insecurity (Preston, 2013). It happens when a speaker feels that her/his variety is inferior to other varieties. Linguistic insecurity is a result of the bulk of representations of languages and varieties in discourse: it can be observed in the self-report on linguistic abilities of speakers, such as census data and other quantitative studies, as speakers' answers may be predetermined by such ideology-driven ideas about what counts as speaking and understanding a language or being multilingual, etc.

Finally, dominant language ideologies help maintain the political and economic status quo by persuading people of what language is most appropriate for communication, what variety of language is to be used in what circumstances, what comprises appropriate language use, etc. through 'efforts to authorize one representation and undermine others, efforts rooted in conflicting and complicit institutional, disciplinary, and local-political commitments' (Collins, 1998, pp. 267–268). The following section covers dominant language ideologies rooted in nation-states, one of the most prominent paradigms in the management of languages.

2.3.3 Languages in nation-states: linguistic ideologies of nationalism

Although this idea that language should be the basis of any kind of identity, individual or collective, has not been subjected to much scrutiny throughout history, as well as in the field of linguistics (Hutton, 2008), yet it has been used as the foundation of nation-states via overt or covert language policy and planning. Although this is disputed and varies from context to context and is subject to change over time, the central role of language in nations is highlighted in nearly every definition of nation that originated in the European tradition and was later exported elsewhere (Burke, 2004).

There is a debate among historians on what came first, the nation or the state, and the answer to this question clearly depends on what is known about the history in each particular context. While in some cases, the formation of a nation-state was achieved based on both shared identity and cultural traits of its population and the political campaigns for unification, in other cases, it could only be achieved through political struggle. A prominent social theorist of nationalism Ernest Gellner idealistically established that nations or large social communities with access to a

shared culture and language, are modern constructs emerged as a result of industrialisation (1983). In her comprehensive account of language policy in Europe, Wright (2003) gives the example of the newly established republic in France as a pioneering nation-state in Europe where the idea of 'one language – one nation', or in Herder's terms, the triad of 'language-nation-people' first emerged and developed.

What is ideological about this principle and the concept of nation-state? Several aspects of this concept are subject to normative critique for internal inconsistencies. Firstly, the nation represents an 'imagined community' because it only exists thanks to the belief of the people in it, which is achieved by nationalist discourses (Anderson, 1983). Indeed, each member of a nation never gets to meet all the other members to make sure the alleged bond indeed exists. If this were possible, many questions would arise among the nationals in terms of validity of the construct of their nation because personal identity can hardly be reduced to specific national features, such as language, cultural traditions and affinity to a political unit. Internal conflicts within nation-states that we can observe in daily news from numerous countries are evidence of the impossibility of such homogeneity.

Secondly, the validity of national borders for the separation of cultural groups is highly questionable– do they really reflect the social dynamics that might exist across the borders? A brief comparison of the political map of Chile with the map of territories of the indigenous peoples that inhabited it before the nation-state (Figure 2-1) shows that the frontiers were not placed according to the boundaries between them. Although the map in Figure 2-1 limits itself to the borders of present-day Chile, the indigenous peoples were, in fact, trans-border, and the establishment of frontiers of modern republics led to a break-up of those communities. In the case of South America, the borders of the republics were established as a result of the division of power among the colonisers on the continent and the ethnic belonging of the population was the least concern in the establishment of nations.

As a result of the nation-state building in Europe, many ethnicities were separated and minoritised within their states (e.g. ethnic Hungarians in Slovakia and Romania). The borders are also modified quite frequently (ex. Russian Federation's military intervention in Georgia in 2008 and the ongoing war in Ukraine) and numerous 'nations' all over the world do not have a separate 'state' (ex. Kurds in Turkey and

Iraq, Palestinians in Israel, Catalans in Spain, etc.). All these examples are evidence of the artificial nature of state borders.
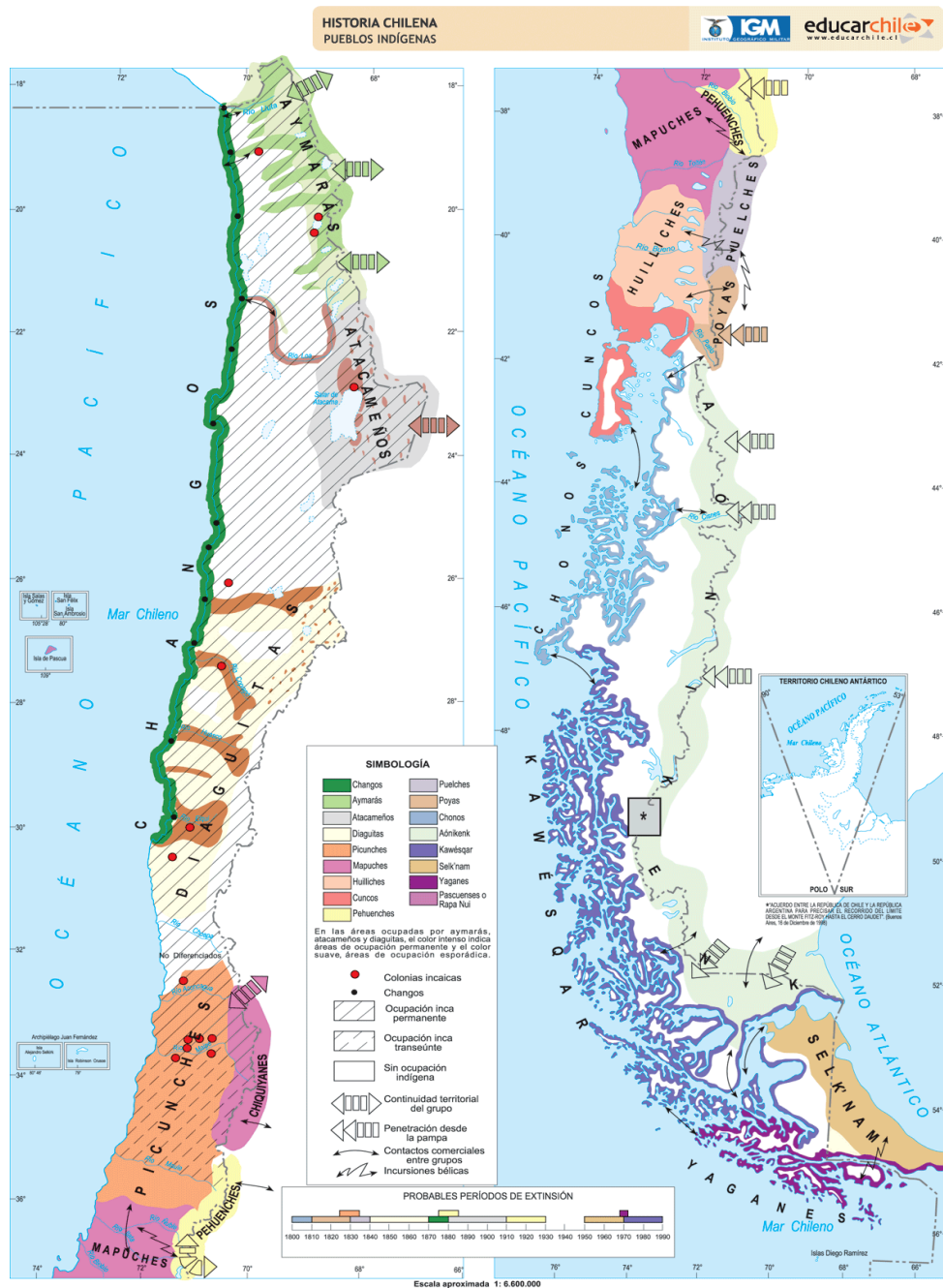
Figure 2-1 Map of the indigenous peoples on the political map of Chile

Thirdly, nationalist ideologies of language tend to present linguistic phenomena (ex. language shift) caused by extralinguistic factors as determined by the inherent characteristics of a language (Moreno Cabrera, 2008). From this perspective, it might seem that the processes of language minoritisation and death are natural and inevitable, a position that turns a blind eye to the social, political and economic causes of these phenomena. These ideologies obscure the historical circumstances

that surrounded the formation of nation-states and the related changes that were brought about to the use of languages.

Finally, the idea that underpins nation-state ideology is that as a political unit 'it [nation] minimises internal differences and maximises external ones' (Haugen, 1966, pp. 927–928). It is subject to normative critique because it is based on the assumption that a nation is ethnically and linguistically homogenous, while it is not. This argument is used to justify its borders by this unity, shared traditions, history and language, all of which are debatable. The nation-state ideology not only establishes borders artificially, imposes imagined narratives, and can disregard the internal differences among the nation's members but also highlights the social, cultural and other differences (and similarities) that may exist across borders.

The sacrifice of linguistic diversity in nation states is often justified by arguments of a greater good, that of unifying a nation, establishing democracy and 'civilising' its people. Indeed, in the 19th century, rationalist ideas prioritised the perspective on language as, first and foremost, a medium of effective communication (Geeraerts, 2008). This meant that a shared language was allegedly instrumental in reaching the democratic ideal in that one language for all allowed everyone to participate in the life of the nation-state. Multilingualism or any kinds of deviation from the 'national' language were perceived as an impediment to people's participation in the political and social life of the state. For communication to run smoothly between the state and its citizens, a standard language that was geographically, thematically and socially 'general' was 'invented' (standard language ideology is presented in 2.3.5). Such language is construed as neutral in its origins (does not belong to any specific social group) and as suitable to fulfil any linguistic function and geographically overarch all areas of the nation-state. In such a way, it also helps unify the subjects of the nation-state around the shared language within the designated borders.

The rationalist ideology as Geeraerts calls it, in nation-states is complemented by the romantic ideology. Under the romantic model, language represents a medium of identity expression and a distinctive worldview. Clearly, despite the resistance to the standard language, the romantic ideology provides a ground for the essentialising link between language, its speakers, culture and territory.

Similarly, Brown (2000) differentiates between ethnocultural and civic nationalisms, where ethnocultural refers to 'a sense of community which focuses on beliefs in myths of common ancestry' (2000, p. 51) (these include a shared language and culture) and civic is 'a sense of community which is focused on the belief that residence in a common territorial homeland and commitment to its state and civil society institutions, generate a distinctive national character and civic culture, such that all citizens, irrespective of their diverse ancestry, comprise community in progress, with a common destiny' (2000, p. 52). Although nation-states can be based on either of these, they tend to amalgamate in public discourses and the ideological elements from both models (rationalist and romantic) enter the scene to strengthen and legitimise the nation-state paradigm.

Chile is a South American nation, but what internal inconsistencies in its construct as a nation can we spot? In South America, the idea of nation, together with nationalist ideologies, only gained relevance in the 18th century (Bengoa, 2018) upon the arrival of European ideas about the new social order. It is probably satisfactory to call Chile a nation only in the sense of a political and economic unit: it can hardly be considered ethnically homogenous, neither do Chilean citizens have a common descent strictly speaking[32]. Nevertheless, the discourses about language and nation in Chile[33] throughout history did aim at creating a homogenous image of both (Narvaja de Arnoux, 2008). At the same time, in the sense of civic nation, not all citizens of Chile had unanimously participated in the formation of the nation-state and, at the moment, many still resist it. The most prominent is the Mapuche movement for autonomy of Wallmapu, the lands that the Mapuche historically inhabited in the Southern Cone of South America.

Although Chile's citizens as an ethnic group are not homogenous, and it is difficult to represent them as such, a shared common language can help create this sense of a community. A prominent political scientist Benedict Anderson ascertained that it was precisely the common 'national' language that helped establish the 'imagined community' of the nation with the help of mass media (Anderson, 1983) through the use of this shared language that everybody can allegedly understand and thanks to the distribution of discourses of national unity. Anderson called such national

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[32] Whilst in South America the discourses of mestizaje are common in identity discourses (Cornejo-Polar, 1994), in Chile *blanqueamiento* (whitening) is claimed to be the dominant trait in national unity and identity (Waldman Mitnick, 2004).
[33] See section 1.2 for an overview of Chile's nation-state formation and the role of language in it.

communities imagined as they only exist in the minds of the people who adhere to these, and this can only be achieved by distributing ideologies that lead to believe that nation is a valid construct. Haugen (1966) stressed that not only is the construct of nation problematic *per se* but so are problematic its implications: as a political unit, it tends to erase the internal differences among the nationals and draw attention to external differences. This means nationalist ideologies incline towards highlighting any distinctions in comparison to neighbouring nation-states to justify the state's borders (despite state borders separating the peoples) whilst erasing any differences between the people within the nation state. Language becomes a tool of such artificial seclusion from other populations and, at the same time, a unifying feature for the members of the nation.

Thus, the nation-state paradigm in Chile has language ideological underpinnings, as it is based on the ideas that are only partial, value-laden and, at times, are just false but are in place to benefit the dominant political class. This becomes evident if we examine the role of language(s) in Chile. Multiple languages are spoken in Chile, and their recognition poses a problem to the myth of homogeneity. At the same time, Spanish is not spoken exclusively in Chile, which instead of making a unique nation makes Chile just one of the many officially Spanish-speaking nations. Despite these problems, Chile has exceeded at employing language in its nation-state building and to date, it continues to fulfil the purpose. This is achieved with the help of two main ideologies presented in the following sections: the ideology of monolingualism and ideology of standard language.

2.3.4 Ideology of monolingualism

From the discussion of the key tenets of nation-state ideologies, it follows that the dominant ideology of language in nation-states is that of monolingualism, also called monoglossic ideology (Blommaert and Verschueren, 1988; Wright, 2003; Blommaert, 2009). The overarching idea is that within a nation-state, one language is to be spoken. Usually,[34] this ideology undermines speakers of languages other than the official language of the country; it underpins the ideas that justify leaving other languages to their own devices and even silencing them with the help of state language policy. It sometimes explains and views multilingualism as a consequence

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[34] Some exceptions include Irish and Belarusian that hold official status in their respective states and yet are minoritised.

of immigration and, hence, constructs other languages as foreign (Ricento, 2013) regardless of the actual origins of each language. This idea of having 'one language' in a country has been so persistent in nation-states that it is often used to justify the naming linguistically similar varieties with different names so that neighbouring countries can emphasise their distinctiveness. Although the issues of labelling are complicated and contentious, a classic example of languages with different names but a high degree of mutual intelligibility is Swedish, Norwegian and Danish: the speakers of these languages are very comfortable with each other's languages (McWhorter, 2016).

The ideology of monolingualism is two-fold: according to it, a common language defines a national group and, at the same time, the speech community restricted to national borders is assumed to share a common language. Then, a common language legitimises the nation-state as it points to shared origins, heritage, culture, etc. It also presupposes that within the national borders, everyone shares the language[35]. Both premises are problematic as a quick look at the history of language and history of nations would suggest that this only became possible to some extent as a result of the establishment of the nation-state paradigm.

Its establishment required a practical approach to the management of political units. It is precisely the rationalist model of language that grounds the monolingual ideology (Geeraerts, 2008): the presence of only one language is supposed to ease the communication between the state and the citizens and to promote political participation. In Chile, it was precisely such rationalist thinking that led to the exclusion of indigenous languages from the debate on the official language in the nation-building process (Rojas, 2015, p. 88). However, at the same time, monolingual ideology allows to exercise control over the population: a common language allows the state to influence the citizens. One language also facilitates the functionality of state institutions in that it accelerates the process. Finally, it creates communicative integrity within the nation, which strengthens the idea of national unity.

The ideology of monolingualism is reproduced in the media, political, educational and other public discourses (Blackledge, 2005). Essentially, it is through political discourse that the ideology of monolingualism is expressed both implicitly or

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[35] In the case of Spain in Latin America, discourses of common language are prominent, but the differentiating function is fulfilled by discourses of variation, promoted by some agents (see section 3.6.2).

explicitly[36]. For instance, when the republic was being established in France, 'the French revolutionaries passed a resolution condemning the dialects as a remnant of feudal society' (Haugen, 1966, p. 928). Such an evaluative statement has no linguistic justification but was used to introduce monolingualism as a norm in the newly formed state without stating it openly.

Another site of this ideology is the educational system. It is through this state institution that the acquisition planning stage of language planning and policy is carried out. Here, the ideology of monolingualism can also be explicit or implicit: the language of instruction can be assumed in the national curriculum or stated explicitly; the selection of languages, foreign or national, taught at schools is not an ideology-free practice and indeed 'is a significant tool of political power' (Scollon, 2004, p. 274). As Ferguson (2006) asserts, most European nation-states bias their educational policies towards monolingualism while minoritised languages are not dealt with in the hope that no resistance from their speakers would follow. At the same time, such decisions bear an effect on the quality of education, equal opportunities and students' performance (Walter and Benson, 2012). As discussed in section 1.2, Chilean educational policies are also based mainly on monolingual language ideology; only recently, the government pushed for societal bilingualism in Spanish and English via school curriculum changes, and the PEIB programme continues to promote more intercultural than bilingual goals.

Because law ensures the functionality of the nation-state, it is not surprising that it represents a sight of reproduction of ideology of monolingualism. The ideology of monolingualism is reproduced via language management efforts (with emphasis on language domains) which have been extensively examined in language planning and policy research (see volume on language policy edited by Spolsky (2012)). The 'one language' principle is also adapted in courts; laws can only serve a homogenous population that abides by common rules tailored to fit the majority. The problem often goes beyond providing interpreters in court but has to do with differences in conceptual systems across languages in question and tensions between orality and literacy, as a study on indigenous translators' work in Peru demonstrated (Howard, Andrade and de Pedro Ricoy, 2018). This aspect of national legal systems is not

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[36] This is because language policies are essentially political discourse that affects all other spheres, including education that is crucial for language dynamics. Educational policies and their role in the representation of languages and bilingualism is presented in section 3.6.3

problem-free because it imposes authority on every member of a given nation-state without the previous consent and is homogenising the cultural and worldview particularisms that people might have; this is a crucial issue for indigenous peoples in Latin America.

The media, often regarded as 'the fourth power', also act as a language policing agent when they select their language of broadcast; it is often the case that media broadcast in the majority language which is an implicit enactment of the ideology of monolingualism. An overview of the studies that have focused on media representations of languages is presented in section 3.5.

Thus, monolingual ideology underpins much of the decision-making in different spheres of the functioning of nation-states. It can be traced at all levels of language planning and policy efforts, even if these are nearly non-existent in their explicit form. Although not all nation-states are monolingual in their language policies, Blackledge (2005) asserts that even in societies that claim to take pride in their linguistic and ethnic diversity, the underlying linguistic ideology in public discourses is that of monolingualism. This is because often, the acknowledgement of diversity does not go beyond rhetoric and symbolic government regulations. Chile's Indigenous Law is a good illustration of this: the importance of use and conservation of indigenous languages is stated there, but the law has no mechanisms to enforce it.

The question then arises what language or variety ends up being the 'chosen' one. This brings us to another nationalist ideology, that of a standard language.

2.3.5 Ideology of standard language

Most national or official languages are subject to the process of standardisation. A standardised language represents a linguistic norm elaborated mainly in the process of corpus planning (Shohamy, 2006) and involves an authoritative institution backed by the state to elaborate it, such as, for example, the academies of language. This process represents a cultivation of a language by establishing norms of spelling, grammar, pronunciation and the selection of lexis from the universe of the existing spoken and written varieties. Milroy and Milroy (2012) compare the standardisation of language with table manners: handbooks of language use prescribe, just like etiquette books explain table manners. However, language is much more complex

than any prescribed standard (ibid). Then, it follows that standard languages are to a certain extent, imagined just like the nations that speak them.

How is the standard created? The standard variety is established through several language policy mechanisms (see Spolsky (2012) for language policy stages overview). In terms of corpus planning, standard language is legitimised by publications of dictionaries, language books and other materials that prescribe the appropriate language use. Jernudd and Nekvapil (2012) assert that the French Academy of language has the longest history and served as a model for other European academies and later on, for the Latin American academies of Spanish and indigenous languages. Its activities include the publication of dictionaries, organisation of language managing committees and engagement with the public (ibid). Nowadays the academies carry out similar activities: for instance, the website of the Chilean Academy of Language[37] lists projects of the academy that include the development of school textbooks, dictionaries, series on Chilean poetry as well as visits to schools and other outreach events. Beyond the work of the academies, governmental institutions and the elites also establish the standard by using it in public discourse; the media promote its use and, importantly, the standard is used in the educational system which helps perform the acquisition planning.

The question then arises as to how the features of a language are actually selected for a legitimate standard national variety. The choice of a standard variety is not usually based on linguistic knowledge. Neither is this choice neutral; it is rather established in the interest of the ruling class: 'If a recognised élite already exists with a characteristic vernacular, its norm will almost inevitably prevail' (Haugen, 1966, p. 932). Therefore, the variety spoken by the most powerful social class usually makes the basis of the standard variety. Such selection of a variety is an artificial process and does not represent natural dynamics in the development of language (Moreno Cabrera, 2008). In the case of English, Pennycook (2007) asserts that the standard language was in fact construed thanks to the discourses about it: 'the standardisation of English produced not so much standard English but rather discourses about standard English' (Pennycook, 2007, p. 97). This represents an extreme case of standardisation process but is a good example of how far the ideology can go in

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[37] See < http://www.institutodechile.cl/lengua2/>

construing a legitimate standard despite of its completely artificial and imagined character.

In his extensive overview of the ideology of standard language, Milroy (2001) asserts that it comprises a set of ideas and beliefs about the prestige and legitimacy of linguistic structure. How is the standard construed as legitimate and prestigious?

In addition to the work of academies on developing legitimising dictionaries and textbooks, Milroy asserts that some varieties can be legitimised thanks to linguistic research that targets them because 'they were given histories, but urban vernaculars remained illegitimate' (Milroy, 2001, p. 551). This is because there is a need to demonstrate that the nation's language has a history just like the nation-state itself. Some varieties are excluded from the 'glorious' history of the standard language because they 'contaminate[38] the 'language' […] and it had to be protected from their influence' (Milroy, 2001, p. 548). Milroy (ibid) also highlights the role of the linguists in the creation of such 'imagined' standard.

The idea of the prestige of a language is directly associated with the speakers of each specific variety: it is the varieties spoken by higher socioeconomic classes (the elites) that tend to be perceived as more prestigious[39]. Languages spoken by the less privileged social classes enjoy less prestige. Then, the standard variety usually enjoys high levels of prestige as compared to other varieties. Because standard language ideology is part of a broader nationalist ideology, it disguises the fact that reasons behind judgement values about languages are motivated by such socio-political factors and have nothing to do with strictly linguistic characteristics of languages (Moreno Cabrera, 2008).

The ideology of standard language oversimplifies the universe of language use by categorising linguistic practices as 'correct' or 'incorrect'. Such prescriptive correctness has to do with the process of standardisation of a language: because it has been through corpus planning and reference literature for it exists, standard languages not only represent the ideal but also set out the norm or benchmark for other varieties.

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[38] The quote alludes to linguistic purism, the ideology related to standard language ideology but is excluded from this literature review as not particularly relevant to the Chilean context.
[39] Albeit powerful, prestige is only one dimension of the value of language; this is discussed in section 2.4.

Therefore, the establishment of a standard variety has implications for the perception of and attitudes towards other varieties and languages. Because the standard language is the 'legitimate' one, all other varieties are compared against it. As standard varieties are associated with prestige, their characteristics are perceived as an ideal set that all varieties need to have. It is the case that standardisation processes lead to stigmatisation of the varieties that deviate from these ideal characteristics (Rosa, 2016).

In such a manner, the nonstandard varieties are often perceived as possessing low status and prestige (Shohamy, 2006). However, because language ideologies are never about language alone, these ideas reflect on its speakers:

> 'Persons speaking other stigmatized ("nonstandard") varieties tend to be viewed as having deficiencies in intelligence, morality, and/or character and are often less successful in achieving upward social mobility, which generally requires proficiency in the standard "national" language'(Ricento, 2013, p. 530).

Among other important consequences of standard language ideology is the idea that a language must have a written form. Indeed, Haugen (1966) asserts that standardised languages usually have a written form: the standard is defined in reference literature produced for these languages. However, not all languages have a written tradition. The idea of obligatory unified written form for languages emerged as a result of the existing mechanisms of establishing a standard, that is, corpus and acquisition planning. Then, when the value systems of languages are constructed around this dominant ideology, it is clear how other languages that did not undergo the standardisation process might not be 'ticking all the boxes'. In fact, alternative writing systems in some indigenous languages clash with this dominant view of what standard written language is (Chirinos, 1996). Literacy is of crucial importance for this study as it uses written language data for analysis; this inevitably leads to the inclusion of standard language texts only[40].

Another set of ideas that derives from the standard ideology of language has to do with the hierarchy of languages that it creates. Because the standard variety tends to set out the threshold of appropriateness, it leads to a 'perception of non-dominant national varieties as deviant, exotic, cute, archaic, etc.' (Oakes, p. 113). In comparison to any standard language, unstandardised minoritised languages are

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[40] This is discussed in detail in section 3.2.

significantly lower on the hierarchical ladder because of the ideas about their lack of correctness, appropriateness and prestige that lead to their reduced general use.

The ideology of standard language has consequences for language attitudes among speakers too: 'linguistic insecurity, the negative attitudes speakers have about their own variety compared with the standard' (Oakes, 2017, p. 113). Because a standard language is legitimised by the nation-state, it is deemed as one of the causes of ideologies of 'languagelessness' (Rosa, 2016) that underpins ideas that non-native speakers that employ nonstandard linguistic practices are unable to produce any legitimate language. Indeed, the mere existence of a standard leads to all sorts of value judgements about the value of nonstandard practices[41], and consequently, about individuals that use them. It has to be kept in mind that a standard language as an 'imposed norm' (Oakes, 2017, p. 112) and it inevitably ends up benefiting one social group over another despite the appeal for communicative efficiency (Kroskrity, 2000, p. 8). It has consequences beyond language use and can affect the daily lives of speakers in multiple ways, for instance, through discrimination by linguistic competence (Moreno Cabrera, 2008).

Overall, this is what is problematic with the process of standardisation: there is no neutral way of defining a standard variety, the idea of 'sociopolitically disinterested language user or the possibility of unpositioned knowledge, even of one's own language' is a myth (Kroskrity, 2000, p. 8). Although the role of dominant classes is crucial in the legitimisation of the standard, it gains its superior position thanks to misrecognition of it as such by the subordinated groups (Bourdieu, 2003): this means that the standard language is validated and legitimised thanks to its general acceptance by the dominated groups.

2.4 The value of languages

Having identified value as an important characteristic of representations, discourses and language ideologies, this section focuses on value as attributed to languages and linguistic practices. These are important because while ideologies are systems of ideas and beliefs, their realisations in discursive representations are not obvious. Indeed, 'it is not possible to 'read off' ideologies from texts' (Fairclough, 2013a, p.

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[41] Non-standard varieties can have other positive values for their speakers and those who do not adhere to standard language ideology.

57). However, ideologies include 'values […] associated with language use by speakers, and the discourse which constructs values and beliefs at state, institutional, national and global levels' (Blackledge and Pavlenko, 2002, p. 123). Thus, when we identify values attributed to language in media texts, we can link them to the linguistic ideology that underpins it. In other words, the concept of value is a bridge between specific realisations of discourse with the underlying ideology.

Therefore, the value of language is considered a central pillar of representations of languages in the media in this thesis, along with language ideologies. While language ideologies considered in the previous section are associated with the role language played and continues to play in nation-states, the values of language discussed here help inform discussion of representations of languages beyond the nation-state paradigm. Furthermore, they not only help unpack specific representations of languages but also help identify the themes in representations of languages[42] as sections 2.4.1 to 2.4.3 below demonstrate. The distinction of values of languages was beneficial for analysing representations of a set of languages, as it allowed to identify similarities and differences across their representations.

Turning to the definition of value, there are many dimensions and connotations to the concept, but it mainly relates to the judgement of something as being good or important and, on the other hand, as associated with its material benefits or worth (Aikhenvald, 2013). Languages are no exception and often become subject to the judgement of their value. The ideas about the worth of a language have direct effects on language use because language planning and policy decisions are often based on such value judgements.

It must be noted that value is not intrinsic in the language itself but is instead attributed to it by people. Saraceni highlights the importance of agency in the formation of ideas about the value of languages: "[…] we mustn't lose sight of the fact that agency always remains firmly and exclusively a prerogative of people, not of the languages they speak" (2015, pp. 138–139). Therefore, the analysis of the value of language in public discourse needs to be examined considering the historical, cultural and socio-political circumstances that led to the rise of these and not other values.

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[42] Two results chapters (Five and Six) are organised thematically around the communicative, economic and sentimental values of languages

Ideas about value are ubiquitous in discourses about languages: even naming a variety a language or a dialect contains a value judgement in it, as the definitions of these concepts are problematic (Haugen, 1966) and varieties are compared against one another. Indeed, the idea of value transcends our understanding of language. It is not surprising that the value of language is widely drawn upon in academic research: in the field of language planning and policy (see Ricento (2000)), linguistic anthropology (see Duranti (2008)) and sociolinguistics (see Mesthrie (2011)).

Some approaches to language have the notion of value at its foundation. One example of it is the instrumentalist approach (Robichaud and De Schutter, 2012) where language is conceptualised as a tool fit to serve multiple purposes, including financial profit, effective communication, community-unifying purposes and others. Another example is the post-Operaist Marxist theory of language that frames it 'as a means of production or, to put it more precisely, as a means of both concrete and abstract labour, i.e. an element of living immaterial labour and a source of abstract value extracted by capital' (Ratajczak, 2018, pp. 118–119). This is a more radical perspective on language that views it exclusively as a tool enabling participation in labour and capital production in national and global economies.

Although this is an important aspect of how languages are conceptualised in academia and public thought, the value of languages in the literature is considered from multiple perspectives. The following sections go on to discuss the most relevant classifications of the value of language: communicative or practical value, sentimental or 'pride' value and the economic value of language.

2.4.1 Communicative value of languages

Effective communication is probably the most basic and most obvious function of a language, which makes the communicative value stand out in evaluations of languages' worth. Indeed, the application for interaction, transmitting messages across is what matters most as, in written and spoken forms, language remains the dominant medium of communication for the humankind.

Undoubtedly, all languages are equally suitable for communication. However, the communicative value of languages as perceived by the public and expressed in discourses can differ from one language to another. Linguists and other language experts contribute to the dissemination of such contentious ideas. For instance, De

Swaan (2010) even proposed a formula for calculation of the communicative value of languages that is based on the following criteria: total numbers of speakers, the prevalence of language in a given context, numbers of multilingual speakers, etc. This suggests that the communicative value of language could be presented numerically if it were possible to count speakers of each language accurately. Nevertheless, as discussed in section 1.4, in public discourses about languages, the written unified and homogenous standard is presupposed, so ideas of communicative value of dominant languages are tied to the evaluations of the 'standard'. For example, Native American youths highlight the high utilitarian value of English but did not associate it with their own indigenous languages (McCarty *et al.*, 2009).

Whilst the communicative value of language can be to some extent outlined by the spheres of use of each language, as lay speakers, our ideas about the value of languages are usually based on our personal experience with the language and information from secondary sources (other people's experiences, media, literature, language experts). The representational character of such mediations was highlighted in section 2.2. Also, the collection of such knowledge hardly represents the whole communicative value of a language but rather a partial and limited perspective on it.

One way to holistically evaluate the communicative value of a language is by describing its ethoglossic position (Sercombe, 2016), the summary of all domains and functions that a language plays for a speech community in a specific context. Ethoglossic status of a language is useful as it considers the speech community and the context in which evaluations of language take place. Negative judgements about the communicative value of languages are often the result of looking at languages and linguistic practices out of context and without considering the history that led to the current status and use of language.

The communicative value is also to a great extent linked to its ethnolinguistic vitality (Allard and Landry, 1992): because communication in the language across generations is crucial to ensure its uninterrupted use, the ideas about the communicative value of language may affect the trans-generational transmission of languages. Indeed, the theory of subjective ethnolinguistic vitality has been useful for evaluating the prospects of languages (Allard and Landry, 1992; Landry and Allard, 1994) and such studies gather self-report data about the use of different languages

by the speakers and their perceptions of the present and future use of their languages. These are closely related to the communicative value of language in implicit (what speakers do) and explicit ways (what they think about language use). Nationalist language ideologies and political, cultural and economic domination of a different language affect valorisations of the communicative value of a language and can lead to language shift (Sallabank, 2012).

Therefore, a perceived poor communicative value of language may lead to language abandonment in favour of a more 'valuable' language[43]. Indeed, language shift happens within 'bilingual and multilingual contexts in which a majority language […] comes to replace the range of functions of a minority language' (May, 2012, p. 132), where communicative value is central to language use. The tendency to shift is fuelled by the knowledge that we acquire in secondary sources, which makes the examination of discourses about the communicative value of languages paramount. The representation of communicative value and the use of languages for communication are co-dependent as they affect each other: the existing use is reflected in representations, but representations in public discourses affect the tendencies of use as well. The communicative value of languages in the media is important because it is central to language as a right debate (Réaume and Pinto, 2012).

If a language is judged as having poor communicative value, it reflects negatively on the ideas about its overall value. However, the values attributed to language presented in the following sections are quite different from the communicative value as they go beyond the mere use of language for interaction but situate language in political and economic structures of the society where it is spoken. These are the sentimental and economic values of language.

2.4.2 Sentimental value of languages

This section focuses on the value of language that relates to its construal as an identity marker, a unifying element for social groups and a tie to geographic territory or a political unit.

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[43] Nevertheless, some languages and varieties maintain limited functions in certain contexts (ex. use of Latin in modern science).

Labelling of this value as sentimental is not coincidental. It appeals to people's feelings, namely the feeling of belonging or being part of a larger group and the positive feelings that it can bring about. Language in its symbolic value serves as a shared feature of a given community and, at the same time, is a tool of integration of new members into the community.

This value has been labelled in many ways in academic literature and is described as serving various related purposes: sentimental value (May, 2004) for identity-preserving purposes; primordial value of language which corresponds to the cultural link between a community and its language (Jaffe, 2007b); Ricento refers to this intangible value of English for the US nation-state as 'identity value' (2005). Heller and Duchene propose the trope of 'pride' to encompass the value that a language represents for marking citizenship in liberal democracies (2012). Geeraerts (2008) frames this language value as the romantic model of language under which language is a means of expression rather than communication. Under this view, language use equals expression of identity, and at the same time, languages embody distinctive conceptions of the world (Geeraerts, 2008).

It is thanks to this value that the link between language and ethnic and cultural identity was firmly established in contemporary thought. It construes distinctive language as a synonym of distinctive culture which, consequently, may be interpreted as a sign of the authenticity of a group. This idea is considered problematic in academic research as it essentialises the languages and the groups that speak them (May, 2005). Indeed, reducing identity to an individual's linguistic repertoire is problematic[44].

Because languages mark group identity, sentimental value is closely tied to the modern nation-states and their ideologies (as discussed in 2.3.3): it served the establishment of the nation-state paradigm as one of its central pillars. This value legitimises and validates the nation-state by setting the limits of the 'imagined community' that it represents (Anderson, 1983). Indeed, ' "pride" calls you into being a citizen' (Heller and Duchêne, 2012, p. 5): it tends to eliminate any individual differences that may exist in identities of individuals that constitute the nation. It

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[44] Such unified view of identity has been criticised by postmodern theorists and identity is rather seen as a multi-layered construct with unstable categories and defined by individual's experiences (see Ivic and Lakicevic (2011) for a discussion of the evolution of the concept).

creates an imagined homogeneity and marks the difference from other ethnicities or nation-states.

Nevertheless, Stephen May observes that it is usually the minority languages that are praised for their sentimental value (May, 2004) as compared to 'bigger' languages. Woolard (2008, 2016) asserts that discussions of the value of language are underpinned by the ideological complexes of authenticity and anonymity. These are related to rationalist and romanticist ideas discussed in sections 2.3.4 and 2.3.5.

Authenticity identifies the value of language with the community that speaks it and the community's geographic territory (Woolard, 2008). In other words, under this view, the language is an authentic expression of the community and the identity of its members. This means that a language has to be 'from somewhere' (Woolard, 2016) to be valuable for its speakers. Woolard (2008) also points out that the perceptions of authenticity are crucial for the survival of minoritised languages. One example of the authenticity of minoritised languages in Chile can be observed in the implementation of the EIB programme: indigenous language classes are only offered to students of indigenous origin which shows how firmly minoritised languages are perceived to mark ethnic identity. Indeed, some studies show evidence of the sentimental attachment to heritage languages as they play a central role in marking indigenous identity (McCarty *et al.*, 2009). Moreover, sentimental value is so important for the minorities that even when a language is no longer spoken, it may remain valuable as a distinctive feature of the group (Edwards, 1984).

Dominant languages are characterised by their anonymity, as they 'appear not to belong to any identifiable individuals but rather seem to be socially neutral, universally available, natural and objective truths' (Woolard, 2008, p. 306). This means that anonymity ideologically erases the roots of the language or represents them as overcome (Woolard, 2016). Thus, the language becomes a 'voice from nowhere', and its allegedly disinterested speakers are 'Everyman' or people without marked identity, which is why such language can be used by everyone equally. This feature is characteristic of languages that aspire for universal status. Woolard uses English as an example of such anonymous language in the US but notes that valorisations of anonymity are contextual and change over time. For instance, English as an international language can be perceived as a neutral language in Chilean government's discourses (see Minsegpres, Mineduc and Minec (2014)) but

remains a marker of national identity in other contexts (see Wright and Brookes (2019)). The discussion of representations of minoritised and dominant languages in terms of their sentimental value follows in section 3.5.2.

2.4.3 Economic value of language

Because language is one of the main means of all human interaction, it is perhaps not surprising that language and successful communication are central to any economic activity. That is one of the reasons why languages acquire economic value. Put simply, there are two ways in which this value is materialised. First, languages are economically valuable as vehicles of successful communication in business that in turn, results in financial profits. Second, languages often become products or services of specific businesses, such as foreign language teaching, translation, tourism and marketing (Heller, 2010) or add value to products or, in other words, help sell/make them more sellable.

The main reason why this became possible lies in the radical shift in the economy, which caused the growth of these spheres of economic activity. The phenomenon of language commodification established itself in late capitalism (Heller, 2010) due to globalisation, increased mobility and the introduction of information and communication technologies. The processes of commodification of language attracted the interest of academics, and a significant body of research on the issue exists (Cameron, 2000; Tan and Rubdy, 2008; Duchêne and Heller, 2012; Brennan, 2018; Holborow, 2018; Miso, Duk-In and Tae-Young, 2018; Brennan and O'Rourke, 2019).

Because the modern economy is based on massive production and requires massive markets, the economic value of a language is high when the number of its speakers is high. 'Big' languages have grown because they make it easier to reach out to higher numbers of customers. This ties the economic value of language to nationalist ideologies of language as such valorisations make the nation-state economic model possible by involving individuals into it thanks to one language. However, understanding the economic potential of language also helped to establish the global economy.

Turning to specific realisations of the economic value of languages, one way of commodifying language is through valorisations of 'language as a product'. These

are proper of translation and language teaching businesses (Heller, 2010; Heller and Duchêne, 2012). Because international markets are growing, the demand for language training is also increasing (Hogan-Brun, 2017), but it only affects specific languages. In such cases, languages become products in the tertiary sector, where knowledge or ownership of the language places the speakers at a clear economic advantage.

The most obvious example is the enormous economic value that English has enjoyed in the modern world. However, other languages compete for the dominant status in the global economy as well: Paffey (2012) shows how the economic value of Spanish as a world language is promoted in the discourse of the Royal Academy of Spanish (RAE). Because RAE is a non-profit organisation,[45] it is somewhat surprising that it takes an interest in the domination of Spanish in the global economy. Representations of Spanish and the role of different actors in their construction are discussed in more detail in section 3.5.2.

What English and Spanish have in common is that they are pluricentric or supercentric languages. The term pluricentric applies to languages that are spoken in different nation-states and have separate linguistic norms (Clyne, 1992) and, thus, have numerous varieties. De Swaan (2010) proposed the term supercentric for languages that are used for international communication and connect speakers of smaller languages. Then, Spanish and English can be categorised as such due to their official status in many countries which, in turn, elaborate their own standards. However, within their pluricentric and supercentral condition, not all the standards enjoy the same spread and prestige: for example, it is the Iberian Spanish that is more widely recognised internationally and is taught as an L2 while for English the British and American varieties of the language dominate the market. Such preferences are not incidental or neutral. They have to do with the political and economic dominance of the nation-states that own these varieties.

Another way in which languages are commodified is by attributing a symbolic dimension to the use of language that makes the product more attractive or saleable. The phenomenon is proper of the field of tourism, marketing and advertising. Here, language is not used for communication with customers and, hence, represents no communicative value (as discussed in 2.4.1) but rather gives an added value to

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[45] The role of RAE in representations of Spanish are discussed in detail in section 3.6.2.

services and products. For example, in tourism, local minoritised languages sometimes become commodified like other cultural artefacts such as clothes, artisan products and artistic performances (this is presented extensively in the volume edited by Ryan and Aicken (2005)). Maragliano (2011) demonstrates how in San Martín de los Andes (Argentina), dominant commercial circles utilise Mapudungun to give an exotic and authentic touch to the hotels and shops as a part of their marketing strategy (the Mapuche do not own the businesses). Therefore, minoritised languages can also have economic value.

While language does not bring financial profit *per se* the above example shows how it can help mark the difference of a touristic destination from other places and increase its authenticity. This materialisation of the economic value of languages is also common in retail. Kelly-Holmes (2014) shows how languages become commodified in visual commercial texts and calls this process 'linguistic fetish': she provides examples of how languages are used visually in advertising to emphasise a product's uniqueness, quality, global credibility or authenticity. These meanings are highly contextual: for example, Starbucks uses Italian for names and sizes of their coffees which suggests its authenticity and, hence, quality of the product; the Japanese car brand Toyota uses English as the main language on its website to create a global image of the company (Kelly-Holmes, 2006). Such language use adds no actual value to the product but does create an illusion of it in consumers' eyes; no financial investment into its actual quality is made rather than providing the product with a more exclusive and authentic 'wrap'.

To approach the manifestations of economic value in public discourses, Heller and Duchene (2012) use the trope of 'profit'. These are the summary or representations of linguistic practices that bring structural changes into people's lives by proposing to view language mainly as a technical skill. This directly affects language choice as such representations motivate people to alter their linguistic repertoire in certain ways and view it as a marketable product. Indeed, speakers are aware of the marketplace value of their languages: Clyne and Kipp's (1999) study showed that the shift from Cantonese to Putonghua (the nation-wide standard) among the second generation of Cantonese speakers in Australia was caused by the perceived low economic value of Cantonese.

While separate languages can bear economic value, so do multilingual practices. In her comprehensive book, Gabrielle Hogan-Brun (2017) presents both the economic benefits and costs of multilingualism and with many examples from different contexts shows that there is no yes or no answer whether multilingualism is economically profitable. Nevertheless, for instance, in Luxembourg, the economic value of trilingualism is something that immigrant parents are aware of and want their children to achieve (Gogonas and Kirsch, 2018).

The idea of 'language as profit' is challenging the whole understanding of language as a meaning-making tool: from this perspective, language becomes the vehicle to establishing the new political and economic order (Heller, 2010, p. 102). In other words, language use does not only reflect the status quo but also reproduces it through linguistic practices of the new economic order. The renowned philosopher Pierre Bourdieu went further in his analysis of the role of language in power dynamics and linked linguistic diversity with social inequality: standard languages and dominant linguistic practices have value as 'they provide users with access to resources and are ultimately convertible into social and economic capital' (in Kroskrity, 2000, pp. 27–28).

Having outlined the key features of the economic value of language, it is necessary to discuss how 'language as a product' representations reach wider audiences. One important site of the reproduction of representations of languages as profit is formal education. Education is the main vehicle of execution of state language acquisition policies, which inevitably influences the linguistic repertoire of the state's nationals. For example, market demand of language skills defines not only the selection of languages on offer but also the teaching methods because 'what is actually valued on markets is parallel monolingualism, not contemporary bilingual practices' (Jaffe, 2007b, p. 69). Such market demands are reflected in Chile's educational policy (MINSEGPRES, MINEDUC and MINEC, 2014), which only offers English in public schools and encourages teachers not to mix languages in class.

Nevertheless, as in the case with the 'pride' trope, it is the media that increase the visibility of 'language as a product' representations as they report on and advertise the industries involved (see section 3.2 on the role of media in linguistic debate) although such representations become increasingly presupposed and naturalised in the capitalist economic order (Gal, 2012).

2.5 Summary

In this chapter, I have outlined the terms central to the theoretical framework of this thesis. I presented the definitions of the terms employed in this study, including representations, discourse(s), language ideologies and values. These last two are central to the analysis and interpretation of the findings of this study as they allow the researcher to explain in depth and detail why the existing representations of languages and multilingual practices are in place.

Indeed, language ideologies are tied to the socio-economic, historical and political context where these circulate. As any representation of language is ideological, the dominant and resistant language ideologies are present in media talk on languages. Both explicit and implicit ideologies need to be addressed in analyses of language representations keeping in mind the 'naturalizing and universalizing' (Spitulnik, 1998, p. 164) quality of language ideologies.

This chapter also presented the most salient nationalist ideologies of language because in the context of Chilean nation-state, the importance of these cannot be underestimated. Monolingual language ideology and the ideology of standard language are the main founding pillars that legitimise reasoning behind decision-making around language. The ideas about the value of languages that constitute ideologies were also considered here to help unpack the representations of languages in the Chilean media.

Because the linguistic and cultural will are only a matter of perception (Edwards, 2012) our perceptions of communicative, sentimental and economic values of language based on the information about languages received from the media is of extreme importance as it influences our perceptions regardless of whether we consume the information passively or examine it critically.

Chapter 3. Media and discourses about languages

3.1 Introduction

As discussed in section 1.4 in the process of invention of nation-states, languages can be artificially separated, enumerated and named as a way of distinguishing them and their speakers. These 'imaginaries' of languages are aligned with ideas about their speakers and their characteristics. It is the perception of the link between linguistic practices and knowledge about socioeconomic, educational, ethnic and racial characteristics of the speakers that creates the 'hierarchy' of languages (as discussed in section 2.3).

Traditional mass media[46] constitute a communicative space within nation-states where all the relevant languages and their speakers are brought together (Spitulnik, 1998, p. 165) and a relationship among them is construed with the help of media representation. As Coupland asserted, 'mass media are the main contemporary means of constructing and consuming "difference," including linguistically indexed difference' (2009, p. 297). Even a cursory look at any medium of mass communication in Chile reflects both ideas: Spanish is almost exclusively the primary medium of communication between media and the local audiences, while other languages may come up as topics of debate, only mentioned in passing or dismissed from the reporting entirely. Underpinned by dominant nation-state ideologies, such use of languages shows the linguistic status quo in the country and marks the difference between languages.

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the nature of online media and their affordances to create and challenge linguistic hierarchies in nation-states. For this reason, it is necessary to present the features proper of online media that differ them from print newspapers. These are discussed in general terms with references to specific online media of Chile, where possible[47]. Then I proceed to news values and attempt to answer the question about the newsworthiness of languages and language-related issues. Due to lack of research that addresses media representations of languages and multilingual practices in Chile, the final sections of

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[46] As section 3.3 of this chapter shows, online newspapers have more in common with the traditional print newspapers than with social media that have become very influential.
[47] A lack of studies on Chilean online media impedes to focus the discussion exclusively on Chilean online media.

the chapter present general trends in media representations of minoritised and dominant languages and multilingual practices with an emphasis on languages relevant to Chile where possible.

3.2 The media and the linguistic debate: media's role in representations of languages

As noted in the introduction chapter, Androutsopolous (2016) maintains that language and media research has not been formalised in sociolinguistics as often the effects of media on language (e.g. language change and dissemination of minoritised languages) are not considered probable or significant enough to make such systematisation attempt worthy. Nevertheless, mass media as an institution not only influence linguistic change but also are considered to be a language policing actor (Blommaert *et al.*, 2009; Kelly-Holmes, 2012; Kelly-Holmes and Pietikäinen, 2013). This can have significant effects in nation-states with limited explicit language policy, such as Chile. For instance, the idea about the inferiority of Chilean Spanish (as illustrated with an example in 2.3.1) in comparison to other Spanishes is the only topic that comes up in media representations of Chilean Spanish, as Chapter Six shows.

Media are a site where ideas and beliefs about languages circulate (Anderson, 1983; Blommaert, 1999; Coupland, 2009; Kelly-Holmes, 2012; Kelly-Holmes and Pietikäinen, 2013), and may now be one of the most prominent channels where these are disseminated. Anderson (1983) maintained that it is the media who created 'languages of power' (but also silence others) as they represent a space where people can 'think about themselves, and to relate themselves to others, in profoundly new ways' (1983, p. 52). Such ways were not available before the press and television, and the media helped shape the national identity in news reporting in multiple ways, one of which is through its discourse about language. As this study intends to focus on representations of languages, it is crucial to examine how 'languages of power' and 'silenced languages', to use Anderson's terms (1983), are created with media's help.

Broadly, it is through implicit and explicit actions (from an outsider perspective) that the media construe languages and linguistic practices in their reporting. The implicit actions include the language decision-making behind the scene, i.e. the media

consumers are not aware of them. An obvious one is the choice of language of reporting, which is usually justified by practical reasons. As a result, some languages are chosen for TV broadcast or newspapers and not others[48]. Presence in the media creates visibility for languages and, in the case of newspapers, the choice is only among written languages. Languages without written form or in the process of elaboration of one tend to be left out of the written mass media. Although depending on the acceptance of multilingualism in each given society language used in the media may differ, national media tend to use the official or national language of the state they operate in (Kelly-Holmes and Pietikäinen, 2013). In Chile, the state does not determine the language of broadcast and press in legal terms (see section 1.2 for an overview of language policies in Chile), but the status of Spanish is normalised and unquestioned in public discourses which makes it the default language of Chilean national media.

Both broadcast media and the press tend to use the standard variety (see 2.3.5. for discussion of standard language ideology) which in the case of Chile is Chilean standard Spanish. A significant body of research has identified mass media as state institutions involved in establishing the standard and diffusing positive representations of it (Horner, 2007; Heller and Duchêne, 2012). To a large extent, the processes of standardisation of languages during nation-building have been possible thanks to the print media (Anderson, 1983) and formal education. This not only helped implement corpus planning innovations for state languages[49] but also normalise language in the society, in the sense of construing it as neutral and familiar to everyone. Indeed, media representations have 'the power to erase the social nature of meaning making' (Jaffe, 2016). At the time of massification of the media, the priority was given to official languages, minority languages 'were eclipsed in the era of nation building' (Wright, 2006, p. 191). Such was the case of Chile, were minoritised languages were never considered national languages (Rojas, 2015); hence, were not considered for mass use in the printed press, broadcast and the radio. Because mass media are a prestigious institution (Billig, 1995), their use of standard variety implicitly promotes the standard official language to the audiences and encourages people to acquire and use it.

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[48] See section 2.4 for discussion of ethoglossia and functional roles of languages
[49] See Bell's study (2011) on determiner deletion introduced by New Zealand radio broadcast in an attempt to move away from colonial varieties of English.

For multilingual media, the issue can be in terms of allocation of time or space for each language which Spitulnik (1998) described in her study of language ideologies in a Zambian radio broadcast, a vivid illustration of implicit language policing in the media. Giving a particular language more or less time and space inevitably construes ideas about the language's worth and usefulness. In the worst case, languages end up excluded from the media, often blamed on the costs of running multilingual media. On the other hand, the limitation of space and necessity to broadcast or publish in just one language was overcome with digital technology. However, even these new possibilities did not bring about a dramatic change into a representation of multilingual practices: multilingual digital media create an image of 'parallel monolingualism' with marked borders between languages, which might not reflect the linguistic practices in the real world (Kelly-Holmes, 2012) in line with the monolingual and standard linguistic ideologies. Parallel versions of news websites can also reproduce language ideologies by giving different angles in reporting of same news stories in different languages (Sliashynskaya, 2019).

Turning to explicit actions around language decision-making in the media, representations are mainly construed through metalanguage or the language used to talk about language (see Jaworski, Coupland and Galasinski (2004) for an overview of the concept). In other words, this means any media product that explicitly discusses languages or comments on language use. Because of the dominance of the standard variety in the media, such discourses often spread ideas about correctness and appropriateness of linguistic varieties. Overall, media representation 'constructs, ranks and evaluates its objects [speakers, languages, places, communities]' (Jaffe, 2016, p. 75). Because these objects are inevitably evaluated in such discourse, representations can be perceived as a call for action to modify one's linguistic repertoire. This may have to do with the acquisition of new lexis, modifying pronunciation, acquiring a new language or giving up one's own, etc. Otherwise, the media represent a source of information from which we gain knowledge about language and multilingualism, which 'give shape to our experience of multilingualism' (Kelly-Holmes and Pietikäinen, 2013, p. 3926).

Both implicit and explicit actions around representations of languages and multilingualism in the media are ideological because they create an imaginary linguistic picture of the context where they report and inform speakers' perceptions of languages and linguistic practices. In Latin America, the implicit representation of

languages in the media is reflected in the use of standard Spanish by mass newspapers, radio and TV (Gluszek and Hansen, 2013). In film production, a 'neutralised' variety of Spanish was created to extend the industry to the widest circle of consumers. This can be explained by the ideological complex of anonymity (Woolard, 2016) as the media tend to address abstract 'unknown' audiences (Thornborrow, 2004), so the standard 'fit-all' variety of language is needed. At the same time, minoritised languages tend to be used in the smaller scale media, such as local radio stations (e.g. Bolivia and Ecuador). Regarding explicit representations of languages in the media, Gluszek & Hansen (2013) indicate that they can affect the ways in which people respond to speakers of non-standard varieties and minoritised languages; this usually means positive attitudes towards standard varieties and favourable attitudes to other varieties. Then, the media's role in maintaining the linguistic status quo and promoting dominant languages and practice in nation-states is significant.

However, Heller and Duchene (2012) claim that due to a significant shift in the economy from national to supranational level the discourses around language have also changed significantly. From legitimising the nation-state as an economic unit (see 2.3.2 and 2.4.3 for overview of nationalist language ideologies and the economic value of language) languages have passed on to legitimise the global economic order, whilst transcending the barrier of the nation-states, at least to some extent.

Other researchers pointed to affordances of the new media to alter the pattern of both global and nationalist discourses about language (Bell, 2011; Kelly-Holmes and Milani, 2011; Kelly-Holmes, 2012; Androutsopoulos, 2013; Kelly-Holmes and Pietikäinen, 2013). However, the Internet stands out among other 'obvious instruments of ideological reproduction' (Blommaert, 1999, p. 430). Although access to digital technology remains limited with only half of the world's population using the Internet[50], the digital media have managed to cross nation-state borders and now make up a globalised communicative space. The question on the extent to which the new media, such as online newspapers, effectively influence dominant discourses is still a contentious issue.

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[50] Almost 80% of the population of Chile have access to the internet (Internet World Stats, 2019).

In an edited volume on thematisation of multilingualism in the media, it is argued that digital media provide space for more hybrid multilingual practices (Kelly-Holmes and Milani, 2013) which means an understanding of multilingualism without clear-cut boundaries between languages in these new digital spaces. For instance, Cru (2015, 2018) gives some examples of code-mixing in Youtube comments for a song of Mapuche rapper and plurilingual practices of Maya youths on Facebook. Escobar (2011) suggests that in Peru, Quechua and Aimara are used alongside with local varieties of Spanish on the social networks. However, an analysis of discourses on the BBC Voices website that aims to promote linguistic diversity in the UK showed that this happens precisely under the model of discrete monolingualisms and nationalist linguistic ideologies (Milani, Davies and Turner, 2013). In a study of thematisation of Irish in online forums, Kelly-Holmes (2011) found evidence that dominant discourses invalidate daily practices of Irish language use. In his study of the use of dialects in the comments section on YouTube, Androutsopoulos (2013) argued that the participatory nature of new media helps destabilise and diversify dominant discourses, and this changes the social meanings attached to these dialects. Another important application of digital media is the revitalisation of minoritised languages, where they represent valuable spaces for linguistic exchange (Eisenlohr, 2004).

Such strikingly differing findings can be explained by the great diversity within the new digital media as sites of representation of languages and multilingualism: their purposes, their virtual interface and the actors whose voices are represented there. The following section presents the particularities of online newspapers, which is crucial for understanding the discourses that circulate there.

3.3 About online newspapers

An online (or digital) newspaper[51] is a digital version of a newspaper which can be a standalone publication or a website created by the editorial of a print newspaper. Therefore, some online newspapers emerged as complementing web versions of print newspapers, some online newspapers appeared on the web only, and some print newspapers switch to online-only versions (see 4.4. for some examples of this from Chilean context). The invention of news websites was an important milestone

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[51] In this thesis, I employ the terms news website and online (digital) newspaper interchangeably.

for newsmakers, both large (e.g. the BBC) (Allan, 2006) and smaller ones, allowing to diversify the choice of news for consumers significantly. Online newspapers have become mainstream in recent years, and growth in their consumption is observed (Mitchelstein and Boczkowski, 2010), while the consumption of print newspapers is decreasing (Bennett, 2016).

One crucial factor in this process is the circulation, which is strongly affected by the materiality of the medium (Gershon and Manning, 2014) and the cost of access. The ease of circulation explains the popularity of online news as digital newspapers can be accessed from anywhere and are often free to access. Thus, news websites are an ideal medium of disseminating national news because they can be accessed regardless of the location of the reader and their payment capacity. In recent years, online news has penetrated social media and these often become platforms where people read the news.

The online news is a very dynamic field in the media market: new websites appear and spread fast and often cease to exist after just a short time of activity. One example of this is the Chilean news website *Terra.cl* articles from which were included into the corpus of this study: from being one of the top 10 most visited news websites in Chile, it ceased to exist in July 2017.

The production of online news is also very dynamic and diverse. While for print newspapers the speed of delivering the news is determined by the frequency with which newspapers are printed, online newspapers can add content as it appears. This puts digital news at a great advantage when it comes to breaking news broadcast. Such immediacy led to the development of new types of news articles: live blogs (reporting on sporting events and others), live news with updates (where an article is updated as new information appears) and of course, news with audio and video content often regarded as the multimodality feature of online news. Deuze (2003) even proposes distinctions among types of online journalism. Nevertheless, the key features of articles of online newspapers were 'inherited' from the printed press (Himelboim and McCreery, 2012), which is especially true for the articles on language-related issues which are usually presented in textual form rather than with the use of multimedia. Indeed, users evaluate text-based online news as similar to print newspapers (Ihlstrom and Lundberg, 2003).

The virtual nature of online news affects not only the form of the articles but also the journalistic norms. One such requirement for news articles relates to the veracity of the information presented and checks that need to be carried out before publishing the information. Because of the high speed of online news, such checks might not always be carried out beyond presenting the hyperlink to the source. Whereas in traditional media the journalists were believed to perform 'truth-telling and the audience has responded with different degrees of trust' (Karlsson, 2011, p. 282), in online journalism, it is often up to news consumers to check the facts. It has become possible thanks to the interactivity feature of online news (Karlsson, 2011) wherein the comments section readers can feedback the authors or share their opinions with other readers.

Because numbers of users of online media are increasing, their interactivity feature has become the focus of current research in the field. An overview of the most cited articles in the peer-reviewed journal *New Media and Society* shows that the interactivity feature of new media is now the focus of academics' attention with particular interest in how online news enter social media (Fletcher and Nielsen, 2018), how users engage with it (Ksiazek, Peer and Lessard, 2016) and the effects it has on political behaviour of the users (Diehl, Weeks and Gil de Zúñiga, 2016). However, interactivity feature, along with the multimedia aspect of news reporting is beyond the scope of this thesis as the analysis here focuses on media texts.

Coming back to the issue of credibility in online news, the fact-checking for the readers is also facilitated by the feature of hypertextuality. This means that news texts contain clickable links for internal and navigational interactivity (Deuze, 2003), that is, readers can go other pages within the website. Such links also contain the sources from where the information was gathered or additional related content. This shows the intertextual nature of online news (Richardson, 2007; Bax, 2011) and places them at the essence of discourse: media texts make part of socio-political contexts, and they should be analysed in relation to it (Richardson, 2007). The advantage of online news is that hypertextuality can help trace such connections.

In terms of users' evaluation of trustworthiness of online news, a recent study showed that users tend to rank objective news reports as more credible and more newsworthy than opinionated articles (Tandoc and Thomas, 2017). Surprisingly, the same study showed that the transparency feature of news articles is considered less

important to the readers in terms of credibility. This can be explained by the immediacy feature of online news: if readers choose to consume online news because it is timely and fast, then probably fact-checking is not their priority. What is important for the analysis of news texts is that, although there is no view from nowhere, objectivity in reporting is allegedly the aim of journalism and it manifests itself in the absence of author's personal opinions. Nevertheless, it remains an open question whether every news reader is competent enough to identify them.

Turning to the issue of transparency in online news, it not only has to do with making the sources public. It also relates to establishing the background of online newspapers: their origins, financial dependency and political affiliation. Sometimes this is not possible for all online newspapers (difficulties for locating this information for Chilean online newspapers are presented in section 4.4). This also has to do with the authorship of news stories: often, it is also impossible to establish who wrote the story. For instance, the Chilean online-only newspaper *El Dínamo* does not provide information about authors of news reports.

Another transparency-related issue has to do with the sourcing of online news. The immediacy and ease of access to sources on the Internet not only leads to vast amounts of information but also the replication of the same news stories on multiple news websites. This is an issue that comes up in assessing the data collected and then analysing it: often one article provided by a news agency or a newspaper is republished on multiple websites in the same form or with negligible changes. For example, an article on Euronews website in Spanish titled '*El español se afianza como segunda lengua del mundo, detrás del chino*' reappeared on the same day on the website of the Argentinian newspaper *Clarín*[52]. Online newspapers also add live updates to the same news reports to draw readers' attention on a specific topic. Considering that repetitive news is perceived as problematic and less trustworthy by the readers (Choi and Kim, 2017), this poses issues for quantitative analysis as it impacts the calculations of frequencies and collocations (presented in Chapter Four).

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[52] See <https://es.euronews.com/2018/11/27/en-directo-el-instituto-cervantes-presenta-su-informe-sobre-el-espanol-en-el-mundo> and < https://www.clarin.com/cultura/espanol-afianza-segunda-lengua-mundo-detras-chino_0_2Y1-zCBpv.html>

Despite these differences, recent research indicates that in Chile, online news websites adopt not only the general conventions of news writing[53] but also mirror 'the structural and organisational logic of traditional media' (Mellado *et al.*, 2018, p. 15). Regarding the structure and organisation of online news articles, Lewis (2003) argues that the structure of online news stories differs significantly from print and broadcast news as the content of an online news story is layered into several levels of detail (Lewis, 2003, p. 97). This means that on the main page of a website 'news bites' are presented to the reader, small chunks of visual and textual information that briefly present the story. The full article appears on the next level and following the logic of the inverted pyramid model, the title and the lead paragraph contain the most important information. Links to other articles appear as hypertext within the news story, which are new layers of information. Then, hypertextuality feature is what changes the reading practices while the linguistic presentation of news articles online resembles that of print news.

The specific semiotic, discursive and linguistic devices that newspapers in general and online newspapers more specifically employ in the representation of issues and entities are presented in section 4.8 of the Methodology chapter.

3.4 News values: is language newsworthy?

News values are usually research subject of journalism and media studies, but their importance for linguistic analyses of news texts cannot be underestimated (Bednarek and Caple, 2014), especially when CDA and language ideologies approach to the data is taken where the context of news reporting is relevant for data analysis. News values are essentially the criteria that define what is worthy of appearing on the news.

Many classifications of news values were offered by different authors (see Harcup and O'Neill (2017) for a recent overview), and all of them give an insight on the journalists' ideas about the value of each story they come across. Moreover, the differences between the lists of news values in journalists' textbooks are only minor (Cotter, 2010) with all of them prioritising timeliness (how recent is the story),

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[53]These conventions differ across tabloid and broadsheet newspapers. Because of these genre and content differences, some studies of representations treat the two types as separate datasets (see (Gabrielatos and Baker, 2008; Baker, Gabrielatos and McEnery, 2013).

proximity (did it occur locally) and prominence (is there a well-known person involved) as the main news values. In contrast, in his book on the political communication in the US press, Bennett maintains that news tends to favour '*dramatic* and *personalised* aspects of events over more complex underlying political realities' (2016, p. 33). The lack of consensus on a clear set of news values suggests that these are not applied in journalist practices rigidly. Indeed, these are negotiated within each specific context of the institution, their audience and market pressures. It also shows how selecting the newsworthy is not an ideology-free process but is subject to professional values in each particular media outlet and conditioned by the final goal of selling and disseminating information (Lalinde Posada, 1990).

News values can vary from one society to another and even from one newspaper to another (Martini, 2000). For example, in the case of Chile, the most newsworthy events identified in the printed press are cultural events, sports and internal politics (Puente and Mujica, 2004). Generally, significant differences in news values were found across television, radio and newspapers. In the same study, qualitative analysis of focus groups with journalists, PR specialists and the general public showed that the most salient news values are unexpectedness, social change, proximity, direct experience of the event and shocking images (Puente and Mujica, 2004, p. 90).

On the other hand, it can be argued that online newspapers have very different news values from traditional media. For online news specifically, Harcup and O'Neill (2017) highlight the news value shareability. Thanks to the presence of news media on social networks, newsmakers can evaluate the worth of a story by counting the times the story was opened and shared; the more interaction the audience had with it, the more newsworthy it is. On the other hand, as the printed press is under pressure to sell physical copies, online newspapers are expected to obtain high numbers of clicks and shares (ibid.). This is the critical difference between online and print newspapers; these interactive features of online newspapers allow to identify what kind of stories are newsworthy for the audience. This is established by continuous observation of the audience's reactions to the published online news, and the news values are continuously shaped in such interaction between the online newsmaker and its consumers. However, it does not mean that news values derived from the traditional media are irrelevant to online newspapers.

In fact, Tewksbury & Rittenberg (2012) maintain that within one news organisation, news values across their online news source and the print newspaper do not differ (2012, p. 57). More broadly, they claim that the importance cues (signals that suggest the level of importance of a story) are the same on the internet as those in traditional media. This is relevant for this study as some news websites are part of a print newspaper editorial (see section 4.4. for a description of Chilean online newspapers analysed in this study).

News values are articulated in the actual writing of news stories in implicit and explicit ways and are, in fact, influenced by the journalists' writing practices (Harcup and O'Neill, 2001, 2017; Cotter, 2010; Catenaccio *et al.*, 2011). This indicates that before the news is communicated to the public, news values and journalists' writing practices mould the story, so it appeals to the reader. Then, news values relate directly to the representational nature of the news. Not only do they motivate the selection of stories, but they can also push journalists to highlight some aspects of the news over others deliberately. Then the question arises: are languages and language-related issues newsworthy? Or do they not satisfy the general news value criteria?

The overview of news values shows that language *per se* can hardly be perceived as a topic that would constantly dominate news makers attention. If we look at minoritised languages in the media, Cameron (2007) asserts that issues like language endangerment, in fact, 'do not fit the prototype of news stories' (2007, p. 268) precisely because of their lack of newsworthiness as something that does not affect large audiences, happens gradually and in an uncertain way.
Rivenburgh (2004) affirms that some language-related issues are too complex to be reported in the news, and the media tend to simplify them. However, within the universe of language-related issues, some topics and language can be more appealing to the readers than others. For instance, in contexts where languages constitute part of political debate and become the bargaining chip in the battle for voters, languages can be significantly present in the news (e.g. Catalonia, Quebec, Wales, Belgium among others).

Unfortunately, no studies have focused on news values for reporting on specific languages (or languages of Chile), so that a comparison could be provided. Nevertheless, it can be anticipated that English would be a salient topic in the dataset

due to the recent government education policies (see section 1.2 for the overview) while the prominence of minoritised languages could depend on the presence of news about the minoritised peoples of Chile where languages would be mentioned in passing[54].

Overall, language(s) do not represent a newsworthy subject as an overview of news topics from various countries shows (Shoemaker and Cohen, 2012). However, because of its ubiquitous nature, language can appear linked to the following topics that Shoemaker and Cohen identified as newsworthy: human interest stories, cultural events, communication, politics and social relations among others. In texts that focus on these topics, language can be mentioned in passing or be one of the constituent building blocks of the article.

Rarely do language or linguistic practices become a central issue of discussion in the news. However, under certain circumstances, the linguistic debate in the media can become salient. At certain points in history, language can become 'targets of political, social and cultural intervention' (Blommaert, 1999, p. 425). This can be triggered by changes in language policies, educational curriculum, citizenship laws, etc. For instance, a spike in the news may be motivated by a recent national holiday celebration, as a study into language ideologies in the Canadian press showed (Vessey, 2013).

Another example from Canada shows that French language newspapers tend to report on language education more frequently and in a more explicit manner than English language newspapers (Vessey, 2017). Vessey attributed these differences in selection and presentation of the news to differing language ideologies between French- and English-speaking Canada.

In the case of the UK, frequency of articles about multilingualism differs significantly between tabloid and broadsheet newspapers (Jaworska and Themistocleous, 2017): overall, broadsheet newspapers tend to cover issues around multilingualism more often. Then, the interest in language issues can also be motivated by the specific newspaper's news values. Nevertheless, the number of articles in tabloids fluctuated from one decade to another which suggests that languages may appear more

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[54] This is a hypothesis that I justify by lack of change in government policies in relation to minoritised languages of Chile. The increase of their visibility, if any, could be expected due to bottom-up initiatives and discourses of the minoritised peoples that would not make it a dominant discourse

frequently on the news if issues related to language become more salient: Jaworska & Themistocleous noticed that the topic of immigration became prominent in the 2000s which explains the salience of language-related issues in the news of that time.

Overall, there is a continuity between news values in traditional media and online news sources (Tewksbury and Rittenberg, 2012). In addition to the news values of traditional media, the newsworthiness of stories about language and language-related issues is influenced by the cultural factors in a given society, such as language ideologies and the importance of language issues in the society in general. Current political and social changes also affect the interest of the media and the audiences towards languages. Having discussed the possible motivations of the media to talk about language, the next section presents tendencies in representations of languages and multilingual practices in the media.

3.5 Trends in representations of languages in the media

This section presents relevant literature on representations of the minoritised and dominant languages and multilingual practices. These studies come from different research approaches - linguistic ideologies, language attitudes, language planning and policy, language awareness, language endangerment and language shift among others. Most studies included into this literature review use print newspapers or other traditional media as a source of data or present analysis of representations of language in public discourse or in language planning and policy documents as research into representations of languages in online newspapers is limited.

Most studies of minoritised languages are interested to explore the affordances of the new media for expansion of languages, challenges these new channels pose to dominant ideologies and values and new domains of use they open for the speakers, as well as their role in organising socially and politically for the speech communities and for commercial purposes (Wright, 2006). Other academics focus on the specific features of media in minoritised languages (Cormack, 1998; Cormack and Hourigan, 2007; Pietikäinen, 2008; Pietikäinen and Kelly-Holmes, 2011). In addition to media representations, the section on dominant languages presents key actors who have an interest in the spread of certain languages and specific varieties. I also touch upon

the fields of linguistic ecology (Mühlhäusler, 2002) and linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 1992, 2008b).

Digital media are believed to be a more flexible sight of information exchange as compared to traditional media. Indeed, social networks or discussion forums which represent discursive spaces for discussion of language and broader social issues (Androutsopoulos, 2013; Cru, 2018). Although online news uses the same platform as other digital media, they are a lot more institutionalised.

3.5.1 Minoritised languages

It has been argued that 'communication technology […] can provide vital new opportunities for media production and consumption in minority languages'(Cunliffe and Herring, 2005, p. 131) and some speakers find some types of digital media beneficial for maintenance of culture and development of language skills in children (Szecsi and Szilagyi, 2012). Digital media have also been used for revitalisation purposes in the Andes (Coronel-Molina, 2005). However, how does the online news construe minoritised[55] languages? This section presents tendencies in reporting on these languages in the media and whether news media have, in fact, given such opportunities to these languages and how their representations are construed.

The Chilean state tends to make the many minoritised peoples (indigenous and immigrants) and the cultural differences within the country invisible (Muñoz Román, 2010; Browne Sartori and Castillo Hinojosa, 2013) or represent them in a negative light (Richards, 2010). Considering the enormous role of the media in any nation's affairs (Fowler, 2013, p. 20), it is perhaps not surprising that little is known about media representations of Chile's languages. In this section, I discuss the studies that have focused on other minoritised languages as represented in the media of the countries where they are spoken as this can help anticipate the representations of Chile's languages.

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[55] As discussed in Chapter One (section 1.4), languages of Chile usually referred to as indigenous are called minoritised in this thesis. Other terminology is often used in research to talk about 'small' languages in Pietikäinen *et al.*(2016) terms: minority, indigenous, local, aboriginal, heritage or, in some cases, even dialects (Gao, 2015). In Spanish, these languages are called *minorizada, indígena, originaria* among other terms.

Where languages are the focus on news stories, two main themes overarch such media talk: (1) language endangerment (Rivenburgh, 2004, 2011; Cameron, 2007); and (2) language right appeals (Patrick, 2007).

Language endangerment is a salient theme in news reporting (Cameron, 2007). It is usually presented in the news in quantitative terms by eliciting the numbers of languages that exist and will seize to exist by the end of the century, the decreasing numbers of speakers, etc. without justifying such conclusions or presenting different viewpoints (Cameron, 2007). Such reporting suggests that it is the dramatic effect that it might produce on the audience that makes such stories newsworthy. The reporting on endangered languages is usually presented emotively and moralistically, meaning the issue is presented in alarmist terms and sympathetically.

The main point that Cameron (2007) makes is that, despite the sympathetic representation of endangered languages in the media, it is not unproblematic in its ideological stance because it is linked to the nationalist ideologies of language (2007, p. 271). Cameron identified the conceptual metaphor LANGUAGES ARE BIOLOGICAL SPECIES (2007, p. 272) as one of the most prominent in the media. This metaphor is executed through multiple discourse moves, such as tying together language and culture. Under such an organicist view of language and culture, the nation is imagined as impossible without these two essential characteristics. Consequently, language loss puts the existence of a nation/ethnicity at risk.

Cameron (ibid.) asserts that such representations link the issue to current ecological crises (loss of biodiversity and natural resources) and construe it through the LANGUAGES AS SPECIES metaphor. This metaphor is proper of the study of the ecology of language or ecolinguistics that establishes a direct link between linguistic and biological diversity (see *Ecolinguistics Reader* (Fill and Muhlhausler, 2006) for an overview of the field). In brief, ecolinguistics suggests that the destruction of species and their habitats is connected with the disintegration of indigenous communities that inhabit them, and, hence, with language loss. Another trend in representation is to implicitly 'exoticise' the languages by drawing on some linguistic features that stand out. Such representation depoliticises the issue of language loss by drawing on abstract notions, such as heritage, culture and diversity, rather than particular ethnic groups and speakers.

The reporting on endangered languages under the ecology metaphor has become taken for granted (Cameron, 2007) and no reference to the political struggles behind the process of minoritisation and endangerment of languages or the causes of these processes. This resonates with the situation of the Mapuche in Chile: rather than focusing on language endangerment, Chilean media tend to focus solely on precisely their political demands for lands and greater autonomy while blaming them for confrontations with the police and violence (Correa Mujica, 2001; Richards, 2010; Del Valle, 2015). Cameron also criticises the tendency to idealise diversity as something westerners had already lost to globalisation as it leads to objectifying the culture and language of members of ethnic groups for the sake of compensation for feelings of loss and guilt (2007, p. 283). It should be kept in mind that Cameron examined articles that problematise language loss in general, and, hence, do not refer to any particular language or context. Then, the plead of those news stories is not for justice or revitalisation of languages of any particular group but for the preservation of linguistic diversity of the humankind in general (Cameron, 2007; Patrick, 2007) which is a very abstract goal to pursue.

In contrast to Cameron's study, Rivenburgh (2011) found that LANGUAGES AS SPECIES metaphor does not dominate western media discourse and that about 56% of news stories report on the causes of language endangerment. She identified three different culprits of language extinction in her analysis of representations of endangered languages in English-language western media between 1971 and 2006: (1) the speech community itself; (2) global forces and (3) injustices of history (2011, p. 712). She points out that most frequently the media construed language loss as the choice of speech communities and that it is up to speakers to reverse language shift. However, the news fails to recognise that it is under nation-state paradigm that processes of language loss have accelerated due to denial of the external causes of language endangerment.

Less frequently, news stories blame globalisation, modernisation and modern economy that resulted in the prevalence of 'big' languages in the mainstream society and made efforts of language preservation futile. As the globalisation increases in pace and society becomes increasingly market-driven, such reporting indicates no positive solution for the problem despite its sympathetic representation of the issue. Only about a third of the articles analysed drew on historical injustices as causes of language endangerment. Similarly to the previous frames, it simplifies the issue and

fails to consider present-day linguistic policies' effect on the linguistic situation and political and socio-economic struggles that pose barriers to reversing the shift.

The studies cited above found nation-state related ideological underpinnings of representations of languages in the news. for instance, despite the representation of Chinese varieties as necessary sustaining factors of regional cultural diversity and as markers of identity which goes against the dominant monolingual ideology of the state in China, Gao (2015) found similarities in ideological assumptions about languages across individuals, businesses and the state institutions in news reporting on the dialect crisis in China. Unsurprisingly, these included the essentialising links between language and identity and language and culture, a central pillar of nation-state language ideology.

Similarly, Spitulnik (1998) found that Zambian languages represent 'cultural reservoirs' in the Zambian radio broadcast. The broadcast is built in such a way that only the issues of immediate relevance to the ethnic groups that speak the languages are reported in them. This reproduces the rigid attachment of the language to the ethnic group. She also found that the value of languages is constructed through the selective allocation of airtime to each language. Despite the contradicting official discourse of unity in diversity and unity above all, Zambian radio does not manage to establish an image of egalitarianism for all eight languages used in the broadcast: a high value of English is constructed through its representation as 'scientific and factual language' (Spitulnik, 1998, p. 175). Then, minoritised Zambian languages are constructed in opposition to English, where English and Zambian languages occupy the extremes on the axis of language value (see Figure 3-1).

Zambian languages : English language

traditional : modern :: rural : urban :: ethnic : cosmopolitan :: exclusive : inclusive

backwards : sophisticated :: illiterate : literate :: biased : neutral

local news : international news :: cultural programs : scientific programs ::
traditional music : Western music

Figure 3-1 Social evaluations of languages and their links to program content (Spitulnik, 1998, p. 176)

The dichotomies show the opposing meanings of English and Zambian languages as construed through broadcasting choices which are not immediately apparent to the lay public. Therefore, the study reminds us of the importance of implicitness of language ideology and the realisations of this feature in media reporting. On the other hand, these dichotomies resonate with representations of other minoritised

languages when construed in comparison to dominant languages (e.g. De Los Heros (2009), Rojas (Rojas, 2013), Sliashynskaya (2019))[56]; the evaluations presented in Figure 3-1 are to a large extent universal to contexts where minoritised languages and varieties encounter the pressure of the dominant ones.

It is precisely this context that defined the language ideologies of minoritised languages of Chile in the 19th century as Rojas (Rojas, 2013) demonstrated: Chile's languages occupied a peripheral position in the imagined homogenous cultural model of the new republic and were delegitimised and stigmatised as a result of the monolingual ideology of the nation-state. Rojas (ibid.) points out that such delegitimisation leads to denial of the status of language for Mapudungun, which in the minds of some Chileans is a dialect, in the sense of an inferior to language form of speech (Rojas, 2013). Such beliefs are underpinned by fears of damage that the mere existence of minoritised languages can do to a 'homogenous monolingual' nation-state and led to denial and invisibility of all Chile's indigenous languages in the process of nation-state foundation.

A somewhat unusual representation of minoritised languages in the media has to do with their economic value. The minoritised status of languages can be an asset because their distinction and exclusivity can be put to commercial use (Pietikäinen *et al.*, 2016, p. 3). Gao (2015) found that businesses and the state use the media to spread messages and promote products in regional Chinese varieties. Then, the media can contribute to the construction of the 'profit' value of minoritised varieties.

Closely tied to evoking the economic value of language is the tokenistic use of language. This happens when an odd word or an expression in the minority language is used in a text written in a dominant language (websites involved in commercial activity, especially tourism related, such as websites of hotels, restaurants, local merchandise, etc.) as Wright´s study (2006) of minoritised European languages demonstrated. Such emblematic and symbolic use of language highlights the authenticity of the geographical place; in other words, it makes language instrumental to the creation of a 'brand'. In fact, Wright's study showed that languages were used

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[56] De Los Heros (2009) examined representations of regional varieties of Spanish against standard Spanish in Peru; Rojas (2013) examined dominant language ideologies towards indigenous languages of Chile in the XIX century in the context of dominance of Spanish; Sliashynskaya (2019) shows how Belarusian is constructed in contrast to Russian in Belarusian online news.

mainly emblematically on the Internet. However, her study was not limited to online newspapers but included various types of websites.

Regarding the type of news stories that cover minoritised languages, Rivenburgh (2004, 2011) has found the following types of articles in the news coverage in western English language newspapers: (1) the profile of the last speaker of a language; (2) commonly circulated statistics; (3) event-oriented articles (generated via universities, non-profit organisations, publishers and institutional public relations efforts (2011, p. 711). Also, the news reporting was characterised by low visibility, formulaic presentations and sympathetic but limited vision of the issue. In terms of the language of news articles, they relied heavily on the statistics and personalised the stories where possible. Cotter (2011) studied culture-positive feature stories about visitors, newcomers, immigrants and heritage language learners in the US newspapers that have individuals in their focus; she found that unlike other contentious issues around language, such stories construct idealised images of out-groups as well as the majority groups.

Because representations of minoritised languages emerge in contrast to the dominant in explicit or implicit ways, representations can complement each other to build a picture of the linguistic situation in the country and beyond. The next sections continue with the representations of Spanish and English as the two relevant dominant languages in the Chilean context.

3.5.2 Dominant languages

Spanish

I would like to start the section on representations of Spanish by introducing the different names of the language as the subtleties in its naming reveal decisive moments in language planning that lead to its acceptance by the public. In his extensive work on the linguistic nationalism, Moreno Cabrera (2008) discussed the differences that exist between – *castellano* and *español* – the two names of Spanish in Spanish. He argues that the Spanish language (*español*) was based on the Castilian dialect (*castellano*) and was for a long time called *castellano*, but was later

renamed[57] as *español* to create 'a new omni-comprehensive entity that is much more perfect and developed' (Moreno Cabrera, 2008, pp. 87–88) in order to solidify the unifying effect of a shared language under the nationalist language ideology. The political history of Spanish is a whole topic in itself, and the intention here is to give a snapshot of 'the making of the language' into 'a discursively constructed political artefact'(del Valle, 2013, p. 18).

Nevertheless, both terms are synonymous and in public discourses are often used interchangeably. However, in South American republics, *castellano* is preferred because *español* alludes to Spain (Leclerc, 2019). While in official policies, the language is often labelled in both ways, it is unclear how these terms are used in other discourses in the Chilean context.

What is important to highlight about these terms, is that they both have been employed in nation-state contexts to refer to the 'invented' linguistic product of the colonial and nationalist projects (Makoni and Pennycook, 2007). As Mar-Molinero (2000) stresses, in most ex-colonies of Spain in Latin America, Spanish 'has triumphed in its overwhelming domination in all these societies' (Mar-Molinero, 2000, p. 60) and is the language of status, power, public life, the media and social mobility.

Before delving into the discussion of representations of Spanish in the media, two remarks about the nature of the media in Spanish are necessary. Firstly, Mar-Molinero (2006a) claims that the media and cultural production are shared across the vast Spanish-language speech community thanks to the forces of globalisation. Secondly, Retis (2019) notices that Spanish-language media in the US is undergoing increasing concentration and, hence, is becoming more homogenous despite the differing backgrounds of *Latinx* media consumers in the US. Then, especially in the context of online news research, it is important to keep in mind that representations of Spanish in one context can be similar to other contexts.

In general, the studies of representations and ideologies of Spanish focus on (1) the discourses of the Royal Academy of Spanish (RAE) and national academies (Paffey, 2007, 2012; Cifuentes Sandoval, 2018) and *Instituto Cervantes* (Mar-Molinero,

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[57] Naming is part of the 'invention' of languages: common examples of how languages are named in specific ways to legitimate a nation-state and unify its people's around the language: Bahasa Indonesia, Bahasa Malaysia, Filipino and Putonghua in China to name a few.

2006a); (2) educational discourses (Valdes *et al.*, 2003; Pomerantz, 2006; de los Heros, 2009; Train, 2011; Padilla and Vana, 2019); (3) the global context and immigrant communities (Mar-Molinero, 2000, 2006a; del Valle, 2006; Garcia, 2018; Paffey, 2018).

Because the role of language academies in the spread of language ideologies is significant and the influence of the Royal Academy of Spanish expands beyond Spain and affects linguistic policies internationally (Paffey, 2007), I will first discuss the representations of Spanish that RAE and similar institutions promote in public discourses. Paffey (2007) accentuates the regulating role of the RAE by labelling it as 'the institutional 'guardian' of the linguistic order in Spain' (2007, p. 324). It is not surprising then that its discourses spread in Spain's printed press. However, Paffey (2007) stressed that the readership of RAE official documentation is very low, but the coverage of the linguistic debate on the media in which RAE participates has a broader audience.

One of the salient themes of linguistic debate in newspapers is the standardisation of Spanish. Newspaper articles mainly deal with the actual state of language and how it is used and misused by speakers, including issues of language impoverishment and its contamination with borrowings from other languages. RAE agents often blame the media for language misuse and imposition of undesired semantic changes. Paffey (2007) provides examples of columns by late Fernando Lázaro Carreter, the ex-director of the RAE in the Spanish newspaper *El País* where he frequently blames the journalists for 'general laxness towards language', and 'slackening of requirements, an impoverishment of values' (Paffey, 2007, p. 323). Here, the media give the academy a hand in keeping authority over the language and justifying the RAE's existence. The media not only give voice to members of the academy but also publish the updates about publications of the academy. For instance, an article from the data in this study titled *'¿Me emprestas la toballa? es una frase correcta según la RAE*[58] (by *ADN Radio*, 06/09/2015) criticised the RAE for being too modern and 'validating' colloquial words by including them into the dictionaries. Here, the online newspaper also carries out language policing by implicitly criticising the use of such words and mocking the RAE.

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[58] See full article http://www.adnradio.cl/noticias/sociedad/me-emprestas-la-toballa-es-una-frase-correcta-segun-la-rae/20150906/nota/2921017.aspx

Another salient theme in RAE discourses in mainstream media is related to ideas of panhispanism: 'the RAE seeks to manufacture for a vision of linguistic unity and the idea of an international community to which all Spanish-speakers belong' (Paffey, 2007, p. 327). Frequently the language is labelled as '*el español común*' or '*una lengua común*' (Paffey, 2012, p. 152; Woolard, 2016) underpinned by the ideology of anonymity (discussed in 2.4.2) and monolingualism (see 2.3.4). Language academies serve as guardians of the unity of this common language globally (Paffey, 2012). This is accomplished by various discursive moves such as claiming to have passed on the agency of language to the speakers and labelling RAE publications as descriptive and normative rather than prescriptive. RAE tends to construe Spanish as a pluricentric language which has multiple national varieties, all of which allegedly enjoy the same levels of prestige[59] (Paffey, 2012). RAE has also ascertained in media reporting that the standard global Spanish is constituted of all different varieties of Spanish to an equal extent. At the same time, RAE members try to erase the colonial past of Spanish and tend to focus on the high economic value of the language (Paffey, 2012, p. 144). To some extent, in such discourses, there is also an interest to 'counter the overwhelming march of global English' (Mar-Molinero, 2006a, p. 20)

Spanish organisation *Instituto Cervantes* is the key promoter of Spanish as a commodity (Mar-Molinero, 2006a). This institution acts on behalf of the Spanish government, and its goal is to sell Spanish worldwide taking advantage of the growth of tourism to Spanish-speaking destinations, increasing popularity of music in Spanish, etc. (Mar-Molinero, 2006a, p. 33). Similar representations of Spanish as a marketable language are spread by the RAE as well (Paffey, 2012). Instituto Cervantes is the largest business in teaching Spanish as a foreign language with multiple branches on all continents (Instituto Cervantes, 2018b). Importantly, the variety of Spanish that Instituto Cervantes teaches, the allegedly global Spanish, is based on the educated variety of Castilian Spanish from central Spain (Mar-Molinero, 2006b). It is also contradictory that the global language is exclusively taught by a Spanish government financed organisation; despite the discourses of equality and inclusivity across the varieties of Spanish, other Spanish-speaking nations do not

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[59] This is the official stance of the institution and perceptions of prestige among speakers differ significantly. The perceptions of Chilean variety of Spanish are presented on p. 81.

enjoy similar privileges to teach Spanish as a foreign language and gain financial benefits at the same scale as Spain.

With an institution dedicated to ensuring constant spread of the language, it is to expect that Spanish is frequently represented in the media and the findings of this study (see 5.3.2 and 6.2.2) as a growing language by repetitive use of the noun phrase *lengua en expansion* and quantifications (references to number of speakers, native and foreign language learners[60]) (Paffey, 2012). The growth is also expressed in terms of the expansion of domains (for example, literature). Paffey (2007) also points to the circulation of discourses of expansion of Spanish into new domains, such as sciences, technology, communication and diplomacy. These are the main targets of panhispanic policies that RAE promotes. These discourses emerge in tension with the dominance of English in the domains as mentioned above (Paffey, 2007, 2012). The RAE and other academies of language justify their activities in Latin America as the 'defence of Spanish' (Jansen, 2008), a surprising concern considering the vast domains of use and high numbers of speakers that the language has.

Having discussed representations of Spanish promoted by the RAE and *Instituto Cervantes*, it is necessary to briefly refer to other similar institutions in South America and Chile. In all South American countries, academies of language were created after 1870 in order to develop and organise campaigns and activities to promote and defend Spanish (Jansen, 2008, pp. 241–245). Chile was no exception: here in 1885 *La Academia Chilena de la Lengua* was founded, and after 1960 the institution secured its state funding as Chile signed the multilateral agreement under which the government promised to physically and financially support the activities of the Academy (Jansen, 2008, p. 245). This financial link of the academy to the Chilean state suggests that it promotes nation-state homogenising and unifying interests in the language domain, that is, reinforcing the dominant linguistic status quo. The Chilean Academy is the main authoritative voice on language matters in the country.

However, historically the academy was overtly propagating political and economic links with Spain while presenting it as '*una "madre" de la patria*' in the academy's publications of 1915-1931 (Cifuentes Sandoval, 2018, p. 367); the essence of such

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[60] Attempts to provide statistical information about the expansion of Spanish are undertaken by Instituto Cervantes (Instituto Cervantes, 2018a)

representation is the superiority of Spain over the former colonies in the questions of language. By highlighting the shared founding values, race and the language between Chile and Spain, the Chilean Academy not only used language to strengthen and legitimise the idea of Chilean nation but also employed it for promoting international collaboration between countries. Then, the Academy plays a political role in language management beyond the strictly intellectual linguistic agenda. The view of Spain as a superior nation construes the hierarchy of countries, their language varieties and academies with Spain at the top of it. Indeed, Cifuentes Sandoval (2018) stressed that the foundation of academies of language in South American republics and their early activities were mainly a Spanish neo-colonial enterprise. Even now, as the data of this study suggests, the RAE is construed as superior to other academies of Spanish as it is significantly more salient in news reporting and plays a central role in decision-making around language.

Although such ideas of cultural and linguistic superiority do not explicitly circulate in modern discourses of the Chilean Academy of language, its primary purpose remains the maintenance of Spanish as a unified language. This goal is underpinned by the ideologies of standard language in the interest of the national political elites (maintaining linguistic order and establishing linguistic authority) and the international ones (introducing a panhispanic block into the world geopolitics) (Cifuentes Sandoval, 2018).

Del Valle (2007b) talks about a community conscience of *hispanofonía* that enables the political and economic ties that exist between Spain and its American ex-colonies: this conscience is based on the idea of a shared 'Spanish' culture that materialises itself in the shared language, another imagined transnational community in Anderson's(1983) terms. *Hispanofonía* project with the unified language as its central pillar creates an enormous 'cultural field (market) that would allow postcolonial preservation of at least some colonial privileges' for Spain (del Valle, 2007b, p. 39). Promotion of *hispanofonía* is one of the main goals of Spanish language linguistic institutions.

One of them is ASALE, or the Association of Spanish language academies (*Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española*), constituted by all national academies of Spanish, including the Chilean Academy. All these work in association with the RAE (Paffey, 2007). This association holds congresses every three years in

different Spanish-speaking countries where the direction of the future work of the academies is determined. These congresses beyond being a purely academic encounter, represent political gatherings of promoting agents[61] of international Spanish (Mar-Molinero, 2006a).

Paffey's (2012) research on the RAE discourse in Spain's press demonstrated that the power and authority of the association are salient in media discourse and language academies convincingly shape the linguistic debate (2012, p. 144). The main purpose of ASALE is to 'boost the institutional commitment to promote the unity of the common language of five hundred million people around the world' (Real Academia Española, no date). Indeed, the unity of Spanish and its expansion are central in RAE's discourses as communicated by the media (Paffey, 2012). Paffey (2012) also notes that the role of Latin America in this spread is standing out in the RAE discourses. As Chile is one of the Spanish-speaking countries, the local Academy and the association of academies enjoy a similar authoritative voice in the Chilean media discourse (see 5.3.2 and 6.2.2 for findings in support of the argument).

Like in other countries at the rise of nation-states, the process of the standardisation of Spanish was central in the history of language development in the period of Chile's independence (Rojas, 2017, p. 244). In his study of representations of linguistic change in 19th century Chile, Rojas demonstrates that change was only perceived positively as long as it benefited the unity of language (2017, p. 258): variation within Spanish and multilingualism were seen as something that disturbed the order and did not help consolidate the Chilean state. In Blommaert *et al.* 's (2012) terms, Chilean linguists of that time were influenced by the *order versus disorder* modernist language ideologies and the assumption of the essential link between language and ethnicity. As the Chilean elites of the time were direct descendants of the Spaniards, it is perhaps not surprising that the status of Spanish as politically and socially dominant language in the country was unquestioned and taken for granted, a situation that is very much in place in present-day Chile.

Turning now to the research into educational discourses and Spanish in the global context and immigrant communities, a study that focuses on the US showed an

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[61] Prominent political figures from Spain, including the royalty, often attend these conferences. See a recent article on the business of Spanish language congresses by Bonnin and Lauria (2019) at < https://glotopolitica.com/2019/03/27/el-negocio-en-los-congresos-de-la-lengua-espanola/>

increase in the value of Spanish internationally with globalisation (del Valle, 2006): it has gained both political and economic value in the job market in the US. Del Valle (ibid) specifically highlights the salience of its economic value in line with the academies' discourses discussed above.

In the context of teaching Spanish as a foreign language which is one of the realisations of Spanish as a commodity value, ideas about 'real, native and standard' Spanish, as in what is the most appropriate variety of Spanish to learn and teach, are also prominent (Train, 2011). The perspectives on Spanish offered in Spanish as a foreign language textbooks still turn a blind-eye to linguistic variation and offer stereotypical views on it from the point of view of dominant groups (Padilla and Vana, 2019). Spanish textbooks for national learners also tend to diminish the variation that exists within the national variety (e.g. De Los Heros (2009) on language ideologies in Spanish textbooks in Peru). Spanish also gets commodified in higher education in the US via its representations as a marketable skill that improves professionals' social mobility (Pomerantz, 2006). Then, Spanish as a commodity representation in public discourses erases the cultural diversity and contributes to the discourses of unified Spanish and monolingual ideology. Valdes *et al.* (2003) present the hierarchies of 'Spanishes' that exist in a foreign language department of a US university: respondents perceive the varieties spoken by ethnic minorities (immigrants of different generations) as least valued. These ideas are expressed explicitly and have to do with beliefs about correctness, register and purity of language that exclude the hybrid practices that cross language borders.

The discourses of various language policy (LP) agents also condemn such linguistic practices (del Valle, 2006), which is indicative of standard and monolingual language ideology. Therefore, in a globalised world, nationalist language ideologies are still strong despite the expansion of Spanish and the universe of hybrid linguistic practices in it. Indeed, Spanish, that of a panhispanic nature, is crucial for the identity of Latin American im/migrants to the US and their children (Padilla and Vana, 2019). This means that despite the homogenising nature of unified Spanish, it still has symbolic value as an identity marker. This view is in line with RAE's discourses of 'transnational panhispanic identity' (Paffey, 2007, p. 328) that is purely based on the imagined common language that is the standard global Spanish.

Having discussed the representations of Spanish in general, it is necessary to refer to the ideas that circulate about the Chilean variety of Spanish. Valdes *et al.* (2003) claim that Chilean Spanish finds itself among the more prestigious varieties of Spanish. They explain this by the alleged European-descent majority of the Chilean population (Valdes *et al.*, 2003, p. 10), which is characteristic of other prestigious national varieties. However, Rojas (2012) found that Chilean respondents perceive the peninsular Spanish to be the correct variety and have negative attitudes towards the regional variation. In fact, respondents recognise the authority of the RAE, which is surprising given that Chile has its own academy. Then, overall, Chileans negatively evaluate their own variety of Spanish (Rojas, 2014) and have marked linguistic insecurity when comparing their speech with others (Rojas, 2012) as a result of monolingual and standard language ideologies of Spanish discussed in this section. The debate on the quality of Chilean Spanish has been so prominent in the country that recently a volume[62] that attempts to demystify the negative attitudes towards Chilean Spanish was published by a member of the Chilean Academy (discsussed in 6.2.2).

English

In recent history, the spread of English in the world is incomparable to that of any other language which is why the field of World Englishes grew significantly in the late 1990s and 2000s (Saraceni, 2015). This field originated in opposition to the monolithic view of English and aimed to consider the changes that it underwent because of such unparalleled geographical spread. Therefore, the field of World Englishes emerged in response to nationalist, monolingual and standard ideologies that ground dominant ideas and beliefs about English. Another field of investigation into the role of English as a lingua franca focused on its forms and functions (Saraceni, 2015), namely as a language of international communication among speakers of different first languages (Seidlhofer, 2005). It is not within the scope of this thesis to discuss studies within these fields, but later in the section, I will return to discourses of English as a world language and as a lingua franca when referring to media representations of the language.

Before delving into the representations of English in the media, it is important to consider how this enormous diversity of the language has been theorised in

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[62] See Rojas, D. (2015) *¿Por qué los chilenos hablamos como hablamos? Mitos e historia de nuestro lenguaje*. Santiago de Chile: Uqbar Editores.

linguistics. If we look at the classification of Englishes critically, the Kachru's circles of English (1992) represent a reflection of the hierarchical positions that its different varieties occupy: they reflect the different stages of the spread of English but also reflect the ideas of ownership of English. He called the inner circle countries 'the traditional bases of English' (Kachru, 1992, p. 3); these include the UK and its former settler colonies. In outer circle countries, English also holds a recognised status, while the expanding circle represents the rest of the world. It is the varieties from the inner circle that enjoy most prestige. Despite the acceptance of the official status of English in other countries, these varieties are not promoted in public discourses as appropriate, correct or desirable. Indeed, in the enormous industry of English as a foreign language, it is the 'first world' standard varieties[63] that are taught along with the western cultural baggage which represents a hegemonic practice (Scollon, 2004) rather than an inclusive one.

As with Spanish, representations of English as a world or universal language are linked tightly to its economic value. One of the most evident financial benefits is the ELT business, which includes the teaching, testing and academic publishing (Gray, 2012). It follows that the US and the UK, as owners of the most prestigious varieties of English, have the biggest economic interest in the worldwide spread of English (Phillipson, 2012). When in the case of Spanish, the academies play a vital role in the global spread of the language, for English the main actors in charge are the United States Information Agency (USIA) and the British Council (Alexander, 2003).

Although the global dominance of English was achieved thanks to foreign language learners, the media in English-speaking countries tend to focus on negative representations of non-native speakers of English. Wright & Brookes (2018) found that the lack of communicative competence in English is construed as a financial and cultural burden for the country and, in the case of healthcare, even as a danger to others. More specifically, the inability to speak English is represented as the cause of underachievement in school. The minorities bear the full responsibility for failure to acquire the language and are construed as a threat to the local population in terms of working and learning opportunities. Wright & Brookes conclude that such representations make up a narrative that 'problematises and 'others' non-native

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[63] For example, although standard American English is considered prestigious, varieties spoken by minorities tend to be marginalised (Lippi-Green, 2012)

speakers of English living in the UK' (2018, p. 24) which builds up to discrimination on the basis of language competence in right-wing newspaper discourses.

The importance of communicative competence in English can be salient in the news under certain circumstances. As Wright and Brooks (2019) ascertain, not all newspapers tend to focus on this issue but that the right-wing leaning press finds the topic of immigration newsworthy; hence, they tend to problematise a lack of competence in English in order to justify the exclusion of speakers of other languages from the uniform nation-state. It seems to be an important topic in the inner circle countries where discourses about immigration are prominent. Some discussion of competence in English and concomitant evaluation of the level and skills despite the status of language in the country takes place in Canadian newspapers (Vessey, 2013). Competence in English is also represented as a desired skill outside Canada, a language of business and opportunities, while, in contrast, lack of competence is constructed as detrimental. It follows that English possesses disproportionate instrumental value because it allows effective communication on a national and international level (Vessey, 2013).

English is often represented as the foremost 'killer language' because it poses a threat to linguistic diversity around the world (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2003). This is because the acquisition of English is often subtractive, meaning that the language is learnt at the cost of mother tongues. Phillipson (2008a) supports this argument and demonstrates how linguicist policies in favour of English in European integration led to the elimination of other languages from certain domains. Although this view has been criticised by applied linguists (e.g. in Berns et al. (1998)), other studies demonstrate that fear of English is perceived in nation-states with their own established prestigious and standardised varieties.

For example, in a diachronic study of language-focused editorials and letters to the editors in the Finnish press, English is represented as dangerous to Finnish national language and identity, and, surprisingly, to social equality in Finland (Leppänen and Pahta, 2012). There is a concern with the excessive presence of English in the Finnish media and discontent with code-switching practices, as borrowings from English contaminate the national language. Their analysis of letters to the editors showed worry about Finns' narrowing foreign language repertoire that is reduced to English only. Particularly troubling to many media consumers is the threat English

poses to proficiency in Finnish, as immersion schooling and the use of English-language teaching content in class increases. Linguistically, the danger of English in the Finnish press is achieved by extensive use of metaphors of intrusion, destructive natural forces, killer language and other figurative moves in the discussion of the expansion of English in Finland. Similar debates are on the rise in Scandinavia (Hultgren, Gregersen and Thøgersen, 2014) and the Netherlands (Edwards, 2016), among others.

Whilst in the Finnish study the representations of English are quite explicit, in her study of the EU language policies and reports Gal (2012) notes the implicitness in representations of English: 'English (the most obvious lingua franca) obviously has a plethora of important uses unmentioned in the report – from pick-up bars, to foreign vacations' (Gal, 2012, p. 34). Then, in the European context, a tendency to naturalise the use of English exists. Overall, Gal points out that the ideological model in these EU reports 'highlights some and erases other aspects of sociolinguistic situations' (Gal, 2012, p. 34). For instance, the EU reports tend to erase the identity function that English might fulfil for some and, emphasise the traditional functions of smaller EU languages on the cultural spectrum.

Another example of the representation of the communicative value of English comes from Canada, where proficiency in English is taken for granted in debates on multilingualism (Vessey, 2013, 2017). When other languages are explicitly named in the discussion, English is assumed/naturalised/'commonsensed' as one of the languages in the repertoire of multilingual speakers. Overall, the proficiency in English is so naturalised in educational discourses that the need to name the language disappears.

3.5.3 Multilingual practices

It is necessary to briefly outline how multilingualism and multilingual practices have been conceptualised in academic research to inform the findings regarding RQ 2. Kemp (2009) offers an overview of how the term multilingualism has been defined in sociolinguistic studies. No consensus on a common definition of multilingualism exists due to the complexity of the phenomenon and different purposes of the researchers, but a shared focus across different approaches lies in 'an interest in

individuals and communities that use a number of languages' (Kemp, 2009, p. 12). Then, multilingualism can be viewed as an individual or societal characteristic.

Other terms used by sociolinguists include bilingualism, bilinguality, plurilingualism, polyglossia, multiglossia; all of them highlight different aspects of multilingual practices. In fact, bilingualism (the ability to speak two languages in individuals or communities) was more widely used but in recent years has been misplaced by multilingualism (Cenoz, 2013). The difference between these terms is not always clear, and different researchers use the terms in different ways. The problem with the uses of different terminology lies in researchers' need to simplify the phenomenon to be able to investigate some aspects of it. Beyond the terminological dilemma are more profound questions about the nature of language(s), as from psycholinguistic perspective it is hard to assess mental borders between languages (Kemp, 2009, p. 18). Other issues include questions about (1) the level of proficiency and functional capability in each language speakers need to have to be considered multilingual; (2) the degree of mutual intelligibility between languages to call them different languages and, consequently, their speakers multilinguals, to name the most important (Kemp, 2009).

When the media disseminate scientific research, due to their tendency to create palatable and newsworthy content (as discussed in sections 3.2, 3.3 and 3.4), it is unlikely that news stories would provide a comprehensive picture of scientific enquiry into multilingualism with all the subtleties in how multilingualism is understood in academic research. However, higher frequency of stories on multilingualism is to be expected in the media because globalisation, transnational mobility and new technologies have made multilingualism more visible (Cenoz, 2013).

Turning to representations of multilingualism in the media, as one significant trend in the early development of mass media Kelly-Holmes (2012) defined the linguistic misrepresentation of multilingualism through their implicit and explicit practices, i.e. how they have used language and talk about language in the reporting. For example, the representation of multilingualism as parallel monolingualisms is common (Kelly-Holmes, 2012; Kelly-Holmes and Pietikäinen, 2013) which means that only standard languages are preferred in the media and are used separately, avoiding code-mixing in reporting; nevertheless, real-life multilingual practices differ. Moreover, written media are preconditioned to use written standard languages while leaving out other

languages. This is the result of the institutionalisation of the media as agents of nation-states' monolingual and standardised habitus (Androutsopoulos, 2007, p. 207). Under this logic, multilingualism can be represented in the media by counting languages in individuals' linguistic repertoire rather than as a holistic and integrated system.

Regarding the social understandings of multilingualism in public discourses, a clear divide in representations of individual and societal multilingualism can be observed: individual dimension is construed positively while societal is often problematised. For instance, societal multilingualism is represented as problematic in Luxembourgish press while individual multilingualism is construed as a resource (Horner, 2011). In this study, the debates on language education develop around the economic value of specific multilingual repertoire valued in Luxembourg. These discourses are underpinned by *one nation, one language* and the standard language ideology. In a different study, Cooke and Simpson also identified these as underlying ideologies of representations of linguistic diversity in the UK (Cooke and Simpson, 2012).

Regarding negative discourses about multilingualism, one salient argument has to do with its apparently high financial costs. Economists even measure the benefits of speaking more than one language for individuals and nation-states and conclude that 'too much multilingualism is not cost-effective; there is a sweet spot that lies somewhere between using only one language and using too many' (Hogan-Brun, 2017, p. xii). Although in her book called *Linguanomics* Hogan-Brun vouches for linguistic diversity, considering it solely from an economics perspective (in fact, commodifying it) dismisses other values that multilingualism has for societies and individuals.

In the UK press, the tropes of financial burden are employed in relation to the regulation of multilingualism (Wright and Brookes, 2019). This means that right-wing British newspapers reduce their discussions of languages and multilingualism to the narrow focus on the lack of competence in English, as discussed in the previous section. Immigrants are not construed as multilinguals until they are fully-competent in English. Although these news stories do not explicitly focus on multilingualism, they present linguistic diversity as a financial burden on the shoulders of the government and taxpayers without considering the benefits of multilingual practices.

Multilingualism is also construed as a problem for education in the UK: multilingual children of immigrants are reported to have literacy problems (Jaworska and Themistocleous, 2017) and, allegedly, they also pose an obstacle to the progress of monolingual children as students with poor English take more teachers' attention in the classroom (Wright and Brookes, 2019). It is evident that such discourses contribute to 'othering' of non-standard or non-dominant varieties of language.

Jaworska and Themistocleous (2017) present opposing findings in their longitudinal study of representations of multilingualism in the British press. They included both broadsheet and tabloid newspapers into their study and found that bilingualism strongly collocates with employment-related words. This suggests that individual multilingualism is often constructed as an asset in the news[64]. At the same time, they notice that societal multilingualism is associated with immigration in the tabloid *Daily Mail*, similarly to Wright and Brookes' study. The sociolinguistic survey in Jaworska & Themistocleous study demonstrated that some respondents coincide with tabloid newspapers' views on multilingualism: those with negative attitudes towards living in a multilingual community associated multilingualism with difficulties in communication, loss of jobs and inequality.

However, multilingualism was perceived as enriching cultural diversity among the respondents that have positive attitudes towards living in a multilingual speech community. This is another common discourse about multilingualism. Very much like languages, multilingualism is often discussed in relation to identity issues: for instance, although the UK identity politics highlight the respect for difference and promotes the British society as multicultural, multilingualism does not make part of the agenda, as only English allows civic participation on the life of the state (Cooke and Simpson, 2012). The example of the BBC Voices website shows an attempt to incorporate multilingualism as a feature of British identity, but the attempt is undermined by the exclusive use of standard English on the webpage (Milani, Davies and Turner, 2013). Here, a rationalist model of language or civic nationalism is in place as communication is prioritised over the expression of identity. Such identity discourses are also problematising linguistic diversity and are underpinned by monolingual nationalist ideology.

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[64] It is unclear whether the media are referring to societal or individual multilingualism in this particular representation.

According to Jaworska and Themistocleous, individual multilingualism tends to be positively represented because it is associated with prestigious employment and dominant languages acquired via formal schooling. This type of multilingualism has been conceptualised in academic research as elite bilingualism. De Mejía (2002) defines it as 'the type of bilingualism or multilingualism which is increasingly valued […] and highly 'visible', in the sense that it provides access to prestigious international languages for those upwardly mobile individuals who need or wish to be bilingual or multilingual' (de Mejía, 2002, p. 5). For example, elite bilinguals are construed as 'properly educated' and 'truly bilingual' (Andersson, 1976, p. 498) in discourses on bilingual education in the US. The less prestigious kind of bilingualism is called 'popular' or 'folk', and it refers to speakers with a repertoire of one minoritised language and one dominant language, all of which were acquired naturally or involuntarily. Usually, the minoritised language enjoys less prestige and is less accessible via formal schooling[65].

Section 1.2 in this thesis described the two main streams in language education in Chile – foreign language schooling and the Programme of Intercultural Bilingual Education (PEIB). Undoubtedly, compulsory English language instruction in Chile is the implementation of the government's elite bilingualism project. On the other hand, Lepe-Carrión (2015) described the history of education of indigenous peoples in Chile that foregrounded PEIB and concluded that it represents 'a new form of ethnic discrimination and segregation […], a new way to culturally differentiate citizens between normal and "internal others" '(2015, p. 73). PEIB represents a symbolic move to create an impression of the multilingual outlook of the state, but what it does is segregating indigenous students. The PEIB reproduces nationalist ideologies described in Chapter Two as well as the ideas about the 'worthy' kind of multilingualism.

3.6 Summary

The purpose of this chapter was to demonstrate how dominant explicit and implicit representations of languages can build linguistic hierarchies where languages occupy different positions on the value ladder.

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[65] For example, in Chile minoritised local languages are only offered as school subjects to students of indigenous origin.

This chapter presented how such hierarchies are constructed in the media and how they predetermine people's perceptions of linguistic varieties because media consumers are exposed to (1) in general, standard varieties and (2) representations with explicit or implicit value judgements about languages.

This is achieved by the construction of representations of minoritised and dominant languages that complement each other, i.e. a higher position of a dominant language is rationalised by its alleged advantages and, at the same time, supposed flaws of a minoritised language. Patterns in negative representations of minoritised languages can be found in different multilingual diglossic contexts in former colonies across the globe. In a similar vein, representations of dominant languages in such contexts tend to be neutral or positive. However, representations are determined mainly by the context, as studies of representations of English in the Finnish press demonstrated. However, even such opposing representations are underpinned by the interweaving of dominant linguistic ideologies.

Chapter 4. Data and methodology

4.1 Introduction

Fairclough (2013a) maintained that methods of research should be driven by the data that is at hand and tailored to it (2013a, p. 225) so that they help answer proposed research questions and obtain valid and reliable results. Another consideration when selecting appropriate data and methodology has to do with their affordances to fill the existing research gap (see 1.1 and 1.2) and to address the complexity of the setting, the topic of research and the diverse newsmakers and discourses. Combination of qualitative and quantitative methods has long been used in social sciences and has demonstrated the ability to uncover strengths and weaknesses of each method and overcome them by combining the two (Erzberger and Prein, 1997).

As this research aims to identify representations of languages in Chilean online media and explain them within the socio-political, economic and cultural context, I take a qualitatively driven approach (Hesse-Biber, Rodriguez and Frost, 2015) but use both quantitative (corpus linguistics) and qualitative (critical discourse analysis) methods in my research design. Such research design has been used extensively to research a wide range of topics because it is 'eclectic in language theory and welcoming of approaches and combinations of approaches' (Partington, 2018, p. 2).

Overall, the chapter outlines the methods used in this study and the data analysis procedure. It starts with the rationale and a general description of the procedure, the criteria for the selection of data and the compilation of the corpus. Section 4.4 presents the background of the news websites selected for this study. Section 4.6 justifies the combination of approaches in this methodological framework. Sections 4.7 and 4.8 present the analytic tools adapted from these approaches.

4.2 Procedure

The methodology and procedure for the study sought to reveal the representations of languages in Chilean online media and were tailored to answer the proposed research questions (see 1.5). The procedure is built around the application of corpus linguistics (CL) and critical discourse analysis (CDA) tools in order to fulfil the

following objectives: (1) to investigate representations of languages in Chile, including both dominant and resistant discourses about languages and multilingualism; (2) to analyse the representations critically and account for differences and similarities between representations of languages; (3) to provide a qualitative and in-depth explanation of representations.

Regarding the first objective, a large data set is needed to cover diverse representations of languages because 'the creativity of natural language leads to such immense variety of expression that it is difficult to isolate the current patterns that are the clues to the lexical patterns of the language' (Sinclair, 1991, p.171). Firstly, because numerous minoritised and dominant languages (ten in total) are of interest to this study, the corpus[66] of data must account for representations of all these. Secondly, although researchers note a political and geographic centralisation of the media in Chile (see section 1.3), online media in Chile have the potential to distort the homogeneity. Then, various sources of media texts need to be included in the sample.

Regarding the second purpose, multiple studies have demonstrated that in multilingual contexts, different languages can hold different hierarchical positions (see 2.4 and 3.6). That is why it is important to evaluate the differences and similarities in representations of different languages in Chile to evaluate their 'hierarchical' position and value that is attributed to them in society.

Regarding the third purpose, it is not sufficient to merely identify and describe multiple representations of languages; it is also necessary to examine them within the socio-political, cultural and historical context, explain why they are in place and who benefits from such representations. Analysis of this kind requires qualitative methods as they allow researchers to explore the social reality through understanding its multiple symbols, social structures and so on (Berg and Lune, 2012, pp. 1–8). In language sciences, the qualitative analysis offers 'a rich and detailed perspective on the data' (McEnery and Wilson, 1996, p. 62) and helps discover rare phenomena.

The methodology for this study combines corpus linguistic tools with CDA tools (e.g. Baker, 2006; Partington, Duguid and Taylor, 2013; Vessey, 2017). Under this

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[66] In corpus linguistics, corpus is 'a body of written text or transcribed speech which can serve as a basis for linguistic analysis and description' (Kennedy, 1998).

approach, the data organised into a corpus is examined through several corpus and critical discourse analytical tools: sections 4.7 and 4.8 present these in detail. The first step in the procedure is compiling the corpus that is addressed in the following section.

4.3 News websites: criteria for selection

Because language is part of all spheres of life, selection of data for a study of representations of languages of Chile in online news is not an easy task. The pool of data available on the Internet is immense; that is why a few criteria were proposed to choose a manageable for the analysis sample of news websites from the Chilean Internet.

Because news websites represent a continuation of the traditional media, it is not surprising that traditional media have populated the internet through creating websites that make their main content available online (e.g. TV and radio broadcast, print-like newspaper articles, etc.). Another group of online newspapers is represented by websites that emerged in Chile as online-only media over the last two decades (see section 4.4 for websites' background).

News-like content has become widely available through popular social networks not only thanks to the two kinds of media described above but also due to emergence of 'new' online journalism carried out by individuals in blogs usually referred to as citizen journalism (Deuze, 2003; Allan, 2006, pp. 150–153; Braun and Gillespie, 2011). This kind of reporting can take place on various sites online, and its authors are not usually considered media providers at least legally. However, the line between traditional and citizen journalism is now blurred (Braun and Gillespie, 2011). For these reasons, the websites should meet the following criteria (Figure 4-1):
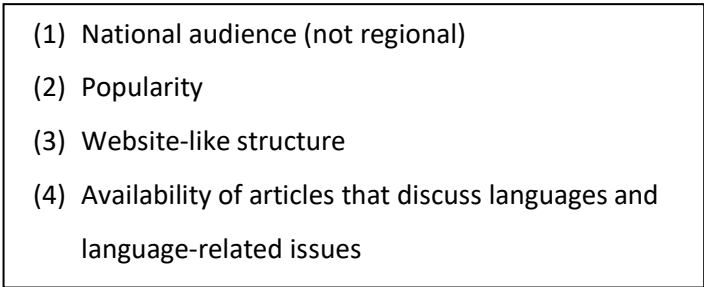
(1) National audience (not regional)

(2) Popularity

(3) Website-like structure

(4) Availability of articles that discuss languages and language-related issues

Figure 4-1 Criteria for the selection of websites for the dataset

As this investigation is concerned with representations of languages in Chile on a nation-state level, I decided to focus on websites that provide national coverage. However, in the case of webpages there are no geographical limitations in terms of access (unlike in the case of print newspapers). Indeed, it is difficult to draw a clear line between local and national websites, so to decide whether a website is admissible on criterion 1, the 'about us' section was checked for purpose audience the website declares.

Criterion 2 'Popularity' refers to the number of visits that the site receives. As the goal of this study is to analyse popular discourses around languages, this criterion was central when selecting websites. The numbers were obtained with web-analytics tool *Alexa.com* that provides lists of top sites by country. These ranks are updated daily based on the previous three-months averages. The final selection of websites took place in September 2016 before the data collection.

Although popularity is important, it was necessary to include websites that are similar in their structure and interface to get a reasonably homogenous sample. Criterion 3 was introduced in order to include only the websites that have features of a networked computer environment, such as, hypertext, multimedia and interactivity (Deuze, 2003, p. 211). This helped eliminate several websites that publish scanned versions of print newspapers (also called *papel digital* in Spanish).

Finally, the websites were checked for availability of articles that contain some discussion of languages or language-related issues. This was necessary to make sure that the collected data will help answer the research questions.

4.4 On Chilean online newspapers

To explain representations of dominant and minoritised languages within the socio-political, economic and cultural context, knowledge about the context of their production is essential. Chapter One presented the general information about the media in Chile, mainly in terms of political affiliation and ownership issues (see 1.3). Here, I provide an overview of the history, background and political orientation of the ten national news websites selected for this study.

Table 4-1 shows the ten websites included in the dataset in order from most to least popular and their ranks in the list of all websites visited by users from Chile. The websites listed are diverse in their affiliation, background and political orientation, which needs to be discussed in order to interpret the findings from their reporting adequately.

News website	Ranking by visits (Alexa.com, 2016)
Emol.com	5
Biobiochile.com	6
Latercera.com	40
Soychile.cl	95
Elmostrador.cl	99
Terra.cl	139
Adnradio.cl	184
Elciudadano.cl	203
Eldinamo.cl	249
Ahoranoticias.cl	266

Table 4-1 Top-10 news websites by the number of visits in Chile in 2016

The second column of Table 4-1 shows the place each news website had as compared to other websites on Chilean Internet (not only online newspapers). The ranking places are calculated by the number of accesses made from Chilean IP-addresses. Websites that occupy top-3 places on Chilean Internet are *google.cl*, *youtube.com* and *google.com* with more than five daily visits from unique users. Rankings of selected news websites vary up from fifth place to 266[th,] which suggests significant differences in the size of audiences of these new websites.

Differences among these websites can also be observed concerning their background and political orientation. If the printed press in Chile is relatively homogenous (see 1.3 for discussion), news websites included into the dataset emerged from different initiatives, often independent, and many of them use the digital medium as the only channel of communication with the audience. The following sections discuss these issues in detail for each of the websites.

Emol.com

Emol.com was founded in 1999 as a response to the growing competition from other Chilean news providers who pioneered online reporting in the country. Nowadays, it is the most popular news website in Chile according to 2016 estimates (Alexa.com, 2016). The website's editor, Sebastián Campaña, reported the site as having 6.8 million unique visitors per month in 2009 (Entre 'bits', 2009) while its staff consisted of only 25 journalists and ten web-designers.

The website is one of the products of media conglomerate *El Mercurio* and represents a satellite-website for *El Mercurio,* a national broadsheet newspaper. It contains news on a wide range of topics and targets a nation-wide audience (Browne Sartori and Romero Lizama, 2010). In addition to the original news articles (not duplicates of the print newspaper), the site provides multiple links to other *El Mercurio* products, such as scan versions of print newspapers *El Mercurio*, *La Segunda* and *LUN,* and represents an access point to other media from the same provider.

Regarding its political orientation, the website itself does not contain any information about the medium's mission and vision but states its affiliation to the afore-mentioned media conglomerate. However, Soto Gamboa (1995) has provided an extensive account of the role *El Mercurio*, the print newspaper, played in the spread of capitalist ideas in the second half of the 20th century. He asserted that although *El Mercurio* disguised its political affiliation, it did tend to favour liberal, or capitalist, economic thinking and supported the interests of large national industries at that time (Soto Gamboa, 1995, pp. 11–18). This is corroborated by other studies of media discourse in Chile that establish the conservative political orientation of the newspaper (Parodi and Ferrari, 2007; Browne Sartori and Romero Lizama, 2010).

A recent study of newspapers and digital media readership (UDP, 2011) reports that the majority of respondents perceive *El Mercurio* newspaper as having a right-wing political orientation (53% of respondents) and a conservative medium (66%). Despite this, respondents believe *Emol.com* is the most credible and the most influential Chilean news website which provides information of the highest quality (UDP, 2011).

Bibiochile.com

Biobiochile.cl is the second most popular news website in Chile (see Table 4-1). Originally the medium was dedicated to radio transmission only, and the news website was launched in 2009 (BioBio Chile, 2016). The current news webpage also gives access to live radio transmission in addition to news articles and other multimedia content.

Regarding its political stance and affiliation to organisations, it is distinct from other media in that it emerged as a citizen initiative in the 1950s and claims to remain loyal to its ideals of transparent reporting, and independence from financial, religious and political groups (BioBio Chile, 2016). Unfortunately, no further information on ownership issues and political orientation could be retrieved at this time.

Importantly, the radio originally started in Concepción, the second largest city in Chile situated in its southern part but expanded across the whole country in the 2000s. Although it claims to be 'regionalist' and believes in the effectiveness of local reporting, now its coverage of the news is primarily national. In a documentary produced to celebrate the 50th anniversary of BioBio (BíoBío, 2016), it is claimed that the website is one of the largest and most visited news portals in the country: it receives 1.4 million visits daily and 43 million visits monthly.

Latercera.com

Latercera.com is the third most-visited news website in Chile, which was first launched in 1998 (Wayback Machine, 2014). Although it belongs to the same institution as the print newspaper *La Tercera*, it has a separate editorial team, and the website publishes its own articles. Despite this, both media sources are products of *COPESA* conglomerate, right-wing and conservative in its political stance. Then, *Latercera.com* is not the only business that the owners of the website run.

There is a long list of other enterprises, including banks, retail and real estate companies declared on the group's website (Copesa, 2013). Indeed, it is claimed that the print newspaper tends to report extensively in the interest of business groups (Parodi and Ferrari, 2007), which is corroborated by readers' perceptions of the newspaper as a medium in favour of the market economy (38% of respondents) (UDP, 2011).

On the other hand, *La Tercera*'s chief editor is appointed by the President of Chile, which suggests the government's possible influence on the newspaper's agenda. Thus, the political affiliation of this medium seems unclear, which can also be observed in questionnaire responses on perceived political and economic orientation of the newspaper (UDP, 2011). A majority of respondents characterised the newspaper as centrist (39%) and right-wing (33%); on the line between conservative and liberal, the newspaper was defined as conservative in views by 45% of respondents, while only 10% considered it liberal (UDP, 2011).

Soychile.cl

Like *Emol.com*, this website also belongs to *El Mercurio* conglomerate. It was founded in 2011. This website has both a national webpage and local subpages for big regional cities. However, its slogan states "*Noticias de todo nuestro país*" (News from all over our country). This website differs from other conglomerate's news in that it often prioritises important regional news on its national website[67].

Regarding issues of political orientation, *Soychile.cl* is similar to *Emol.cl* due to the dependence from *El Mercurio* conglomerate. However, it is linked to a different newspaper, *HoyxHoy,* the digital version of which can be easily accessed from *Soychile.cl* as the link to it occupies significant space on the news website (see Figure 4-2). It is a free tabloid newspaper circulated in Santiago and the metropolitan region on weekdays. Then, this news provider is associated with the tabloid press; it can be expected to have similar journalistic practices.

Unfortunately, this website or its printed counterpart have not yet been studied or used as data in research, so it was not possible to gather further information about its history, political orientation and target audience.

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[67] National media in Chile are centralised geographically (Jiménez and Muñoz, 2008), hence, tend to focus on Santiago and the metropolitan region.

Figure 4-2. Soychile.cl hyperlink area to HoyxHoy newspaper (marked in green)

Elmostrador.cl

El Mostrador news website appeared in 2000 and at the time of data collection ranked fifth most visited in Chile. It was the first online-only news medium in Chile. It also contains a 'Blogs and opinion' column where authors that are not part of the editorial team publish texts on various topics with different points of view. This goes in hand with the declared mission and vision statement, where they claim to collaborate with civil society and the academia to achieve pluralism in informative practices of the website (El Mostrador, 2010).

As to its political orientation, *El Mostrador* is characterised as central-leftist (Hasbún-Mancilla *et al.*, 2017). However, the website owners (*La Plaza Sociedad Anónima*) claim it is a financially independent enterprise financed with profits from advertising (El Mostrador, 2010). This website also claims its independence from political, economic and other influential groups while its editorial principles include respect and appraisal of diversity, as well as the promotion of human and civil rights (El Mostrador, 2010).

In terms of users' perceptions, it is only the sixth most credible and most independent site in a recent study of newspapers and digital media readership (Hasbún-Mancilla *et al.*, 2017; UDP, 2011) despite being declared the second most frequently visited website by the respondents.

Terra.cl

Terra.cl was launched in Chile in 1999 (EMIS, no date; Wayback Machine, 2014) and is part of a larger network of news websites with the company's headquarters located in Spain. It covers a range of news topics (sports, health, technology) as well as entertainment content (celebrities, horoscope, life and style, etc.). It was the second news website to appear on the Chilean Internet market after *LaTercera.com* (Wayback Machine, 2014).

Terra.cl is currently owned by a large international telecommunications' company *Telefónica* (Spanish multinational). It is a leading provider of internet services in the Spanish-speaking world. Similar national news websites exist in other countries in Latin America. What makes *Terra.cl* different from other websites in the dataset is the fact that it forms part of a multinational company with headquarters abroad while Chile's nationals own all other news websites.

On the other hand, *Terra.cl* gained the trust of Chilean readers according to a recent readership study (UDP, 2011). In addition to high readership numbers (fourth most visited website with 34% of respondents), it was characterised as the most independent news website in Chile, the second most credible and most influential as well as the third in providing high-quality information (UDP, 2011). However, when the data was collected, *Terra.cl* was only the sixth most-read news website on Chilean internet. Recently, the website stopped its work in July 2018 as did other Terra's websites across Latin America due to financial difficulties and falling behind other newsmakers in gathering audiences on social media [68]

Adnradio.cl

Adnradio.cl is an accompanying website for the *ADN* radio channel that has national coverage and, notably, is the only station that transmits to Easter Island. Its website was launched in 2008 (Wayback Machine, 2014), at the same time when the radio started transmitting.

ADN stands for '*Actualidad, Deportes, Noticias*' (the present, sports, news), the three topical sections in which news are grouped on the website. The website publishes short news stories (under 400 words) that accompany audio recordings. Other

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[68] Tele13 (2017) 'Portal Terra deja de existir luego de 18 años de historia en Internet', *TELE13*, 30 June. Available at: https://www.t13.cl/noticia/negocios/el-portal-terra-concluye-sus-operaciones-luego-18-anos-historia.

multimedia materials, such as photos and videos, are also typical on *Adnradio.cl.* The live radio transmission can be accessed directly from the webpage.

The radio station belongs to *Ibero Americana Radio Chile* (IARC), a Chilean company that owns eleven radio stations in the country. IARC belongs to the *PRISA* Group, a multinational, that focuses on distributing news, music, entertainment and sports. Indeed, ADN has 'sports' as one of the keywords in its acronym. However, the owners claim it is the immediacy of information, a critical view of the world and topics of interest relevant to Chilean citizens is what attracts ADN's audiences (IARC, 2012b). They also claim to provide analysis of the news and present it from different angles (IARC, 2012b). The target audience of ADN is young adults (25-45 year-olds) (IARC, 2012a).

Elciudadano.cl

Elciudadano.cl started reporting in 2005 (Wayback Machine, 2014), at the same time when first copies of the monthly *El Ciudadano* print newspaper started circulating (El Ciudadano, 2017). The print newspaper has a monthly national circulation. Because the website is updated daily, it can be anticipated that the print newspaper materials are chosen from and based on the website publications.

The news website claims to be a community medium of massive communication which aims to 'break the information loop' (El Ciudadano, 2017) in Chilean media space. *El Ciudadano* claims to be different from the mainstream Chilean media in that (1) it employs journalistic investigations for preparation of its publications; and (2) it has an autonomous narrative. Indeed, as the editorial team argue in the mission statement, their purpose is the pursuit of free information (El Ciudadano, 2017).

ElCiudadano.cl has a clear political project: it aspires to strengthen democracy and promote human rights in Chile. This makes *El Ciudadano* the only news website in the dataset with a declaration of political interests. The website claims to be independent financially and politically, as well as loyal to the principles of serious reporting and the protection of human rights and the environment in its work (El Ciudadano, 2017). In 2017 it became the most widely read news medium in Chile and 'competes with the large media conglomerates in daily news agenda-setting'(El Ciudadano, 2017).

El Ciudadano is a member of '*Red de Medios de los Pueblos*' (The Network of the Peoples' Media), a group which agglomerates community media in resistance to dominant media conglomerates. The organisation is dedicated to research that helps new media break the information monopoly established by television and popular print newspapers (LMDLP, 2017).

Eldinamo.cl

Eldinamo.cl was founded in 2010 and is one of the newest news websites on Chilean Internet. It is an online-only news website and occupied ninth place in the ranking of Chilean news websites at the time of data collection.

The primary purpose of this news website is to cover the most important daily news in a 'playful and didactic manner' which helps readers to understand and interpret the events in a simple way (El Dínamo, 2017). By playful and didactic, the editorial team means a simple and accessible explanation of daily events and complex topics that surround social life in Chile (El Dínamo, 2017). Regarding ownership and political orientation of the website, no information was available about *Eldínamo.cl* in that respect.

Ahoranoticias.cl

Ahoranoticias.cl is a satellite news website of the news programme of the same name on *Mega* TV channel that is the first private channel on the open access public television in Chile. It was founded in 2013 and now is the least popular among the top-10 news websites in the ranking.

The website contains news grouped into sections on national news, politics, economy, the world, etc.. Users can also access and watch live streaming of *Mega* TV channel. *Mega* as a media brand represents itself as 'in touch with reality, close to the people and committed to the country, we inform, educate, accompany and entertain, promoting a positive mood from the individual contact with each person, everywhere and always' (Mega, 2015). Here, the newsmaker explicitly presents the positive and optimist stance in news reporting to keep media consumers happy. This is a direct manifestation of an intention to affect consumers' perception of the national news.

The majority of shares of MEGA television belongs to Bethia (Chile), a large holding which is also involved in agriculture, ground and air transport, retail and health

insurance businesses (Poderopedia, 2012; Bethia Holding, 2019). Due to the financial interests of the owning holding and the mission of MEGA media to positively present the news, the reporting on *Ahoranoticia.cl* can promote the commercial interests of the holding and create a positive image of the political and other social actors that collaborate with the holding.

4.5 Building the corpus

As per objectives of the methodology and due to the large amount of data in this study, the best way to approach it was by composing a corpus (pl. corpora), or "a body of written text or transcribed speech which can serve as a basis for linguistic analysis and description" (Kennedy, 1998, p. 1). This body of text needs to be machine-readable (McEnery and Wilson, 1996; McEnery, Xiao and Tono, 2006) and the texts incorporated into it should represent naturally-occurring authentic language (Sinclair, 1991, p. 171; McEnery, Xiao and Tono, 2006, p. 4).

Texts collected for this study meet the above criteria as news articles are one type of naturally-occurring language (Stubbs, 1996) that are machine-readable thanks to their electronic format. As the purpose of this research project is to investigate representations of languages and multilingualism in Chilean online news, a specialised corpus, was required. Specialised corpora are used for studies of particular genres (Baker, Hardie and McEnery, 2006; McEnery, Xiao and Tono, 2006) and specific topics (Baker, 2006). Most recent studies of ideology, culture and political discourse use specialised corpora (McEnery, Xiao and Tono, 2006, p. 111).

After the ten news websites for the study were selected (see 4.3 for selection criteria), it was necessary to determine which news articles should be included in the corpus. Then, it was necessary to collect news articles mentioning languages and language-related concepts. It was decided that the texts should contain at least one reference to languages or language-related concepts to be selected. This is the usual practice in corpus-assisted critical discourse studies that use media language as data (Hardt-Mautner, 1995; Baker, 2006; Gabrielatos and Baker, 2008; O'Halloran, 2010; Aull and Brown, 2013).

4.5.1 Selection of query terms

Because the dataset needs to be representative of the researched topic, it was necessary to define a list of query terms (QT) or the words that were used to search websites for articles that mention languages. As Gabrielatos (2007) argues, the first step to identify query terms is to start with lexical items that relate to the investigated topic that can be the title and objectives of the study (2007, p. 6). Research questions are another place where key query terms can be found. For this study, a list of Chile's languages, minoritised and dominant, was made. General language-related concepts, including multilingualism related terms, were also included in the list.

Following this logic, the core query terms for corpus compilation are presented in Spanish in Table 4-2. Language-related concepts were included in the corpus as they bring up general themes about language; they helped include into the corpus texts that did not contain references to any particular language. As Table 4-2 shows, there are two ways of referring to language in Spanish: *lengua* and *idioma*. On the other hand, *dialecto*[69] refers to regional language varieties and *habla* to idiosyncratic ways of speaking a language.

Two-word phrases (*lengua* or *idioma* + adjective (ex. *española*, *ingles*)) were used in searches in order to avoid including irrelevant references to nationalities and ethnicities. Another two-word phrase used as a query term was 'preposition *en* (in) + name of language'. This query terms returned the articles where words *lengua* and *idioma* were absent. Names of nationalities are unlikely to collocate with preposition "*en*" in Spanish.

The same principle was applied when selecting query terms for Chile's minoritised languages. However, there is often no unified way of referring to these languages, so all the different names used in literature[70] were added to the list of query terms.

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[69] Although the problematic nature of such terminology was discussed in section 1.4, their use in the media was expected and the texts that contain these terms could not be ignored just like other labels used to refer to languages and multilingual practices.
[70] Appendix 1 presents the list of the names of minoritised languages of Chile.

Language-related concepts		Lengua*, idioma*, lenguaje, dialecto*, el habla, bilingüe, multilingüe, bilingüismo, multilingüismo, monolingüe, monolingüismo, idioma extranjero
Languages	Spanish	Lengua española, idioma español, en español, lengua castellana, en castellano, el castellano
	English	Lengua inglesa, idioma inglés, en inglés
	Mapudungún	Mapudungún, Mapuzugún, lengua mapuche, idioma mapuche
	Aimara	Lengua Aymara, lengua Aimara, idioma Aymara, idioma Aimara, Jaqui Aru, Aymar Aru
	Rapa Nui	Lengua Rapa Nui, lengua rapanui, idioma Rapa Nui, idioma rapanui, lengua pascuense, idioma pascuense, vānanga Rapa Nui
	Quechua	Quechua, lengua* quechua*, idioma quechua, en quechua
	Huilliche[71]	Huilliche, Chesüngun, Chedungun, Tsesungun, lengua huilliche, idioma huilliche
	Kawashkar	Kawashkar, Kawashqar, Kawésqar, Qawasqar, Alacalufe, alacaluf
	Yámana	Lengua yámana, idioma yagán, háusi Kúta, inchikut, tekeenika, yahgan, yappu
	Likan Antai	Lengua atacameña, idioma atacameño, idioma Likan antai, lengua Likan antai, kunza

Table 4-2 Search words for corpus compilation

4.5.2 Corpus compilation
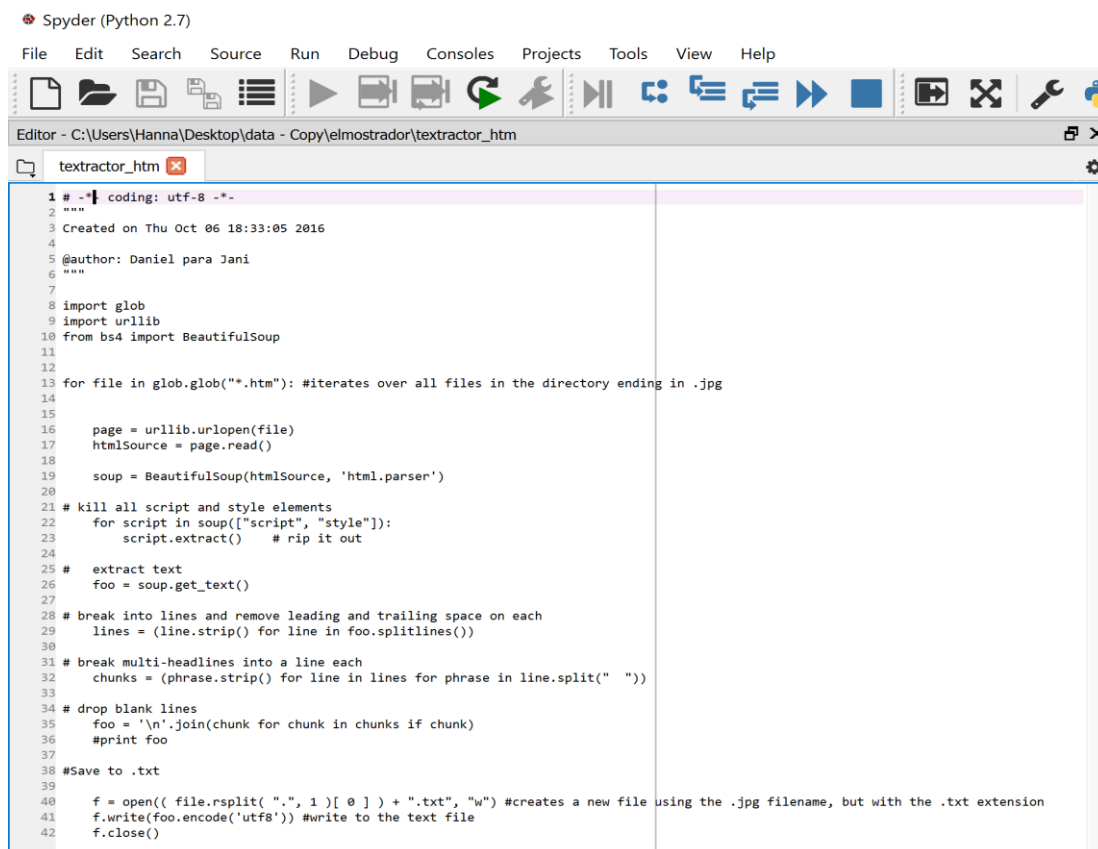
There is no readily available database of Chilean online newspapers (such as LexisNexis for English-language press) that would allow automatic download of texts. Then, the data was extracted directly from news websites. Each of the ten websites was accessed during September 2016, and the search interface of the websites was used to search for each of the query terms (see 4.5.1). The search was run for each query term.

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[71] Although the Huilliche language is not listed in the Indigenous Law and it is considered a variety of Mapudungun by the academics (see section 1.2 for discussion), the data in this study demonstrated that it is indeed discussed in the Chilean media.

In order to facilitate the download of webpages from search results, I used *DownThemAll* add-on (Maier, Parodi and Verna, 2005) for Firefox browser. It downloads all the HTML-files from links on a webpage automatically which is significantly faster than downloading each link one by one or copying and pasting the texts into a text processor.

The search results for each online newspaper were saved into a separate folder. Then, they were checked for duplicate files; as multiple query terms could potentially give the same search results. For that purpose, DupeGuru software (Dupras, 2016) was used: it quickly analysed each folder for files with similar and the same filenames and deleted duplicate files.

After that, it was necessary to extract the texts of articles from HTML-files as webpages contain much irrelevant content, including codes, images and videos. To address this particular problem, a code that extracts text from webpages was created using *Spyder* programming software (Raybaut, 2016) and *Beautiful Soup* library (Richardson, 2016). The final version of the code is displayed in Figure 4-3.

Figure 4-3 Code for cleaning webpages using Beautiful Soup and Spyder

Upon running this code, HTML files were converted into TXT files, and only text was extracted from webpages. However, this step was not sufficient to delete all the irrelevant text on webpages. An example of a cleaned text file is displayed in Figure 4-4. Although the file only contains text, it is not only the body of the article (highlighted in yellow) that the file contains. At the beginning and end of the document metadata, such as the author, website and publication date can be found as well as names of news rubrics, links to related articles and copyright information. Whereas metadata represents useful information, other text is repeated in most cleaned files and can skew future analysis with high frequencies of particular words.

Then, the next step in cleaning the corpus was eliminating large chunks of odd text automatically. For this purpose, the files of news articles within a folder for each newspaper were merged into one document: ten separate files were created where each file represents a sub-corpus of all articles of the studied online newspapers.
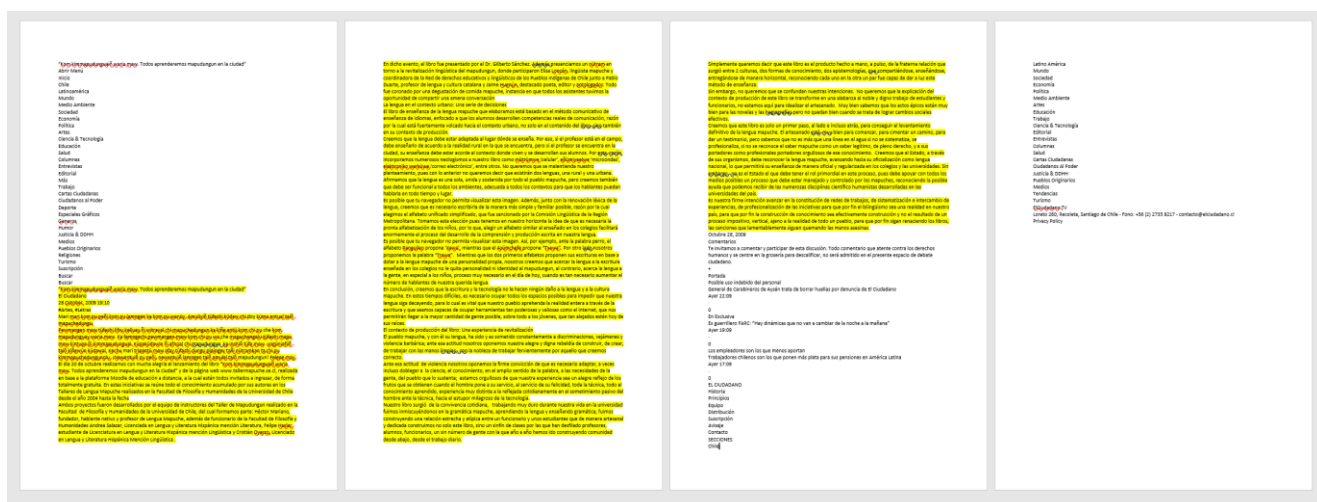
Figure 4-4 News article after first cleaning: the news story highlighted in yellow

These large documents were saved as MS Word files, and a macro (cf. Figure 4-5) was applied in order to delete large repetitive chunks of texts (ex. list of news categories, after-text links to other news on the website, etc.). Unwanted chunks of text were added to clipboard and the macro would find identic bits in the document and delete them automatically. For smaller pieces 'Find and Replace' function of MS Word proved useful. After this step, the texts were ready to be analysed.

Figure 4-5 Microsoft Visual Basic: code for a macro that deletes large chunks of repeated text

4.5.3 Corpus description

The final corpus of the Chilean online news on languages and language-related issues totalled 3 717 129 words across 8 877 articles. Breakdown of the contents of the final corpus is shown in Table 4-3.

Website	Number of texts in the corpus	%	Number of words in the corpus	%
ADN Radio	235	2.6%	79 385	2.1%
AhoraNoticias	116	1.3%	17 693	0.5%
BioBio Chile	246	2.8%	71 640	1.9%
El Ciudadano	925	10.4%	1 067 309	28.7%
El Dinamo	735	8.3%	418 460	11.3%
El Mostrador	968	10.9%	276 335	7.4%
EMOL	1275	14.4%	576 433	15.5%
La Tercera	516	5.8%	250 927	6.8%
Soy Chile	1736	19.6%	153 063	4.1%
Terra	2125	23.9%	805 884	21.7%
TOTAL	**8877**	**100%**	**3 717 129**	**100%**

Table 4-3 Corpus statistics (number of texts and tokens)

The share of each news website by the number of articles and words in the corpus was also calculated; it demonstrates how big a part of the corpus each website makes up. If we look at the number of texts, *Terra.cl* is the website that has the most considerable amount of language and multilingualism-related texts on its website; it constitutes almost a quarter of the corpus. *SoyChile.cl* and *Emol.com* follow, both of which published more than 1000 articles that at least touch upon language and multilingualism between 2010 and 2016. The international outlook of the medium can explain the high numbers of articles from *Terra.cl.* As a transnational medium, it is financially larger than local Chilean website and, hence, may produce more articles. As discussed in section 4.4, *SoyChile.cl* prides itself in bringing regional issues to the national level which suggests that this website may cover languages of local importance and have a high number of articles as a result. *Emol.com* was the most popular national news website at the time of data collection and had a large editorial team which might affect the overall number of articles it publishes.

Other differences in the number of texts can be explained by the perceptions of newsworthiness that exist in each editorial. As section 3.4 demonstrated, news values around languages and language-related issues can differ.

Regarding the share of each language in terms of the number of words, *El Ciudadano* represents almost 30% of the corpus's word count with over one million words in the corpus while its article count is significantly lower than that of *Terra.cl.* Then, *El Ciudadano* tends to publish longer articles than other websites included in the corpus. This goes in line with its declared mission to challenge the status quo that exists in the media and provide journalistic investigations in its news. In a similar vein, *Soychile.cl* represents 19.6% of the corpus by the number of articles, but in word count is just under 4.1%. This is evidence of a shorter average length of texts on this website.

In sum, it is challenging to equalise the number of texts and words in the corpus due to the different sizes of the websites and different coverage of languages and language issues in their news. However, using corpus techniques such as normalised frequencies (see 4.7.1) allows to account for these differences.

4.6 The methodological synergy of Corpus Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis

As noted in the introduction to this chapter, a combination of CL and DA[72] has firmly established itself in the academic tradition thanks to its openness to incorporate other approaches and ways of collecting data (Partington, 2018) which makes the field of corpora and discourse interdisciplinary. The programme for the recent 'Corpora and Discourse International Conference 2018' gives evidence of that: presenters used the combination of CL and (C)DA to research topics ranging from media representations of conflicts, economic crises, immigration to debates on sexual minorities rights[73].

First, I introduce critical discourse analysis (CDA) as a methodological approach. CDA is a transdisciplinary approach for studying meaning-making in discourse and analysing how language is involved in workings of power and ideology (Widdowson, 1998; Machin and Mayr, 2012; Fairclough, 2013a; Reisigl and Wodak, 2016). One of the main concerns of CDA is that language is central to social processes and plays a crucial role in the distribution of power in society. One of the main foci of CDA studies is the ideology which is embedded in representational discourses. Digital news is one kind of representational discourses, and the interest of this study is to reveal representations of languages in media texts. For this reason, CDA deemed an appropriate method for the study.

Despite his extensive critique to CDA, Widdowson (1998) calls it 'linguistics with a conscience and a cause' (1998, p. 136) as its purpose is to identify 'social wrongs', provide a critique to it through assessment and evaluation of language in use and, if possible, proposing a solution to the problem. Indeed, CDAnalysists are interested in how representations of people and entities are shaped by 'linguistic and semiotic choices' in discourse (Androutsopoulos, 2013, p. 48) and how such representations help produce unequal power relations and maintain the existing status quo (Wodak and Meyer, 2016, p. 6). CDA is a good match for the research topic because analysis of media representations of languages can help explain how the dominance of Spanish is established in Chilean society, how and why English is gaining

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[72] Partington, Duguid & Taylor (2013) use the term 'discourse analysis' in the description of their approach to highlight that they do not choose the research topic/questions for any particular reasons or explicitly evaluate the findings from a political perspective to claim their neutral stance in the analysis and interpretation of results (Baker, 2014).
[73] The book of abstracts is available at
http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/cad2018/doc/CAD2018_Abstract_Book.pdf

prominence on the Chilean public arena and what is the place of minoritised languages and multilingualism in Chile.

Broadly, CDA represents 'a form of critical social analysis' (Fairclough, 2017, p. 13) which is not bound by rules and "regulative devices" (Fairclough, 2013a, p. 11) as there is no single version of CDA (Hammersley, 2003; Machin and Mayr, 2012). However, different CDA schools, as Meyer and Wodak (2016) call them, share main principles of analysis and the concepts of discourse, power, critique and ideology in their theoretical frameworks, albeit definitions of these may vary (Wodak and Meyer, 2016). The definitions of CDA-related concepts were discussed in section 2.3.

In this study I draw on several tools of analysis from two CDA approaches: discourse-historical (Reisigl and Wodak, 2016; Reisigl, 2017) and dialectical-relational approaches (Fairclough, 2013a, 2015, 2017). The discourse-historical approach provides 'discourse immanent critique' by looking at linguistic realisations of discursive strategies (ex. nomination, argumentation, etc.) (Reisigl and Wodak, 2016, pp. 25–33). This approach has been used to research a variety of topics (see Reisigl (2017) for a full overview), including identity politics, representations of migrants and language-related issues, such as EU language policies (Unger, Krzyzanowski and Wodak, 2014) and discursive construction of Scots language (Unger, 2013)[74].

Dialectical-relational approach is 'textually-oriented' (Fairclough, 1992) and uses a descriptive linguistic and interpretative analysis of texts (Fairclough, 2017). This CDA programme gives normative critique to discourse as a substantial first step of analysis and the basis for a further explanatory critique of social reality (Fairclough, 2017, p. 17). This approach has been extensively used for the analysis of political discourse, as well as neoliberal and capitalist discourses. Both of these approaches to CDA provide the necessary theoretical background and useful analysis techniques when it comes to studying representations of languages. Later on in this chapter (see 4.8.1), the procedure for the selection of texts from the corpus for CDA analysis is discussed. The CDA analytic tools used in this study are presented in section 4.8.

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[74] These are discussed in more detail in section 4.8.

Because CDA is concerned with linguistic choices in the discursive construction of language representations in texts[75], CL tools make a good match to the critical approach of this study due to its affordances to observe features of discourse and discover patterns in media language from a quantitative perspective. For this study, the critical aspect of CDA is crucial because it is not possible to explain the findings without placing them into the socio-political context. Moreover, as discussed in section 1.4, languages are inseparable from their speakers and the speech communities, so disregarding the context would lead to having results that would probably not make much sense for the reader.

In a seminal paper on 'methodological synergy' between CDA and CL, Baker *et al.* (2008) established that the two approaches can be used to complement one another and create a 'virtuous research cycle' where researcher moves between quantitative CL and qualitative CDA tools (Baker *et al.*, 2008, p. 295). Indeed, corpus-assisted discourse studies explore large corpora with a variety of methodological tools (Partington, 2012) that include corpus linguistic and discourse analytic techniques which come together in a "cyclical process of analysis" (Baker, Gabrielatos and McEnery, 2013; Vessey, 2017) where each stage of analysis informs the following, and the steps become more fine-grained, qualitative and interpretative.

I must stress again that this study is qualitative and critical in its nature, and I see CL as an analytic toolkit rather than as a methodology equal to CDA. Neither do I use the two approaches to data as equals. In his critique of uses of CL in CDA, Fairclough (2015) recognises that CL helps CDA analyses in determining significant findings by indicating what words and expressions are most salient in the dataset. However, CL alone cannot fulfil the objectives of this study, as it does not have tools to analyse and interpret findings and a convenient way of visualising it. However, it serves as a good entry point into large datasets for the following reasons.

Firstly, corpus linguistics is the study of naturally-occurring language (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001) that use corpora, 'large bodies of electronically encoded text' that implements a mainly quantitative methodology (Baker, 2006, p. 1). Modern CL is computer-based and helps automate many discourse-analytic tools (McCarthy and O'Keeffe, 2010) while providing information about the statistical significance of discovered patterns.

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[75] In this study, written texts are subject to CDA analyses, whilst CDA as an approach does not exclusively focus on language but can analyse other semiotic modes.

Indeed, CL studies are based on frequency information, and it is the fundamental principle of corpus linguistics (Leech, 2011). Frequency is the number of times a word appears in the corpus, and the point of departure in corpus research is from most frequent patterns in language (Baker, 2006) as these show what is typical in the corpus.

Although frequency might be perceived as a mere descriptor of linguistic phenomena in the data, from a critical perspective, strikingly high/low frequencies or collocations of certain words might represent a finding in itself (Hardt-Mautner, 1995, p. 24). For instance, frequencies of names of languages in the corpus indicate what languages are more prominent in media discourse and what languages are less salient. In a similar vein, evaluative adjectives collocating with names of languages would also be a finding as it would reveal a statistically significant representation[76]. Importantly, frequency data obtained from corpus software is more reliable in deriving patterns than processing texts manually (see Stubbs (1994) for discussion) or making claims based on a small sample of language. Then, it allows researchers to describe the patterns in their data '*exhaustively* rather than selectively' (Hardt-Mautner, 1995, p. 23).

Overall, corpus analysis provides information of quantitative nature about language. However, corpus linguistics also offers qualitative tools to discourse analysts (such as concordance and expanded concordance, described in 4.7.2) and allows a fruitful integration of qualitative and quantitative tools (Mautner, 2016). This is central to corpus-based discourse analysis; despite the importance of frequency, quantitative data does not interpret itself, as Baker (2006) maintains, and it is the researcher who ultimately makes sense of language patterns and explains them. In summary, corpus tools are extremely useful when addressing large amounts of data, extracting statistical information about language patterns from the corpus and analysing how words' meaning is constructed in co-text.

In this study, I adapt 'a flexible and fluid view of methodology' where the boundaries between qualitative and quantitative steps of the analysis are fuzzy and where various steps of analysis are located at different points of the continuum (Marchi and Taylor, 2018, p. 6). Because CL tools represent an entry point into the data, the following section presents specific corpus tools employed in this study. Section 4.8

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[76] Section 4.7 presents the corpus tools and statistical measures in more detail.

presents the structure of media representation and CDA tools of analysis used to analyse them

4.7 CL tools

WordSmith Tools 7.0 (WS7) (Scott, 2016) is the main software that was used for corpus linguistic analysis in this study. It includes various analytic tools for corpora; in this study Wordlist (4.7.1), Concord (4.7.2), Collocation (4.7.3) and Cluster (4.7.4) features of the software were used.

4.7.1 Wordlist

The Wordlist tool creates lists of all words that appear in the corpus and sorts them by their frequency and by their proportional size with relation to the corpus as a whole (Baker, 2006). Such lists are abstract views of the corpus (Mautner, 2016) that are useful to investigate what the corpus is about and to prelude linguistic analysis of the data (Mautner, 2016), i.e. identify dominant themes which can be ascertained by looking at the most frequent lexical words in the corpus.

Returning to the basis of corpus research, frequency (see 4.4), wordlists are lists of all words in the corpus ranked by the most frequent to least frequent. This is based on the absolute number of times the word appears in the corpus or a sub-corpus. In order to make frequencies comparable across sub-corpora and to address uneven numbers of words in sub-corpora (see Table 4-3 and discussion), corpus linguists use normalised frequencies, or frequencies extrapolated from raw frequencies from different sized corpora or sub-corpora expressed by a common factor such as, for example, 'per million words' (Evison, 2010, p. 126).

Wordlists are the first step to all corpus analysis and are needed to facilitate other analytical tools, e.g. collocation, in corpus software (Scott, 2016). Here, wordlists were derived for the whole corpus as well as for the sub-corpora that represent each news website included in the corpus. The top-ten lexical words in these lists were compiled for the whole corpus and each sub-corpus to identify themes that emerge in the corpus aside language and language-related issues. This is necessary to explore the *aboutness* of the corpus. The top-ten lexical words for the whole corpus and the sub-corpora is presented in Appendix 3. These lists confirm that the final corpus is

representative of the researched topic, as words *lengua, idioma* (language)*, Chile, país* (country) among others, appear in these lists.

Although wordlists provide enough information to make "educated guesses" about language patterns in the corpus (Baker, 2006, p. 56), they need to be verified and complemented by other techniques.

4.7.2 Concordance

The concordance tool searches for words, phrases or wild-card items in a corpus and displays them with the surrounding context on a computer screen (Evison, 2010). Then, concordances are 'lists of all of the occurrences of a particular search term in a corpus, presented within the context that they occur in' (Baker, 2006, p. 71). Generating concordances is the first step a discourse analyst takes to research the topic of interest by finding all instances where relevant words appear in the corpus. Then, concordance is the main qualitative tool that is central to corpus linguistic analysis (Baker et al., 2008) because it allows us to see the words in the context. The results produced by this computational tool are called concordance lines or KWIC (keyword in context) lines. Figure 4-6 shows a snapshot of concordance lines for the search word '*lengua'* in the Chilean corpus.

| C Concord |
| File   Edit   View   Compute   Settings   Windows   Help |
| N | Concordance |

5,951	DE INDIAS.- El IV Congreso Internacional de **la Lengua** Española inició hoy con un ambicioso
5,952	esparcidos por el país y sólo dos hablan **la lengua** original. Finalmente, están los Kaweskar, de
5,953	, 13 de noviembre de 2003 17:18 Congreso de **la Lengua** abordará influencia del español en nuevas
5,954	y miembro de la Real Academia Española de **la Lengua,** Zamora Vicente dejó una prolífica obra.
5,955	preservar su valor en el conocimiento y estudio de **la lengua.** La preocupación por la universalidad del
5,956	lunes, 26 de marzo de 2007 13:08 Congreso de **la Lengua** Española ubicará a Valparaíso como capital
5,957	sello tuvo gran éxito con el descubrimiento para **la lengua** del novelista Morris West. En 1972 se
5,958	en distintos campos, es "Presente y futuro de **la lengua** española. Unidad en la diversidad". El
5,959	"Buenos Días a Todos", con esa falta de pelos en **la lengua** que la caracteriza: "(De Pablo), mientras sea
5,960	, dice con resignación.Elegido académico de **la Lengua** en 2006, este novelista cuya obra está
5,961	, pero creo que al ritmo de deterioro que lleva **la lengua,** sobre todo en España, dentro de cincuenta
5,962	escritor a EFE, pero "ahora da la sensación de que **la lengua** domina a los hablantes, de que es una
5,963	hablantes, de que es una especie de magma"."**La lengua** es una especie de sopa boba en la cual la
5,964	las medidas de la Academia. "Han empeorado **la lengua"**, se queja. Las obras de Marías han sido
5,965	aprobada por las veintidós Academias de **la Lengua.**Entre otras cosas, a Marías no le gusta que
5,966	"opinan que las cuestiones estéticas no caben en **la lengua** y que las cosas que se dicen da igual que las
5,967	a cambiar. Foto: EFE MADRID.- Académico de **la Lengua** desde 2008, Javier Marías considera que la
5,968	textos finales del libro, el escritor asegura que "**la lengua** española es menos elegante y menos clara"

Figure 4-6 Concordance lines window for search word 'lengua'

As shown in the Figure, the list contains all examples of the search word in the corpus and the immediate context to the left and right of the search word (about 40 characters). Concordance lines can also be sorted alphabetically, which makes the observation of patterns easier (Baker, Hardie and McEnery, 2006). They are a useful tool for visualising and the interpretation of quantitative findings (Stubbs, 1994).

The text surrounding the search word can be expanded in WordSmith Tools to produce extended concordance lines. In this study, I often recurred to extended concordance lines to retrieve more context around the search word. Indeed, a common criticism of corpus linguistics is that it decontextualises language use (Widdowson, 1998), and in this study, expanded concordances were not always sufficient, and I had to consult the whole text to understand how the context constructs the search word.

The concordance tool was useful at all stages of this study as it allowed the researcher to complement the automated steps of corpus analysis with a qualitative insight on the context where the word of interest occurred. Here, it was used to see co-text around the search words (discussed in 4.5.1) and it was the entry point into further data analysis, e.g. collocates (discussed in 4.7.3), as well as counting how many times each language was mentioned in the corpus and taking a more in-depth look on language patterns established quantitatively.

4.7.3 Collocation

Collocation feature within Concordance tool on WS7 searches for collocations or the frequent co-occurrences of two or more words with a frequency higher than by chance (Baker et al., 2008; Sinclair, 1991). Although the concept of *collocation* has varied meanings and applications within the field of linguistics, it broadly describes how words group together in naturally-occurring language (Barnbrook, Mason and Krishnamurthy, 2013, p. 3) and how meaning is conceived in such co-occurrence.

While Sinclair (1991) used collocation technique in corpus software to study how words form phraseological units, within CL and CDA studies investigating collocation offers a way of understanding meanings and associations between words (Baker, 2006) which is useful for studying representations of languages in the media. Indeed, by showing words that frequently appear in proximity of each other in a set of texts, the collocation tool helps researchers explore how the surrounding co-text shapes its

meaning. Although all words appear in the company of one another to some extent, they only become collocates when they co-occur consistently in the corpus and the relationship is statistically significant (Baker, 2006, pp. 95–96). The strength of association between words is measured quantitatively (Stubbs, 1995).

As collocation tool shows patterns in relationships between words which are not usually easy to detect by introspection (Partington, 2011) and with small data sets (Baker, 2006), it provides reliable results because it statistically determines the strength of collocation. Mutual information (MI) statistical test was used to measure the strength of the collocational relationship in this study as it demonstrates the most salient and idiosyncratic collocations rather than most frequent (Baker, 2006; McEnery & Wilson, 1996; Oakes, 1998). This means that the lexical item under investigation has a unique relationship with its collocate in the corpus: the higher the MI score, the stronger and more genuine is the collocation of the pair of words (Oakes, 1998).

One important feature of MI is that it prioritises less frequent words (Baker, 2006, p. 102) but this does not represent a limitation for a study of representation: as Walter (2010) explains, 'the less frequent the words, the less likely it would be that they would co-occur by chance, and therefore the more significant their co-occurrence is deemed to be' (2010, p. 435).

Another issue in determining collocation is the distance from the search word within which we should look for collocates. Usually, this span, or collocation window, is of four to five words to the left and right of the node (Sinclair, 1991; Stubbs, 1995; Brezina, 2018) although there is no consensus about this (Stubbs, 2001). In this study, the chosen collocation window was of four words to the left and right of the search word to make the number of collocates under analysis manageable.

Collocates were derived for each language of interest and concepts related to multilingualism. However, when a word appears in the corpus less frequently, it is not possible to retrieve collocations for it; then, deriving collocations was not possible for languages with low frequencies. Besides, concordances were examined to see how the search word and its collocates were used in context. All derived collocates were grouped into semantic categories[77] to see which themes languages are associated

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[77] Identified semantic categories are presented in Appendix 4.

with in the media. The procedure for grouping collocates into semantic categories followed previous CL and CDA studies (Gabrielatos and Baker, 2008; Baker, Gabrielatos and McEnery, 2013; Jaworska and Themistocleous, 2017): an examination of concordance lines of collocates informed the thematic categorisation. Then, comparisons across languages were made in order to investigate how languages are represented similarly or differently in the news. For languages with low frequencies in the corpus, concordance lines were examined to discuss representations of all languages in an equal manner.

4.7.4 Cluster

Cluster tool in WS7 shows frequencies of multi-word expressions or 'short fixed sequences of words' (Baker and Ellece, 2011, p. 66) as shown in Figure 4-7. Here, three- to five-word clusters with the phrase '*su lengua*' (his/her/their language) are displayed. Clusters can show in what kind of phrases a search word appears and help learn more about the context of its use: 'it enables researchers to see which words tend to cluster together in fixed or semi-fixed patterns, revealing phraseology and multi-word phrases that function as single semantic units' (Vessey, 2013, p. 101). Researchers can also examine concordance lines with the identified clusters to learn more about the context of their use.

N	Cluster	Freq.	Set	Length
1	EN SU LENGUA MATERNA	23		4
2	EN SU LENGUA ORIGINARIA	9		4
3	DE SU LENGUA MATERNA	9		4
4	DE SU LENGUA Y	9		4
5	Y ENTIENDEN SU LENGUA	9		4
6	HABLAN Y ENTIENDEN	9		4
7	PUEBLOS ORIGINARIOS HABLAN	8		4
8	EN SU LENGUA ORIGINAL	8		4
9	ORIGINARIOS HABLAN Y	8		4
10	SU LENGUA MATERNA Y	7		4

concordance collocates plot patterns **clusters** timeline filenames

33 entries   Row 1   0%   T S <

Figure 4-7 List of four to five-word clusters

4.8 CDA tools

As noted in section 4.6, CDA does not possess a unified set of tools that would help identify ideological uses of language. Then, the focus of the study and the nature of the data largely define the course of CDA analyses (Fairclough, 2013a). Fairclough (1995) proposes to analyse media representations on two levels of language organisation: the level of proposition or clause (microstructure) and the level of their combination and sequencing in the text as a whole (macrostructure). The subsequent section describes how a manageable sample of full texts from the corpus was selected for CDA analysis.

4.8.1 Downsampling for CDA

As the CDA approach implicates a detailed analysis of texts and is labour-intensive (Baker *et al.*, 2008), it is evident that the researcher cannot manually study the whole corpus of 3.8 million words. Downsampling is the term used to refer to the process of selection of a reduced number of texts from a large pool of data. Not many studies discuss the procedures of downsampling corpora for CDA analysis (Gabrielatos and Baker, 2008; Vessey, 2013).To make the analysis feasible, it was decided to downsample the corpus to ten texts that contain most references to languages and language-related issues in the corpus. For purposes of discourse analysis, similar research projects either only included texts with clear metalanguage into the corpus (Jaworska and Themistocleous, 2017) or downsampled the corpus for close examination of texts with both frequent and non-frequent references to language (Vessey, 2013, 2016). For the purposes of this study, it was decided to focus on texts with most metalanguage as these are more insightful in terms of representations.

The procedure used by Vessey (2013) was not ideal for downsampling of this corpus as 65 QTs were used to build the corpus, and it would be too laborious to examine dispersion plots for searches of each QT of this corpus. Gabrielatos & Baker (2008) suggest that one of the ways to inform downsampling is by using keywords[78] as guidance. Therefore, it was decided to select the language-related query terms that appear in the corpus keyword list. Upon examining the top-30 keywords[79], two QTs, *lengua* and *idioma* (language), were selected to guide the downsampling procedure.

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[78] Keywords are words that occur more frequently in the specialised corpus (here, corpus about languages and multilingualism in Chile) than in the corpus of general language (in this case Codicach, Dynamic Corpus of Chilean Spanish (Sadowsky, 2014)).
[79] These coincided with the top-30 lexical words list (see Appendix 3).

These were chosen as they can be used to label any language that appears in the news and, in such a way, does not prioritise any language for selection into the CDA sample.

Two concordance searches were carried out in WS7 for each word, and dispersion plots were examined to identify texts with the highest frequencies of each word. They were sorted by frequency per thousand words. Twenty texts were selected from each list with consideration of the text length (between 200 and 1000 words) and its relevance to the Chilean context. From the 40 texts, only ten were selected to provide a diverse selection in terms of (1) the languages and language-related issues discussed in the news story, (2) the source news websites and (3) length of texts. The final sample for CDA analysis is presented in Table 4-4.

- Carmen Caffarel: "El idioma español está en un momento dulce" ADN, 26-02-2010
- Alfredo Matus, Director de la Academia Chilena de la Lengua: no hay lengua con mapa tan detallado como el español. El Mostrador, 22-09-2016
- Hablar dos idiomas mejora la memoria y atención. La Tercera, 05-01-2011
- Mineduc certifica a educadores en programa del Sector de Lengua y Cultura Mapuche. Emol, 05-10-2016
- Estudio del British Council: Sólo 2% de los chilenos domina el idioma inglés. ADN, 26-10-2011
- Casi el 80% de los profesionales en Chile tiene un nivel deficiente de inglés. Emol, 25-10-2010
- Conadi impulsa rescate cultural para recuperar la lengua Kakan, idioma que se creía desaparecido. BiobioChile, 02-10-2011
- Ministro Lavín anuncia que estudiantes Rapa Nui tendrán clases en su lengua originaria. BiobioChile, 21-02-2011
- BBC: ¿Es el monolingüismo el analfabetismo del siglo XXI? La Tercera, 07-01-2016
- Universidad de Chile impartirá el primer curso de lengua mapuche para profesores. El Ciudadano, 16-12-2014

Table 4-4 Articles selected for CDA analysis

The selected texts have a significantly higher frequency of *lengua* and *idioma* (between 35.71 and 82.73 per thousand words) than the overall frequency in the corpus (2.214 for *lengua* and 1.250 for *idioma*). This final selection of texts was analysed in full using CDA to identify representations of languages and multilingualism; relevant analyses are presented in results and discussion chapters (5-7). The full texts are attached in Appendices 6-15.

4.8.2 Micro-structure of articles

This stage of analysis was concerned with how representations are structured on the level of a grammatically simple sentence or a clause. Because 'linguistic devices can create moods and attitudes, convey ideas, create flow across the composition in texts´ (Machin, 2016, p. xi), at this stage of analysis, the researcher provided a relevant linguistic description of vocabulary and grammar used in media texts in terms of their experiential, relational and expressive values (Fairclough, 2015, pp. 128–153). These are usually examined around the participants, processes and circumstantial elements that constitute the proposition (Fairclough, 1995, p. 104). Special attention was paid to the processes of different types and participants (realised through nouns or nominal groups) (Fairclough, 1995, p. 104). Overall, I evaluated the choices made by authors of texts from numbers of linguistic choices available, as media representations involve decision-making in terms of 'how to 'place' what is being represented' (Fairclough, 1995, p. 109).

Regarding the processes, material, mental and relational processes can be distinguished (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, pp. 179–258); other researchers also differentiate existential, behavioural and processes of saying (Gaiser, 2008, p. 106). All of them play particular functions in texts and knowing their functions can help understand how these are used in texts to convey meaning. These verbs function within the transitive model of systemic functional grammar (see Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, pp. 282–284) for overview) where choices of processes, participants and circumstances can build a 'world view' within a text (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, p. 283) or, in other words, create a representation of reality.

The participants play an important role in the transitivity system: not every voice in media reporting 'has an equal opportunity to inform authoritative and powerful discourse' (Blackledge, 2005, p. 14). As highlighted above, how participants are named and where they are 'placed' in media texts is a result of decision-making at the stage of text production. While these are commonly realised through nouns, there are multiple ways in which these can be brought about: one example of this is the use of deictic pronouns (relevant to issues of ownership of languages) and discursive strategy of nominalisation that can include devices such as categorisation (ex. groups that speakers belong to, references to language status) (Reisigl and Wodak, 2016). Participants may also be made active or passive in texts, which is central to

their construal in media representations. It was of interest to this study to identify actors that relate to the discussion of languages and multilingualism and analyse the power dynamics in which they are involved as reported in media texts.

Also, on the clause level it was analysed how other discursive strategies (predication, argumentation and perspectivisation) manifested themselves in the texts (see Reisigl & Wodak (2016, pp. 32–33) for an overview). These strategies can be applied to all elements in a clause: actors, events, phenomena, processes. Reisigl and Wodak (2016) propose heuristic questions about each strategy that allowed to spot these in clauses (Reisigl and Wodak, 2016, pp. 42–43).

In summary, analysis of the microstructure of news articles showed what choices were made at the clause level when writing the article. These are reflections of the writer's decision-making, and analysis of micro-structures gives a detailed breakdown of the meaning of a clause. These tools of analysis were applied not only to downsampled texts but also to the concordance lines and expanded concordance lines generated by corpus tools. How the clauses work together to make up a meaningful and purposeful story was analysed on the level of macrostructure, which is discussed in the following section.

4.8.3 Macro-structure of articles

The macro-structure of texts has to do with how the text is organised and what purposes it fulfils. These purposes can include description, explanation, argumentation (Reisigl and Wodak, 2016, p. 45) and evaluation, which may be fulfilled in different ways through local cohesion and coherence relations between sentences.

In a study of representation, an analyst has to focus not only on what is in the text but also what is absent from it. On the macrostructure level, the analyst looked into presupposition, backgrounding and foregrounding of information. These are extremely important in the construction of ideological meanings.

Presupposition is an implicit assumption about knowledge and beliefs of readers of an article. Presuppositions are ideological as ideologies are embedded in what is implicit in texts (Fairclough, 1995, p. 108). It is central in the analysis of language issues because it is one way in which authors of articles can 'imply meanings without

overtly stating them or present things as taken for granted' (Machin and Mayr, 2012, p. 137). Looking at presupposition helped explore the implicitness feature (see section 2.3.) of linguistic ideologies in representations of languages and multilingualism.

Backgrounding and foregrounding of information in texts also relates to cohesion within sentences and beyond. For example, main clauses usually foreground information while subordinate clauses background it. Within a simple sentence, these effects are achieved by informational structuring of clauses (Fairclough, 1995, p. 120). The prominent positions in a sentence are at the beginning, where the theme isannounced, and the end, which is the information focus position.

Along with the analysis of evaluative language that surrounds Chile's dominant and minoritised languages (achieved through definitions and adjectives among others) it is also necessary to identify the actors that come up in the discussion of language matters (ex. speakers, language academies, linguists, the government, etc.). This is necessary as languages do not speak for themselves but are constructed by the above-mentioned social actors as reported by the media.

In terms of coherence, systemic functional grammar identifies three types of relations between clauses and sentences: elaboration, extension and enhancement (Fairclough, 1995; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004). Although these relationships are inevitable in putting a text together, they may have potential ideological effects because they all, to a certain extent, transform what was previously said. For example, in elaboration, the new clause exemplifies, clarifies or rewords the previous sentence. When a sentence extends another, it adds new information to it. In enhancement relation, one sentence qualifies the previous one in terms of time, place, cause or condition. These relations are established by markers of cohesion (e.g. conjunctions, sentence-linking adverbials) or through lexical cohesion.

Finally, to interpret the findings, they were examined in relation to the social, political and historical context of their production as CDA problematises the phenomena it researches and tries to propose a solution to them (Fairclough, 2013a). As findings are presented in Chapters Five, Six and Seven, I explain why the discovered representations are in place and how they are constructed with the Chilean social order.

4.9 Summary

In summary, this chapter presented the methodological framework used in the study of representations of languages and multilingualism in the corpus of Chilean online news. It started by presenting the rationale behind the choice of methodology. Then, it went on to present the selection of news websites and data collection procedure. The chapter also explained how CL and CDA are combined and what specific tools from each approach inform the analysis. Importantly, I take a critical qualitative approach to the data, and the analysis is cyclical. Specific tools and steps of analysis are summarised in Appendix 5. Subsequent chapters present the findings gathered from the application of this methodology.

Chapter 5. Languages as tools of communication

5.1 Introduction

Among many other roles, languages represent practical tools for their speakers. Within the instrumentalist approach to language (Robichaud and De Schutter, 2012), it is seen as a practical tool used for multiple purposes. One of the main functions of language is communication, which can have different forms, including spoken interaction, sign language or using written forms of language. Although from the linguistic point of view all languages can be used to communicate, differences in perceptions of the communicative value of languages (see 2.4.1 for definition) across speakers may exist. As discussed in section 1.2, the sociolinguistic situation in Chile is such that Spanish has gradually displaced minoritised languages in most public domains, including the almost complete absence of these languages in formal and institutional settings. Bearing these considerations in mind, the chapter explores similarities and differences in representations of the communicative value of languages in the corpus of Chile's online news. It discusses how different languages are used for communication (as reported in the news) and unveils what aspects of their use for communication are highlighted in Chilean news reporting.

Before delving into the analysis of representations of communicative value of languages, it is important to mention that raw frequencies of references to languages in the corpus were not the same from one language to another; this is relevant to the discussion of all findings in the study. Figure 5-1 illustrates the numerical differences.
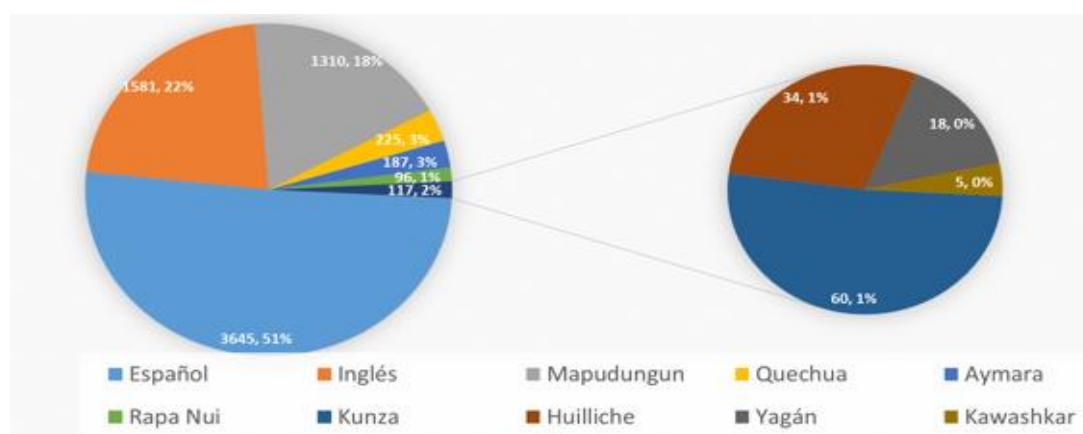
Figure 5-1 Languages in the corpus: raw frequencies and percentage from the total

Unsurprisingly, the most frequently mentioned language in the corpus was Spanish with a total of 3 645 references. Such wide coverage of Spanish was expected as this is the official language of the country and a dominant language in the region. English follows it with 1 581 mentions in the corpus. It constitutes about 22% of the total and is the second most frequently discussed language in the Chilean media. Such high frequency might be the result of the privileged position of English in the national curriculum as the only foreign language taught in public schools. When in the case of Spanish it is clear that the vast majority of the population is competent in Spanish, only 9,5% of respondents surveyed in the national census declared being able to maintain a conversation in English (INE, 2013).

Mapudungun is the third most frequently mentioned language in the corpus with 18% of references to it. The number is indicative of its prominence in Chile as the most sizeable minoritised language. However, languages of other minoritised groups altogether made up less than 10% of all references to languages in the corpus. Indeed, Quechua was mentioned in the corpus only 225 times, Aimara – 187 times and Rapa Nui – 96 times, Kunza – 60 times, Huilliche – 34 times, Kawashkar – 5 times and Yagan – 18 times. Such low frequencies can be partially explained by the minoritised status of their speakers in the country.

These differences in frequencies have implications for the analysis of the results and, at the same time, it is one important trend of the representation of languages in the corpus. Mainstream media tend to include dominant languages in news stories more often than minoritised languages; this has also proved true for the representation of languages as tools of communication specifically. In terms of data analysis, this numerical variance means that the same conclusions cannot be driven for all the languages in this study by using the same quantitative steps. However, qualitative tools, such as concordance lines analysis and CDA of downsampled texts (see 4.8.1 for downsampling procedure and Appendices 6-15 for final texts), enable the researcher to provide a full account of representations of different languages and to complement the analyses without excluding infrequently mentioned languages.

The analysis presented in this chapter started with collocation analysis (see 4.7.3 for collocation), where statistically significant collocates were listed. Albeit based on statistical measures, collocation relationships are not self-explanatory. They suggest differences, similarities and absences (Baker, 2006; Taylor, 2013; Duguid and

Partington, 2018) in the representation of languages but do not account for subtleties in the discursive construction of the communicative value of languages. Also, linguistic forms of lemmas may carry differences in representation. Finally, the same collocation for different languages may not necessarily mean their communicative value is the same. To compensate for these pitfalls in quantitative steps of analysis, concordance lines with collocates' co-occurrences were examined. In addition, downsampled texts were examined for any references to communication and communicative value of languages. For languages that did not return collocations or were not mentioned in downsampled texts, their concordance lines (these are attached in the Appendices 17-20) were examined to consider their representation in terms of communicative value.

The chapter first discusses the most common themes in representations of language as tools of communication. It then presents the findings that show their representations as spoken languages and as languages of literacy. It then proceeds to discuss findings around the themes of prohibition and obligation to speak languages, issues of endangerment and revitalisation and, finally, the symbolic uses of languages in sports and music.

5.2 General trends in the representation of languages as tools of communication

One important finding of collocation analysis is that only five languages were represented in the corpus as related to communication. Specifically, collocation analysis within the communication theme was possible for Spanish, English, Mapudungun, Aimara and Quechua as these appear in the corpus frequently enough for WordSmith software to derive statistically significant collocates. Therefore, these languages were to different extents represented as tools of communication in the corpus, representations that were confirmed by statistical measures of collocation analysis. Out of the seven languages that were mentioned in the corpus frequently enough to have collocates, Rapanui and Kunza languages did not return any collocates in this theme. This means that these two and other less frequent languages (Huilliche, Kawashkar and Yagan)[80] somewhat unsurprisingly are not represented in the corpus of Chilean online news in the theme of languages as tools

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[80] These languages possess very low vitality and have only few speakers left. See Appendix 2 for details

of communication. At the same time, English and Spanish have a significantly wider range of collocates within communication semantic category than other languages which can be explained by a higher overall frequency of references to Spanish and English in the corpus. Table 5-1 contains all statistically significant collocates which, for the ease of analysis, were sorted into three subgroups[81].

	Spanish	Mapudungun	English	Aimara	Quechua
Communicative skills	Habl(-ar, -an; -les, -ando) (6.43; 5.89; 10.90, 5.48) Leer (5.86) Escribe (6.76)	Habl (-ar, -a, -an, -aremos, -amos) (5.10; 6.50; 6.30; 11.31; 7.32) Escribe (6.77) Traducen (9.67)	Habl (-ar, -ando, -amos) (5.69; 6.46; 6.07) Decir (5.02) Escuchar (5.58) Lee(-r) (5.51) Escribo (7.91) Comunicarse (7.59)	Leer (8.18)	Hablaban (9.55) Dice(5.31)
Communication-related notions	Comunicación (7.79) Mensaje (8.10) Discursos (6.36) Preguntas (6.00) Traducción (5.43) Debate (6.19) Saludo (7.24)	Traducción (5.67)	Comunicación (6.08) Conversación(es) (7.14; 5.8) Discursos (6.12) Debates (7.66) Explicación (7.09) Traducción (5.63)		Mensajes (8.53)
Communication-related miscellaneous actions	Debatir (á) (8.22; 9.32) Contestar (8.11) Utilizar (5.62) Intentaron (8.06) Discutir (7.22) Cantar (-ando) (7.22; 7.69) Tengan (6.54)		Canta(-r) (7.66; 7.81) Rockear (11.36) Agradeció (7.97) Llaman (6.85) Anuncia (6.29)	Llaman (13.31)	Arenga (13.16) Canta (9.88)

Table 5-1 Language skills collocates across different languages (MI value in the brackets)

Collocates are presented together with the MI value in the brackets. The sub-category of communicative skills includes action verbs in different forms that refer to how a language is used for communication purposes (ex. to 'speak', 'listen', 'read' and 'write'). Although language penetrates most spheres of human activities, these four basic skills are directly linked to language and, at the same time, allow to

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[81] The elaboration of semantic categories was adopted from previous studies presented in 4.7.3.

differentiate between its spoken and written uses. The sub-category of communication-related notions included generic nouns and various modes of communication, such as debates, conversation, speeches, etc. Miscellaneous actions sub-category included verb forms that could not be categorised in the previous groups.

As observed in Table 5-1, in terms of communicative skills, English had the widest range of collocates: various references to all four communicative skills (reading, writing, speaking and listening) in English were made in the corpus. Therefore, English is represented in the corpus as a language used for both written and spoken communication. This also suggests that the communicative value of English is salient in online media discourse, as it is represented widely across different skills, and the statistical measures indicate a strong relationship between this language and communication-related collocates. Its importance was also strengthened by the collocate *comunicarse*[82] (to communicate) which was unique for the English language. Under the categories of communication-related notions and miscellaneous actions, English had an extensive list of collocates that point to its use for varied communicative purposes (to 'sing', to 'rock', 'thanked', 'they call', 'he/she announces') and in various modes ('conversations', 'speeches', 'debates', 'explanation'). Such a strong representation of English as a tool of communication is surprising in the Chilean context considering that numbers of its speakers are low in the country[83].

Despite its official status, Spanish was only the second most extensively represented in terms of its communicative value in the corpus. Except listening, all other communicative skills collocated with Spanish. At the same time, Spanish had the broadest range of collocations in the sub-theme of miscellaneous communicative actions and communication-related nouns. These include verbal and material processes as well as references to different modes and forms of communication. The multitude of collocations and the breadth of their scope point to the dominant position that Spanish occupies in the Chilean public communication space. As Table 5-1 shows, its representation is also rich in collocations of miscellaneous action verbs ('to debate', 'to answer', 'to use', 'they attempted', 'discuss', 'to sing', 'that they have')

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[82] All translations of data excerpts were done by the author.
[83] Only 9,5% of respondents surveyed in 2012 national census declared being able to maintain a conversation in English (INE, 2013).

and communication-related nouns (message, speeches, questions, translation, debate, greeting). This illustrates the wide range of communicative uses of the Spanish language as represented in the corpus of news. The representations of English and Spanish here are quite similar in terms of common collocates.

The communicative value of Mapudungun is represented in the corpus by fewer collocates (only eight collocates in Table 5-1) than in the case of English and Spanish (22 collocates each). These mainly included references to oral skills. As discussed in section 2.3, minoritised languages of Chile were mainly oral languages without a written system in the western view of literacy before colonisation and the practice of written language is foreign for many indigenous languages of South America. Even though various alphabets have been developed for Mapudungun, and it is now taught formally in schools with print teaching materials (Loncon Antileo, 2017), the oral tradition remains dominant for this language. At the same time, the language is not used in the Chilean state bureaucracy, so it is not surprising that online media reflect this absence in their reporting.

Aimara and Quechua had a notably lower number of collocates than Mapudungun, English and Spanish. In fact, Quechua had only five and Aimara only two collocations within communication theme. While collocates of Quechua are varied, the collocates of Aimara do not provide a complete representation of the communicative value of language. This can be explained by lower frequencies of these languages in the corpus; but such limited representation of this language, which is one of the officially recognised languages (Mideplan, 1993) is surprising. Only a few reading and writing collocates for these languages have a similar explanation as to the representations of the communicative value of Mapudungun. This is also true for other minoritised languages that could not be examined via collocation analysis due to their low overall frequencies in the corpus. Then, for Quechua and Aimara, the concordance lines with collocations of communication-related notions and miscellaneous actions were examined; for Rapa Nui, Huilliche, Kawashkqar, Yagan and Kunza, concordance lines were examined to find out whether these languages were attributed a communicative value in news reporting.

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5.3 Languages as tools of oral communication

5.3.1 Evaluative language in presentation of communicative competence

One finding of collocation analysis was that all languages except Aimara had various forms of the infinitive *hablar* (to speak) among collocates. This indicates that these languages were represented in the corpus as vehicles of oral communication at least to some extent. For Quechua and Mapudungun, collocating forms of *hablar* were central to their representation as spoken languages – these were the most numerous collocates of these two languages. It also shows that Quechua and Mapudungun were mainly represented as spoken languages in the corpus. While Spanish and English were also constructed as spoken languages (multiple collocating forms of *hablar*), their representation was not limited to this aspect of language use. At the same time, Mapudungun had only one collocate related to writing (*escribe),* and Quechua only had speech-related collocates.

Turning to examples of how speaking skills constructed the communicative competence of languages, the infinitive *hablar* was the most frequent collocation for English, Spanish and Mapudungun. The comparison of concordance lines with *hablar* across the three languages showed that same collocates do not always convey a similar representation in news reporting. Close examination of concordance lines showed many differences, as well as some similarities, in the representation of Spanish, Mapudungun and English. Spanish had the largest number of concordance lines for this collocation which explains why it had the widest range of representations as compared to Mapudungun and English (see Appendix 16 for the full list of concordance lines with *hablar*).

All three languages were represented similarly in that concordance lines to some extent dealt with levels of communicative competence in languages; that means, the media give some coverage to the issue of good/bad use and sufficient/insufficient knowledge of languages. Figure 5-2 shows the concordance lines that discuss the competence in Spanish, English and Mapudungun.

1	empecemos a hablar y pensar en mapudungun. Por eso, poner este tema
2	: "Un profesor puede hablar bien mapudungún, pero ¿tiene tugun ?
3	si yo puedo o no puedo hablar mapudungún? No estamos en el
4	si yo puedo o no puedo hablar mapudungún? No estamos en el
5	asegura no entender ni hablar el mapudungún. Especialistas aseguran
6	(impartición formativa de la lengua mapudungun, 'el hablar de la tierra').
7	y era profesora, le enseñó a hablar mapudungún desde los seis años e
8	pewenche y rankülche, solo oyó hablar mapuzugun". DESDE LAS BASES
9	y manifestar que se puede hablar mapuzugun de manera recurrente, al
10	consigan fluidez al hablar y/o escribir en inglés. Todo esto puede concretarse
11	de su habilidad para hablar bien en inglés- no le da importancia.
12	, puede hablar notablemente bien en inglés. Cuando le pregunté cómo lo
13	accedió a hablar un poco en idioma español y aunque gran parte de
14	. Lanzan manual para hablar bien el idioma español La Academia
15	Lanzan manual para hablar bien el idioma español La Academia
16	hay una asignatura pendiente para el idioma español es la de hablar el
17	, ya que, subrayó, "hablar así del idioma español en Estados Unidos es
18	. .Lanzan manual para hablar bien el idioma español | Cultura | LA

Figure 5-2. Communicative competence in Spanish, Mapudungun and English: concordance lines

For instance, the lack of communicative competence in Mapudungun is stressed: the imperative form *empecemos a hablar* (let's start speaking) in line 1 in Figure 5-2 encourages people to speak the language and implies that at the moment they do not. Examining further context showed that the deictic form of the verb invites only the Mapuche to start speaking the language. Then, this representation construes the communicative value of Mapudungun exclusively for the Mapuche people, which reinforces the essentialising link between the people, culture and the language. While Woolard (2016) claims that such authenticity of minoritised languages is crucial for their survival, in the context of continuous decrease of numbers of speakers promoting the language beyond its traditional speech community might benefit language vitality.

At the same time, communicative competence in Mapudungun is also constructed as polarised between the ability/disability to speak the language accompanied by recurrent use of negation (*no entender ni hablar*, neither to understand nor to speak,

in line 5; *puedo o no puedo hablar* in lines 3 and 4 in Figure 5-2[84]). These phrases suggest rigid interpretations of language competence that make invisible the linguistic practices that do not fit into clear-cut borders between languages (as discussed in 1.4). The flexibility and fluidity of linguistic practices of multilinguals[85] have no place in such dichotomy based on rationalist[86] understandings of language and its communicative value. This representation is also rooted in survey practices which tend to ask respondents questions about their linguistic competence on such terms. For instance, the wording used on news websites is identical to 2017 CASEN survey:

r4. ¿Habla o entiende algunas de las siguientes lenguas: Aimara, Rapa-Nui, Quechua, Mapudungun, Kawashkar o Yagán?

1. Habla y entiende
2. Sólo entiende
3. No habla ni entiende → *Pasa a r6*

Figure 5-3 CASEN 2017 survey questionnaire on competence in minoritised languages (Centro UC, 2017)

In the second line in Figure 5-2, good communicative skills in the language are undermined: at least in the case of teachers, the ability to communicate in Mapudungun is constructed as insufficient if they do not have *tugun*, or the knowledge of history, culture and territory of the Mapuche people. This idea is supported in line 1 where the phrase *hablar y pensar en Mapudungun* (to speak and to think) suggests that both abilities are of equal importance, which constructs the ability to speak the language as insufficient. Similarly to the attachment of the communicative value of language to the culture and ethnic group, this representation provides a holistic view of the language as part of the worldview of its people. This idea is also reflected in the PEIB goals: it has an aim of not only teaching the language (its bilingual component) but also to 'incorporate the languages, cultures, histories and worldviews of the minoritised peoples in the processes of educational improvement of the educational establishments of the country'(MINEDUC, 2017, p. 29). Recent research has confirmed that primary school students perceive a lack of Mapuche knowledge transmitted through both components of the programme,

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[84] These representations are further analysed in section 5.3.2.
[85] Grinevald & Bert (2011) offer a more diverse typology of linguistic practices in minoritised languages. García (2009) criticises the terms used for multilingual students in the US educational system and shows how these perpetuate educational inequalities.
[86] See 2.3.3 for discussion of rationalist model of language and associated language ideologies.

language and ancestral knowledge, while they also emphasise that not much Mapudungun is spoken in the classroom (Peña-Cortés *et al.*, 2019). Such representation of the communicative value of Mapudungun stresses its authenticity in Woolard's terms (2016).

Interestingly, another collocating form of *hablar* was the inclusive first person plural future tense *hablaremos,* which is unique to the representation of Mapudungun (see Figure 5-4). The name of the NGO *Mapuzuguletuaiñ* also includes the future tense of the verb that encourages the use of the language. Because English and Spanish collocate with gerund and present tense forms of *hablar*, Mapudungun appears represented, to some extent, as a language that will potentially be spoken in the future. This representation emphasises the lack of communicative competence in it at present but also the persuasion that the situation will change. It complements the previously discussed representation of the lack of communicative competence in Mapudungun.

1	lengua. Mapuzuguletuayiñ, hablaremos mapuzugun, un camino hacia la
2	: Inmersión Lingüística del Idioma Mapuzugun "Hablaremos mapuzugun,
3	Hispánica. "TODOS HABLAREMOS MAPUDUNGUN EN LA CIUDAD" A
4	waria mew: Todos hablaremos mapudungun en la ciudad", texto que

Figure 5-4 Concordance lines: Hablaremos mapudungun

Adverbials, such as *bien* (well) and *de manera recurrente* (frequently) underlined in red in Appendix 16, were also used to discuss communicative competence in Mapudungun. These express an evaluation of the quality and frequency of usage of Mapudungun for communicative purposes and suggest these aspects are evaluated and are of concern in discourses about Mapudungun. However, these adverbials do not describe a common level of language knowledge among speakers of Mapudungun who have varying levels of competence with a tendency to monolingualism in Spanish (FUNPROEIB Andes and UNICEF, 2009). Overall, these lines do not show a pattern in the representation of Mapudungun but salient are the ideas about lack and insufficiency of communicative competence in Mapudungun among the Mapuche.

Here, the representation of English and Mapudungun is similar in that evaluation of the quality of spoken English takes place in the news: subjunctive *consigan* (that they manage) and evaluative adverbials (*bien, notablemente bien*) in lines 10-12 in Figure 5-2 provide evidence of that. Like in the case of Mapudungun, the subjunctive form

suggests the desired level of competence in English is yet to be reached. Fluency (*fluidez*) is also emphasised as necessary for English in line 10. However, this does not mean that high levels of competence have been achieved but rather indicates that these are newsworthy as they are salient in news reporting. The concern with communicative competence in English was observed in the data on different levels of analysis (see discussion of downsampled texts in section 5.3.2).

The representation of Spanish as a language of communication also displayed some evaluative adverbials (*un poco, bien*). This is a surprising representation of Spanish as it is a language spoken as the mother tongue by the majority of the population of Chile[87] and no concerns with it were expected in the dataset. Seemingly, the representation of Spanish here is akin to that of English and Mapudungun due to the presence of similar evaluative adverbials among their collocates. Interestingly, many concordance lines about Spanish had references to the Royal Academy of Spanish while the subject of the news story is a handbook that teaches to 'speak Spanish well'. As the academy is involved in these concordance lines, it is evident that the evaluative adverbials allude to the existence of ways to speak the language poorly. What these news stories are really concerned with is the internal variation within Spanish. This implicit representation of appropriate language use is underpinned by the ideology of standard language proper of language academies (see del Valle, 2009; Paffey, 2012).

As mentioned previously, the corpus of news included only spoken skills for the Quechua language – *hablaban* (were speaking) and *dice* (he/she says). Figure 5-5 shows two expanded concordance lines where communicative competence in Quechua is ambiguously evaluated despite the absence of an explicit evaluation of the variety itself: the news stories report on Bolivian drug traffickers groups who used the language for secrecy, as they would not be understood in predominantly Spanish-speaking Chile.

1	Santiago: Miércoles 05 de octubre del 2016 | Actualizado 08:01 Emol Nacional Traficantes bolivianos hablaban en quechua para coordinar ingreso de droga a Chile Los efectivos del OS-7 de Carabineros solicitaron ayuda a la
2	de Carabineros. Los detenidos son dos hombres y una mujer de nacionalidad boliviana quienes hablaban en quechua, mientras transportaban la droga por territorio nacional, por lo que se tuvo que pedir la colaboración de

Figure 5-5. Expanded concordance lines: Hablaban en quechua

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[87] The status of Spanish in Chile is discussed in 1.2.

This representation suggests that the language is not widely spoken in Chile as the police had to ask for help (*solicitaron ayuda*) to their Bolivian colleagues. Although not stated explicitly, the language appears associated with criminal groups, and this does not contribute to a positive representation of Quechua. At the same time, here Quechua is constructed as foreign. The reason for this is the political animosity between Chile and Bolivia: as discussed in 1.2, the maritime border conflict between the states, which is currently salient in the media fuels negativity towards the neighbouring country in general. This resonates with previous studies of representations of immigrants in Chile (Stefoni, 2001; Staab and Maher, 2008; Browne Sartori and Romero Lizama, 2010; Liberona Concha, 2015) which show how 'othering' plays out in dominant nationalist discourses in Chile.

5.3.2 Quantification

Another significant trend in the evaluation of the communicative competence of all languages was the quantification of speakers and other ways to numerically conceive the communicative value of languages. In such manner, a concern with decreasing numbers of speakers of minoritised languages was expressed in news reporting. For Mapudungun, Figure 5-6 shows concordance lines with the collocate of the third person plural *hablan* (they speak). These lines show that the media tend to focus on numbers of speakers which are strikingly low. This is clear from the Figure 5-6 where different statistics were given on the numbers of speakers (quantifiers underlined in red): *solo un tercio* (just a third), *una baja* (a decrease) and various percentages that indicate a progressing drop in the numbers of speakers.

However, even more salient are references to the lack of communicative competence among its speakers through use of negation. The phrase '*no habla ni entiende*' (neither speaks nor understands) taken from the census questionnaire was a frequent reference to stress the lack of spoken skills in Mapudungun (underlined in black in Figure 5-6): *el desconocimiento* (absence of knowledge), *no tienen con quien* (they have no one to speak to), *no hablan* (they do not speak). The only high number presented to the reader alludes to the number of linguists of Mapudungun (*uno de los tantos linguistas*) which implies that there are many linguists of this language. Overall, news reporting creates an overwhelmingly grim picture of the communicative value of Mapudungun.

1	indicó que "el desconocimiento del mapudungun "no habla ni entiende" es
2	en lengua mapuche y quien no habla mapudungún no opina. Yo estuve cinco
3	mapuche no habla ni entiende el mapuzugun | Nacional | LA TERCERA
4	(INE 2013) solo un tercio habla Mapuzugun. Luego de un arduo trabajo
5	mapuche no habla ni entiende el mapuzugun Estudio evidenció una baja
6	Ixofij Mogen: Diversidad de vidas Mapuzugun: El habla de la
7	, uno de los tantos lingüistas en mapuzugun (el habla de la tierra) que
8	los que mayormente comprenden el mapudungun con un 25,1% ("habla y
9	poseen la menor comprensión del mapudungun con un 2,1% ("habla y
10	hablar su lengua; otros hablan mapuzugun y no tienen con quien
11	: en plena consulta indígena no hablan mapudungún TODOS LOS VIDEOS
12	de Lefweluan' que no hablan el idioma mapuzugun supieron que una tarea
13	varios trabajos que hablan sobre el mapudungun según sus aspectos
14	y Cañete. "Carabineros que hablan mapudungun, que son descendencia
15	Luis Ortega. "Carabineros que hablan mapudungun, que son descendencia
16	Luis Ortega. "Carabineros que hablan mapudungun, que son descendencia
17	patrullas con carabineros que hablan mapudungün para atender a
18	patrullas con carabineros que hablan mapudungün para atender a
19	, pero que no entienden ni hablan mapudungún han aumentado el 67%,
20	particularidad? Sus efectivos hablan mapudungún. Éste es sólo uno de los
21	: en plena consulta indígena no hablan mapudungún Durante esta semana
22	la cantidad de personas que hablan mapudungun como primera lengua es

Figure 5-6. Who speaks Mapudungun: habla and hablan as collocates of Mapudungun

A similarly grim picture was offered in news stories about communicative competence in the English language as a close analysis of downsampled texts has demonstrated. The communicative competence in English among Chileans is discussed in an article by ADN Radio from 26 October 2011 titled '*Estudio de British Council: Sólo 2% de los chilenos domina el idioma inglés*' [88](A study by the British Council: only 2% of Chileans have mastered the English language). This article also quantifies the number of speakers of English in Chile, but this small number does not create a representation of the language as less powerful. Instead, the lack of competence in English among Chileans is underlined while its communicative value is assumed to be understood by the reader. The article employs both strikingly low and high numbers to evoke the superlativeness and negativity news values, '*sólo 2%*' and '*el 98%*' to communicate the same message. This intensifies the effect of the message communicated. Although the communicative value of English is not made explicit in this article, these numbers are labelled with negative evaluative language, such as '*preocupante'* (preoccupying). The negativity is intensified through

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[88] See Appendix 7 for full article.

comparison of Chile against other neighbouring countries that, allegedly, have a higher level of competence. Overall, the lack of competence in English is construed as detrimental for Chile. In the lead paragraph, the author presents shockingly contrasting numbers:

> *De acuerdo a una publicación hecha por el British Council, el 98%*
> *de la población chilena no domina el idioma inglés cifra que deja a*
> *nuestro país por debajo de otros como Bolivia (4%), Perú (4%),*
> *Ecuador (4%), Venezuela (4%) y Colombia (3%).*

ADN Radio 26 October 2011

However, an inaccurate comparison is presented to the reader, as the story suggests that whilst 98% of Chileans do not speak English, for Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador and Venezuela this number is of 3-4% which suggests these countries are nearly fully competent in English which is not true (EF, 2016).

At the same time, speaking English is constructed as advantageous for professional development: the effect of the preoccupying numbers is supported by the phrase *'el ejecutivo también recalca la importancia de dominar la lengua anglosajona'* (the executive[89] also stresses the importance of mastering the Anglo-Saxon language). This is what differed the representation of English from Mapudungun: the quantification overwhelmed the representation of the communicative value of Mapudungun, while for English, the quantification was counterbalanced with arguments for learning the language.

On the level of the nation-state, competence in English is constructed as a feature of a developed country: it is not surprising that countries like Peru and Bolivia are taken for comparison as these are considered less developed by the Chilean government. It helps construct a negative representation of Chile in comparison to the familiar to the reader neighbouring countries, especially employing striking quantification. In terms of news values (see section 3.4 for discussion), ADN Radio frames lack of competence in English as a negative phenomenon and uses sensationalist discursive moves to achieve this effect.

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[89] The executive quoted is Pedro Flores, general manager of EF in Chile.

Another article selected for CDA analysis titled '*Casi el 80% de los profesionales en Chile tiene un nivel deficiente de inglés*'[90] (Almost 80% of the professionals in Chile have a poor level of English) constructed the lack of competence in English in a similar way, through numerous recurrences to quantification. Here, astonishingly high numbers of language deficit are offered to the readers: '*casi el 80% de los profesionales en Chile', 'sólo 2 de cada 5', '1 de cada 5 profesionales'*. The competence in English is also extensively evaluated: '*nivel deficiente en el idioma'*, '*un nivel medio de inglés', 'fluido'* which represent the whole range of levels of competence in the language. It stands out that the focus of this article is on the professionals, which anticipates the relevance of English for this specific social group and in skilled work contexts and in doing so creates associations between English and professional success and prestige. This news article is discussed in more detail in section 6.3.2 that deals with the economic value of English.

Unlike with English and Mapudungun whose numbers are strikingly low, the numbers of Spanish speakers are impressively high. Figure 5-7 shows a numeric representation of the speakers (*más de* - more than) and dialects of the language (*los dialectos*). In the third line, Spanish is represented as the spoken language at a rural school, where it is suggested that the language is being imposed on children with a minoritised mother tongue: '*les hablan en el idioma español, entiendan o no'* (they are spoken to in Spanish, whether they understand it or not). This goes in line with the concordance lines in section 5.3.3 where the theme of obligation to speak Spanish is illustrated with the collocate *hablar*.

1	conocedor de los dialectos del idioma español que se hablan tanto en
2	en Panamá respaldará el uso del idioma español -que hablan más de
3	"Al ir a la escuela, les hablan en el idioma español, entiendan o no

Figure 5-7. Concordance lines: Hablan and idioma español as collocates

The analyses of downsampled texts also demonstrated a tendency to quantify: the extract below presents numbers in incremental order and contains parallel constructions which shapes the argument in a forceful manner (see Appendix 6 for full text):

> *"La "Nueva Gramática de la Lengua Española", que se presentará oficialmente el 10 de diciembre en Madrid, es el fruto de <u>once años</u>*

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[90] See Appendix 8 for full article.

> *de trabajo de las veintidós academias de la Lengua Española y*
>
> *refleja por primera vez el español que une a los cuatrocientos*
>
> *millones de hispanohablantes y también lo que los diferencia".*

<div align="right">El Mostrador, 8 December 2009</div>

Here, quantification goes beyond just numbers of speakers. This quote also emphasises the number of academies that work on the language and years spent to create the manual on the good use of Spanish. Del Valle[91] (2007a) have found that quantification is commonly used as the basis to legitimise political and economic entities (ex. nation-states). Moreno Cabrera (2008, p. 159) also argues that the use of such economistic terminology obscures the communicative value of most languages of the world. Instituto Cervantes is known to spread discourses of quantification of Spanish in comparison to other languages in its annual publications *Anuario del Español*[92]. Such numerical representation of Spanish by Instituto Cervantes reached Chile in the form of an interview with its director, Carmen Caffarel (full text in Appendix 10):

> *" […] somos más de 450 millones de personas los que lo hablamos;*
>
> *es el idioma oficial de 21 países; es la segunda lengua del mundo a*
>
> *nivel de comunicación internacional, detrás del inglés; somos la*
>
> *tercera lengua en Internet después del inglés y chino", aseguró*
>
> *Caffarel en conversación con ADN Radio Chile, emisora oficial del*
>
> *próximo Congreso de la Lengua.*

<div align="right">ADN Radio Chile, 26 February 2010</div>

These examples do not explicitly construct the communicative value of Spanish but rather infer that it is widely used for communicative purposes. In addition to these implicit representations of communicative value of Spanish, Caffarel explicitly labelled it as '*la lengua materna con un grado de comunicabilidad tan amplio*' (the mother tongue with such a broad degree of communicability) (ADN Deportes, 2010). This suggests degrees of communicative value exist for languages, and here, Spanish is represented as having an exceptionally high communicative value. Interestingly, the media present different statistical data (without mentioning the

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[91] See also Del Valle and Villa (2007) for discussion of quantification in construal of communicative value of Spanish in Brazil.

[92] Available at https://cvc.cervantes.es/lengua/anuario/.

source) despite the articles being published approximately three months apart. In the same text by *El Mostrador*, Spanish was also called 'the third or the fourth language in the world' (*la tercera o la cuarta del mundo*), as reported in the direct quote of a renowned Chilean linguist and the director of the Chilean Academy of Spanish, Alfredo Matus.

Beyond quantification, the communicative competence in Spanish was also measured in terms of its expansion beyond the borders of nation-states (see Figure 5-8). All these concordance lines deal with the news story on the Israeli army that 'has started to speak Spanish'. The necessity to speak Spanish was explained by the need for direct contact with Spanish speakers (*directamente*), without intermediaries.

1	israelí ha comenzado a "hablar" en castellano para llegar directamente
2	de Defensa de Israel) a hablar en español". Una forma de expresar
3	El Ejército israelí comienza a hablar en español Mundo El Ejército israelí

Figure 5-8 Spread of Spanish beyond nation-states borders: Israel Army is learning Spanish

Here, Spanish is represented as a foreign language learnt by representatives of a foreign nation while no allusion is made to its value as an identity marker for the Chilean nation. This concordance lines rather link to the discourses of expansion of Spanish that are characteristic of the ideology of anonymity (Woolard, 2016). The news values that might have motivated the appearance of this story online are proximity (the official national language) and unexpectedness (a far-away nation became interested in the language).

The representation of minoritised languages was also characterised by quantification. The Yagan language, also called Yamana, was evaluated in terms of the number of its speakers (see Appendix 17): '*su reducido número de parlantes'* (its reduced number of speakers), '*última hablante del pueblo'* (the last speaker of the Yahgan people) and '*solo una persona que habla'* (just one person that speaks[93]). In these concordance lines, on multiple occasions another quantification was presented pertaining the overall number of speakers of minoritised languages: *en Chile existe un 20% de personas indígenas que "hablan o que entienden" su lengua* (in Chile 20% of minoritised people "speak or understand" their language). The numbers were informed by *estadísticas oficiales* (official statistics) which are the studies carried out by the CONADI.

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[93] This representation is also connected with exoticisation of minoritised languages (see 5.3.4)

Similarly to Yagan, the communicative value of the Kawashkar language is also constructed numerically by indicating that only a few speakers of it are left (*los últimos 7 hablantes* – the last seven speakers). This representation was common across other minoritised languages. As discussed in 3.4 and 3.5.1, endangerment is a recurrent theme in media representations of minoritised languages. It is the species metaphor (Cameron, 2007) that makes such stories newsworthy as readers tend to sympathise with biodiversity losses. At the same time, the representations of endangerment Yagan and Kawashkar appear depoliticised in media discourse as they do not bring up the historical, social and political causes of language loss in Chile. It is indeed surprising that language loss in Chile can be discussed without mentioning the genocide of the indigenous peoples.

The Rapa Nui language was the exception from the rule (see Appendix 19 for expanded concordance lines of Rapa Nui). It is the only one among Chile's minoritised languages that was represented with positive dynamics in its communicative value: *ha formado varias generaciones de pascuenses en la lengua Rapa Nui* (have developed various generations of islanders in Rapa Nui language), *más de 150 niños recibirán educación en Rapa Nui* (more than 150 children will be educated in Rapa Nui), *en más de un 50% aumentaron niños hablantes* (the number of children speaking Rapa Nui has increased by 50%). Unlike other minoritised languages, Rapa Nui is represented as growing in these concordance lines. Indeed, the Rapa Nui are reclaiming the public domains for the Rapa Nui language, and researchers note an increment of bilingual practices in the community use and private domains (Lane and Makihara, 2017) that can be linked with Rapa Nui political movement for autonomy in the Chilean state.

Analysis of expanded concordance lines showed that there is a will to increase the numbers of speakers even further. Subjunctive verb forms in phrases '*que tengan todas sus clases en lengua Rapa Nui*' (that they have all of their classes in Rapa Nui) and '*pídanle a los abuelos y abuelas de sus hijos que les hablen en lengua rapa nui*' (ask the grandparents of your children to speak to them in Rapa Nui) provide evidence that additional steps are taken to improve the communicative competence and spread the language wider. In terms of other communication-related activities, the language is constructed as widely used for a range of cultural endeavours: *cantan* (they sing), *álbum de música* (music album), *juegos* (games), *poesía* (poetry). The unique uses of Rapa Nui as compared to other minoritised languages were its

implementation for military service (*servicio militar*) and wedding ceremonies (*matrimonio bilingüe*). All these communicative uses represent heritage function rather than daily uses of Rapa Nui for communication. This representation contributes towards folklorisation of Rapa Nui.

5.3.3 "Dar ejemplo y hablar en inglés": the themes of obligation and prohibition in the representation of the communicative value of languages

Turning to similar representations for the common collocate *hablar*, the theme of obligation to speak English and Spanish emerged in concordance lines in Figure 5-9. Lines 1-13 show examples for English; for Spanish (lines 14-17), the obligation to speak was less frequent.

This theme is more salient for English as it is corroborated by a higher number of concordance lines (14 lines). Such representation is achieved by reiterative use of modal verbs *debería* (should), *debe* (must) and *tienes que* (you have to) that premodify the verb *hablar*. Different grades of obligation were constructed by use of phrases like '*una norma*' (a norm), '*exija'* (that they demand), '*prefieren'* (they prefer), '*que aprenda*' (that they learn). In such a way, speaking English is presented as a 'must' in the corpus[94]. For a comparison, The Rapa Nui language was represented as a must on one occasion (*deben hablar* – they must speak) where the requisites for participants in the contest for the Queen of the island were outlined.

1	Bush, al que le pidió debería hablar en inglés, y no en español mientras
2	que los inmigrantes "deben hablar en inglés". Trump también fue
3	una norma en la Policía de hablar sólo en inglés "para permitir la debida
4	. Pero debería dar ejemplo y hablar en inglés mientras esté en Estados
5	. Pero debería dar ejemplo y hablar en inglés mientras esté en Estados
6	, en vez de "dar ejemplo y hablar en inglés mientras esté en Estados
7	que hayas dicho. Tienes que hablar en inglés', me respondió".Sucede que
8	hablar español o que exija hablar sólo en inglés.La oficial Jessenia Guzmán,
9	en que se gradúan prefieren hablar en inglés", dice Morse."La gente
10	en formato conferencia. Hablar en inglés cuando la lengua es otra fue
11	dicta que los empleados deben hablar en inglés con los clientes y con otros
12	viva en EE.UU. que aprenda a hablar en inglés. A quienes estén
13	viva en EE.UU. que aprenda a hablar en inglés. A quienes estén
14	es mejor que comience hablar en castellano, porque los
15	a nadie se obligó nunca hablar en castellano: fueron los pueblos más
16	quiere líos con Congreso debe hablar en "castellano" Diputado Iván Flores
17	para trabajar y vivir, necesitan "hablar en español". "Pero a mí nadie me

Figure 5-9. Obligation to speak Spanish and English in concordance lines with hablar

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[94] It is worth noting that some of the excerpts refer to the use of English in the US.

Similarly to English, the modal *debe* (must) was used to construct the obligation to speak Spanish. Lower degrees of obligation were present in the corpus such as '*es mejor que comience*' (it is best that they start) and *necesitan* (they need). Examples in Figure 5-9 are a striking example of discourses of expansion of two dominant languages, English and Spanish. While presenting the readers with real-life examples, media reinforce the dominance of big languages by confirming once again their usefulness and recreating the need to acquire these.

A staggeringly different representation of the communicative value of English is given in one of the downsampled articles[95] (BBC Mundo, 2016). Although the article presents the quantifiers that characterise English as one of the dominant languages, it points out that English-speaking countries are at a disadvantage in comparison with developing countries in terms of the potential of acquiring foreign languages. Here, being a speaker of English as a mother tongue is constructed as detrimental. The protagonist of this news story, a specialist at Utah Chinese Dual Language Immersion Programme, stresses that in the US, '*nos relajamos en sólo hablar inglés. Creemos que podemos sobrevivir en el mundo sólo hablando inglés*' (BBC Mundo, 2016). Although the protagonist refutes this statement, there is a tendency among speakers of dominant languages not to learn other languages while speakers of minoritised languages end up having a greater need to learn other languages. Therefore, the communicative value of dominant and minoritised languages is co-dependent (see section 2.4.1 for discussion), and it is established in the struggle for the hegemonic position among speakers (Fairclough, 2013b).

Regarding the communicative competence in Spanish, themes of avoidance to speak the language (Figure 5-10) and the prohibition to speak it (Figure 5-11) emerged, both of these were unique representations of the language in the corpus. Figure 5-10 gives an account of occasions on which famous people avoided or declined to speak Spanish (*se negó, evitó hablar en castellano*). It is worth mentioning that all concordance lines presented in this figure refer to prominent actors in the world of football: Joan Laporta, Catalan, the president of Barcelona FC at the time, and Jose Mourinho, Portuguese, the coach of Real Madrid FC. The decision to exclude Spanish-speaking journalists was politically motivated, and it raises the profile of Catalan, a minoritised language. This is because Barcelona FC is a football club with

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[95] See Appendix 11 for full article.

worldwide fame and the choice of Catalan on behalf of its president increases the visibility of the language. Although these examples do not speak of a trend in the use of Spanish, they do demonstrate how language can be strategically used to exclude from the communication monolingual Spanish-speaking journalists. The fact that these stories were considered newsworthy demonstrates that Spanish is in the process of establishing its dominant position among those who speak it as a second or foreign language.

1	. Joan Laporta se negó a hablar en castellano e hizo caso omiso a la
2	¡Mala onda! Mourinho se niega hablar en castellano durante una conferencia
3	¡Mala onda! Mourinho se niega hablar en castellano durante una conferencia
4	o en catalán ya que evitó hablar en castellano a los periodistas de AFP

Figure 5-10 Avoidance to speak in Spanish

Figure 5-11 shows instances in the news where speaking Spanish was prohibited (*se les prohibía*) or sanctioned (*fuera sancionada*) as well as a situation where Mick Jagger was scolded at (*lo han retado*) for speaking Spanish like a Chilean. In the first two examples, the prohibition to speak Spanish is an explicit policy (line 1 – *la política*) and affects working environments (line 2 – *colegas*). These stories report on the US context as the examination of full texts showed. Such stories have the potential to draw the interest of Chilean readers as they discuss the presence of Spanish in the English-speaking world. Nevertheless, this news is also an illustration of the ongoing confrontation between Spanish and English for a hegemonic position in the world (Paffey, 2012).

1	supuestamente se les prohibía hablar en español entre ellos. La política
2	colegas fuera sancionada por hablar en español con una compañera de
3	reconoce que lo han retado por "hablar en español como chileno" VIDEO | The

Figure 5-11 Prohibition to speak Spanish

The story about the rock singer, Mick Jagger, showed that the Chilean variety of Spanish is not considered prestigious or appropriate for oral communication. In fact, the numerous articles that discussed Jagger's competence in Spanish used the phrase '*habla como chileno*' in a humorous manner to say that his Spanish is extremely poor. As discussed in section 3.5.1, the ideas about deficiency of Chilean Spanish are so firmly established in public discourse, that speaking Chilean Spanish became a synonym of speaking bad Spanish. What this story clearly shows is that the media presuppose an understanding and a common knowledge among the readers that Chilean Spanish is generally considered a 'bad' variety. This contributes

to a negative evaluation of Chilean Spanish and also poses a question of whether other national varieties of Spanish are evaluated positively in the Chilean media.

Other concordance lines in Appendix 16 also showed that the theme of acceptance of Spanish was a resistant discourse to the examples presented above. There, the choice to speak Spanish was represented as normal. This was achieved by the following linguistic devices: '*no pasa nada por hablar en español'* (it's ok to speak in Spanish), '*automaticamente te empieza a hablar en español'* (he automatically starts speaking in Spanish), '*un papel en que podía hablar en español'* (a role in which he could speak Spanish), '*la telenovela llevará subtítulos en español'* (the TV series will have subtitles in Spanish). These examples give evidence of situations when speaking Spanish is acceptable and the new domains where Spanish is being introduced.

5.3.4 Endangerment as a prominent form of discourse about communication

The theme of endangerment was salient in the representation of smaller minoritised languages in the news, as the close analysis of concordance lines demonstrated. Here, news coverage focused mainly on local revitalisation efforts for minoritised languages.

A largely audial representation is given to the Kawashkar language, as a news report on *registro sonoro* and *grabaciones* (audio recordings) of the speakers of the language (see Appendix 18). These news stories suggest that the language is recorded for purposes of preservation. Such representation is not surprising as a whole field of documentation of endangered languages exists in language sciences[96]. At the same time, Kawashkar is labelled as *menos conocida* (less known) which suggests that the media presuppose a lack of familiarity with the language among its readers. This representation of Kawashkar construes its communicative value as low, as the only interested actors are researchers (*investigadores, Biblioteca Nacional*) and the language passed on to be a research object rather than a communicative tool.

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[96] For instance, Endangered Languages Documentation programme is an ongoing project that provides freely available archive of recordings of endangered languages
https://www.eldp.net/en/about+us/

Similarly to Kawashkar, the Yagan language is also labelled as less known and as *aún vigente* (still active/prevailing) which suggests this language's use is decreasing (see expanded concordance lines in Appendix 17). This goes in hand with the overall discourse of endangerment that characterises the dominant representation of Yagan in the corpus: '*las que se encuentran en peligro*' (those that find themselves in danger), '*en peligro de extinción*' (in danger of extinction), '*urgente registro y transmisión de su habla*' (urgent record and transmission of her language/speech), '*el rescate y transmisión*' (the rescue and transmission). On the other hand, when the news reports on existing speakers of the language, it underlines (*especial interés reviste*) their competence in the language (*el dominio que éstas mujeres demuestran*). In the same concordance line, the richness and complexity of Yagan are highlighted: it is defined as '*un verdadero reservorio de las palabras, conceptos y forma de comunicación*' (a real reservoir of words, concepts and form of communication) and '*uno de los lenguajes mas complejos del mundo*' (one of the most complex languages in the world). Here, the language is not only constructed as a tool of communication but as a source of cultural knowledge. At the same time, they objectify and exoticise Yagan.

These representations justify the revitalisation efforts presented in the news stories and contribute to a positive representation of this language. However, this justification is based on the exoticisation of the language (Cameron, 2007): the examples above highlight what is unique about the language and presuppose its difference from other languages. Although this representation increases the visibility of Yagan in the public space and represents it positively, such representations are based on essentialising ideas about language and culture (Yagan language as an exclusive feature of the Yagan culture) and othering (the language marks the difference of Yagan from the mainstream national culture).

Very salient in the news on the Yagan language is Cristina Calderón, the woman considered to be the last speaker of the language: whilst most commonly identified as the last speaker of the language, she is also referred to as '*la última testigo del pueblo yagán*' (the last witness of the Yagan people). This suggests that the loss of a language is represented in the news as a loss of the people or ethnic group. To a certain extent, this representation makes the language an essential characteristic of the formation of an ethnic group. In the context of a multinational state that fails to properly recognise the minoritised groups, a loss of language may be interpreted as

the loss of ethnic identity and associated rights. As discussed in 1.2, the recognition of minoritised groups in the Indigenous Law was subject to the existence of a distinctive language (Grebe, 1998) despite the presence of other cultural markers.

Another interesting instance of endangerment and revitalisation discourse was identified in a downsampled article that dealt with CONADI's work on Kakan, the language of the Diaguitas (see Appendix 9 for full text). It is labelled in the text as *lengua muerta* (a dead language) as it has no speakers left. The article focuses on specific revitalisation efforts (*registros, estudio de apellidos, texto lexicográfico, estudio sociolinguïstico*) and organisation of an intercultural event, both initiatives undertaken by the CONADI. Like in the cases of Yagan and Kawashkar, Kakan is considered '*parte esencial de la cultura'* (an essential part of the culture), and yet it is represented as detached from the Diaguita people: no mentions of dialogue between them and the CONADI are made. In fact, the text is remarkable for the elimination of agency via the use of impersonal verbal phrases (*se han elaborado, será lanzado, se realiza*) and representation of the Diaguita people as passive actors. Kakan is also exoticised by representing its uses as limited to toponyms, genealogies and zoonyms (*toponimías, genealogías, zoonimías*). Clearly, the revitalisation efforts are top-down, and the article aims to show the active role of the state in promoting minoritised languages.

A strikingly different representation to that of growth of the Rapa Nui language in 5.3.2 was the discourse of language loss. Despite the positive dynamics outlined there, two news stories take a fundamentally different standpoint on the current state of the language by saying that it *podría desaparecer en pocos años* (could disappear in a few years) and *se extingue en virtud de políticas metropolitanas asimilacionistas* (is being extinguished due to assimilationist metropolitan policies). This representation is similar to that of other minoritised languages of Chile: all of them are to some extent represented as endangered. At the same time, there is evidence of attempts to strengthen and spread the language: *fortalecimiento de la lengua* (strengthening the language), *plan pro lengua* (plan to support the language), *instancias de difusión* (instances of promotion of the language), *mantener nuestro idioma* (maintain our language). Although not to the same extent as Kawashkar, Rapa Nui is also represented as a language to be preserved (*políticas para la preservación* – policies for the preservation).

Huilliche language was mentioned in the corpus on 18 occasions (concordance lines listed in Appendix 20). Its representation is similar to Kawashkar because the discourse of language loss is also present in news reporting on this language: '*desaparece casi por completo*' (is disappearing almost completely), *'se fue perdiendo'* (it was being lost), '*la lengua williche no existe, se perdió y aquí no hay nadie quien la maneje'* (the Huilliche language does not exist, it is lost and here there is no one who speaks it). Evidently, this suggests that Huilliche is losing its communicative value. However, corpus gives evidence of existing opportunities to learn this language. Like Mapudungun, the Huilliche language is represented as a language that can be learned casually in informal contexts: *taller gratuito* (free workshop), *curso dictado cada fin de semana* (course taught every weekend). Another theme that emerged in the representation of Huilliche is its preservation: various concordance lines report on CONADI's efforts to preserve the language by opening a library. To identify how such an effort contributes to the preservation of the language and/or improvement of its communicative value, the whole text was examined. It showed that the books donated to the library were actually '*textos relacionados a la cultura indígena'* (texts related to the minoritised culture) which does not necessarily mean that these were written in Huilliche, a traditionally oral language. When mentioned in passing, this language was also used to translate toponymical names into Spanish, which reinforces the idea that the general public is mostly unfamiliar with the language and possesses low communicative value.

5.4 Languages and literacy: reading and writing

The representation of English and Spanish in the corpus showed that both reading- and writing-related words were their collocates. This is due to the well-established status of these two languages in written tradition in general and in the educational system of Chile specifically. The representation of minoritised languages as tools of written communication was rather limited, but various examples showed a link between translation and communicative practices in minoritised languages.

All minoritised languages collocated with verbal processes (ex. *llaman, dice*) used to explain the meaning of words in minoritised languages cited in news stories (see Table 5-1). This finding shows a lack of familiarity, and, hence, the absence of communicative competence in these languages among average news readers. This

is one aspect of the representation of English that was similar to the minoritised languages as news stories often recurred to explain the meaning of words in English; this was reflected in the collocation *llaman*. The absence of Spanish in this representation demonstrates the familiarity of the reader with this language.

This lack of familiarity is not common for the representation of dominant languages; even English, being a foreign language, is not represented as such a distant and exotic variety like Chile's minoritised languages. This point is true for words in Mapudungun which with rare exceptions are mainly translated into Spanish and for the Rapa Nui language which is always translated into Spanish in the corpus (see lines 4, 5, 7, 10, 43, 61 in Appendix 19).

Two out of five references to Kawashkar (see Appendix 18) in the corpus mentioned it only in passing when translating an unfamiliar concept into Spanish. Similarly, Figure 5-12 shows concordance lines with the collocation of *dice* (he/she says) and *en quechua* as well as *llaman* (it is called) and *en lengua aimara*. In these lines, Quechua is represented as foreign to Chile. In both news stories, no protagonists from Chile were identified: one story referred to Peru, and the other story mentioned women from different countries in South America. On the other hand, the Aimara language is only mentioned in passing to translate the name of a celebration in the Aimara tradition. This gives Aimara a weak representation of its communicative value but does show its relevance to the minoritised traditions.

1	Manchamantan" (El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de La Mancha), el célebre inicio de la obra de Cervantes dice así en quechua: "Huh k'iti, La Mancha llahta sutiyuhpin, mana yuyarina markapi" (En un lugar de La Mancha, de cuyo
2	:05 #Ciencia y Tecnologí-a, #Medio Ambiente, #Mundo, #Organización social , #, #Reportaje Destacado, #Vivienda En quechua, casa se dice 'wasi'. Coincidentemente, hace un año, mujeres de distintos países americanos
3	aguardan esta festividad con ofrendas y fogatas en altares dedicados al "Willka Kuti" o "retorno del sol" en lengua aimara, como llaman también a la fiesta que además inicia el cambio del cido agrícola para la siembra en el
4	(Dios Sol). Los amautas o sacerdotes aimaras prepararon altares con ofrendas al "Willka Kuti" o "retorno del sol", en lengua aimara, como llaman también a la fiesta que además inicia el cambio del cido agrícola para la siembra en el

Figure 5-12. Translation from minoritised languages: dice en quechua and llaman en lengua aimara

Because in the first concordance line Quechua was not named in passing but was central to the article, it was necessary to examine the whole text to be able to explain how the language is represented. Here, the news narrates about a translation of *Don Quijote de La Mancha* into the Quechua language which is indicative of the shift in

the tradition of orality of minoritised languages. This is also an illustration of how a minoritised language is used to communicate literature of tradition foreign to it. Clearly, the translation of the classical work of Spanish literature into Quechua is aimed at the promotion of this work across Quechua-speaking populations, as the initiative to translate came from a Spanish journalist. This action is mainly tokenistic as Quechua is still a language of oral tradition and the invented written forms of Quechua do not consider the actual linguistic practices and perceptions of speakers of Quechua (FUNPROEIB Andes and UNICEF, 2009, p. 584). While the article acknowledges the widespread of Quechua on the continent, it emphasises the high status of this literary work in the Spanish tradition. The presence of this story in the news can be explained by the 'eliteness' news value (Bednarek, 2016) that is attributed to the news story as the novel was labelled as 'monumental' work of literary art. For the representation of the Quechua language, this means that its prestige rather than its communicative value as a written language is raised because classic literature originally written in Spanish becomes available in this language.

Similarly, Figure 5-13 reports on the translation of The Little Prince into Aimara. It is yet another example when western culture becomes adapted into minoritised languages, which represents an attempt to elevate the status of Aimara. The idea of the inappropriateness of minoritised languages for reading is not suggested in the news story, but the language would not become the subject of the news if it wasn't for the western classic novel that became available in it.

| 1 | N° 1989. Francisco Marín Castro @amigopancho Abril 12, 2015 + · 0 · 0 · 0 Ahora se puede leer El Principito en lengua aymara Ahora se puede leer El Principito en lengua aymara El profesor de lengua aymara y quechua, Roger |
| 2 | 12, 2015 + · 0 · 0 · 0 Ahora se puede leer El Principito en lengua aymara Ahora se puede leer El Principito en lengua aymara El profesor de lengua aymara y quechua, Roger Gonzalo Segura, fue el encargado de la traducción. |

Figure 5-13 Expanded concordance lines: Leer en lengua aimara

It is worth mentioning that the levels of literacy in minoritised languages are low due to the absence of literary tradition in these cultures (Hidalgo, 2006). In addition, the existing educational practices in Chile and other countries in South America only provide basic literacy (in primary school education) and official statistics do not have information on reading and writing abilities in minoritised languages (INE and Programa Orígenes, 2005). It is then another example of an attempt of implementing

a change in the spoken tradition of minoritised languages and making them claim the written domain via publication of culturally foreign literature.

From literacy-related communicative skills, Mapudungun only collocated with *escribe* (he/she writes). Lines 2 and 3 of *escribe* and *Mapudungun* in Figure 5-14 show that most news stories discuss the different alphabets that exist for Mapudungun. It is an illustration of difficulties in the process of standardisation of Mapudungun, an issue that does not concern English and Spanish anymore as they underwent standardisation in the past. Despite this ongoing struggle, line 1 narrates about Elicura Chihualaf, the Mapuche poet whose works are both in Mapudungun and Spanish, and are translated into other foreign languages. This representation constructs Mapudungun as a language of written communication, an uncommon practice in indigenous tradition.

1	es posible encontrar su obra en alemán, inglés, francés, holandés e italiano , Chihuailaf escribe en español y mapudungún. Lo hace en esta última lengua como una forma de reivindicar a su etnia: el pueblo mapuche. Pero el
2	debe su nombre al profesor Anselmo Raguileo, su creador, en 1982. En este sistema, "mapudungun" se escribe "mapuzugun". Hemos conservado, en el caso de sus respuestas, esta forma escrita. Aquí se aprecia uno de los retos
3	, la enseñanza de los antepasados, y el reconocimiento de los sitios sagrados y de poder. Notas [1] Se escribe el mapuzugun con Grafemario Ranguileo, por ocupar una letra para cada sonido, por ser de escritura mas ágil y ser

Figure 5-14 Concordance lines with escribe for Mapudungun

However, it is emphasised that Chihuailaf writes in Mapudungun in order to *reivindicar a su etnia* (reclaim his identity) which suggests that Mapudungun is a marker of ethnic identity for the Mapuche. Because this argument appears immediately after his literary work is mentioned, it is somewhat justifying the mere fact of the existence of literary work in Mapudungun. It suggests that such use of Mapudungun is more symbolic than communicative. At the same time, this statement suggests that poetry in Mapudungun is evaluated in this article in terms of its usefulness in reclaiming the ethnicity rather than in terms of its value for literary work. Rapa Nui and Yagan were also represented as languages in which '*textos sobre la naturaleza, historia, poesía y cuentos infantiles*', '*poesías*', '*cantos de las etnias'* and '*cantos y poesías*' are written (see Appendices 17 and 19 for details).

One interesting finding was the absence of the association of minoritised languages to education-related literacy practices. It is surprising given that the government

established EIB and the indigenous language sector decades ago (see section 1.2 and 3.5.3 for discussion). The absence of such representations can be related to poor results that EIB has had in Chile since its establishment in the 1990s due to its limited implementation and lack of other efforts to promote the use of Mapudungun by creating new social and political spaces where the use of language would make sense for its speakers (Lagos Fernández, 2010, p. 52, 2012).

The only exception was the Rapa Nui language. It was represented as the only minoritised language that has an immersion programme for elementary school where all the school subjects are taught in it until the fifth grade (see concordance lines 65-69 in Appendix 19).

5.5 Symbolic uses of minoritised languages in communication

Symbolic or tokenistic use of languages refers to occasions on which languages are employed only as a statement/to evoke feelings/express a standpoint rather than communicate a concrete message in a given language.

Figure 5-15 and Figure 5-16 show concordance lines in which Quechua is represented as a language of online communication: these news stories focus on the footballer that uses Quechua on Twitter and the Peruvian teenager that became popular on social media after performing Michael Jackson's song in the Quechua language. Then, Quechua appears as a language that is entering new domains, that of popular music and football. The benefits of the Internet for speakers of minoritised languages has been recognised in research (Wright, 2006; Cormack and Hourigan, 2007; Guyot, 2007), and it is not surprising that Quechua is represented as entering this domain and the media represent it in such authentic language uses. Nevertheless, these representations, at least to some extent, are tokenistic for the following reasons.

Figure 5-15 shows examples of collocates *arenga* (he gives pep talk) and *mensajes* (messages), where the Peruvian footballer Claudio Pizarro uses the Quechua language to encourage his teammates emotionally over the Twitter platform. It suggests that the language has the power to evoke feelings when used as a spoken language under certain circumstances, such as a football game. In these circumstances, the Quechua language is believed to arouse the feeling of unity for

the team, which leads to a desirable outcome of the match. Because the player is part of the national team, the footballer's message represents a move to include Quechua into the national imaginary, as something that helps differentiate the Peruvian team from others.

1	del juego palín hecha por estudiantes mapuche.Pizarro llamó la atención de la redes sociales debido a los mensajes en quechua que deja en su Twitter , tras cada partido de la Copa América.El propio delantero aseguró que él no
2	sociales en quechua Autoridades destacan a jugador peruano Claudio Pizarro por mensajes en redes sociales en quechua Conadi Publicado por Gerson Guzmán Durante la tarde del martes, el director nacional de la Conadi,
3	.cl/7vcs 1 2 3 4 5 Autoridades destacan a jugador peruano Claudio Pizarro por mensajes en redes sociales en quechua Autoridades destacan a jugador peruano Claudio Pizarro por mensajes en redes sociales en quechua
4	, como son Paolo Guerrero y Claudio Pizarro. Claudio Pizarro, el delantero que arenga a sus compañeros en quechua y mapuzugun En el arco está Pedro Gallese, alto y delgado, un descubrimiento de Ricardo Gareca en
5	| Deportes | Radio ADN 91.7 Deportes Publicidad Claudio Pizarro, el delantero que arenga a sus compañeros en quechua y mapuzugun El delantero peruano ha utilizados ambos idiomas indígenas para escribir en Twitter durante
6	iniciar un nuevo ciclo con los pueblos originarios" Claudio Pizarro, el delantero que arenga a sus compañeros en quechua y mapuzugun | Deportes | Radio ADN 91.7 Deportes Publicidad Claudio Pizarro, el delantero que arenga

Figure 5-15 Collocates of Quechua: use of the language for online communication

This action is positively evaluated in the second and third lines in Figure 5-15 where the CONADI labels this action as outstanding (*destacan*). Here, the use of Quechua is positively evaluated and encourages such uses of language. In addition, the appraisal by the authorities leads to the repetitive appearance of this story on the news.

Having examined the whole text, it became clear that the footballer was awarded a prize in Chile while also declaring that he is not fully competent in the language (*si bien no maneja en profundidad*), but he was trying to learn it by his own means which also included using the Internet for learning purposes. Research suggests that the use of minoritised languages in online spaces has become common recently, and represents a discursive space for discussion of not only values of languages but also broader socio-political issues pertinent to minoritised groups (Cru, 2018). This story shows how the symbolic use of Quechua language online is able to attract the attention of the masses and raise the discussion of the value of Quechua language: the footballer regrets no being able to learn the language at school and says that

something needs to be done to maintain the language. He also remarks that he learnt some Quechua from the domestic worker at his house: this alludes to the social class differences between speakers and non-speakers of Quechua. In this manner, the news reporting, albeit implicitly, marks the difference across social classes according to their linguistic repertoire. The news values that may have motivated this story are eliteness and unexpectedness: eliteness (associated with the prestigious footballer) and unexpectedness (his use of Quechua).

Similarly to the previous examples, concordance lines in Figure 5-16 demonstrate that use of the Quechua language online attracts much attention (*furor en redes sociales* – furore on social networks). This is a positive evaluation of language use as it suggests the song in Quechua was successful. Remarkably, it was a western popular song that was translated and performed in Quechua, which shows how the minoritised language can successfully appropriate the domains traditionally occupied by dominant languages due to the massive outreach that such cultural artefacts get.

This representation of Quechua is similar to the story on the translation of Don Quijote: the Quechua language only attracts attention due to the news of the availability of a popular culture artefact in it. The use of the language is symbolic here because it is aimed to draw attention to the language rather than to use language for interaction. Nevertheless, such representations are important to increase the visibility of Quechua and represent it as a variety in the route of development and adaptation to modern conditions.

1	las que informa de sus ofertas. EFE - Agencia EFE - . Joven ayacuchana canta clásico de Michael Jackson en quechua Música Joven ayacuchana canta clásico de Michael Jackson en quechua 31 jul 2015 14h47 actualizado a
2	su interés por revalorar la lengua de los incas, el quechua, pero no es la primera vez que la adolescente canta en quechua, pues ya lo había realizado antes en una versión del Himno Nacional del Perú. Según se informa, el video
3	by a: "I swear, by the moon and the stars in the sky…" TAGS minions idioma dialecto pierre coffin JOVEN CANTA EN QUECHUA ÉXITO DE MICHAEL JACKSON EN PERÚ 10:28 10:26 10:00 Video Impacto 31 de Julio de 2015 /
4	MICHAEL JACKSON EN PERÚ 10:28 10:26 10:00 Video Impacto 31 de Julio de 2015 / 16:36 Hrs. Joven canta en quechua éxito de Michael Jackson en Perú Renata Flores es furor en redes sociales después de cantar "The way
5	canta clásico de Michael Jackson en quechua Música Joven ayacuchana canta clásico de Michael Jackson en quechua 31 jul 2015 14h47 actualizado a las 14h48 comentarios Hizo posible lo impensado. La cantante

Figure 5-16 Singing in Quechua: the success of Quechua online

In one concordance line Quechua is labelled as the language of the Incas, which identifies it as a language proper of a social group that is no longer around. It is a common association of minoritised languages with pre-Hispanic cultures. Therefore, Quechua is represented here as linked to the past, which contrasts with the online use of Quechua for music performances. However, this is one of the very few examples in the corpus when Quechua gains visibility in the news by such instances of successfully entering new domains; and these concordance lines by no means suggest that such use of Quechua or other minoritised languages is commonplace. It is also important to emphasise that these examples do not directly relate to Chile; the social actors in these stories are Peruvian. The predominance of foreign actors in Chilean news on Quechua construes it as foreign to Chile obscuring the presence of Quechua-speaking peoples in Chile.

The second concordance line indicates that the same singer had previously made a performance of the Peruvian national anthem in Quechua. This representation does not provide an evaluation of the communicative value of the language but rather shows how an attempt to link the Quechua language with the Peruvian nation. It again illustrates the minoritised languages' attempt to occupy the cultural arena as one of the public spaces taken by Spanish. In this case, the Quechua language was used symbolically to fulfil the function of Spanish, i.e. the national language. Because singing the national anthem is not an example of communicative use of language, this news story represents a symbolic gesture that helps demonstrate that minoritised languages are fit for the purposes that are fulfilled by dominant languages. As the story takes place in Peru, this act is symbolic in demonstrating that the language of the national anthem cannot be limited to Spanish. This also adds up to the point that minoritised languages challenge the monolingual paradigm established in the nation-state and in doing so, challenge the ideology of monolingualism. At the same time, such adaptation of nation-state cultural markers helps spread nationalist ideas and acceptance of the nation-state paradigm among indigenous peoples.

Spanish, English and Mapudungun shared a collocate *traducción* (see Table 5-1 in 5.2) and the examination of concordance lines showed differences in the kinds of translation activities carried out in each language. For instance, English and Spanish tend to be used in the translation of words associated with post-modernity and popular culture: technology-based tools (apps, simultaneous machine translation and programme interface), popular culture films and books (Nasty Baby, Harry Potter).

For Mapudungun, the concordance lines informed about the translation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 60 years after its proclamation. This translation is an example of the symbolic use of the Mapudungun language as literacy in this language among its speakers is low. This is also one of the few examples when the translation was done into Mapudungun; the majority of concordance lines report on translations from the language. Another concordance line dealt with the translation of traditional Mapuche songs into Spanish and, finally, the meaning of toponymical names in Mapudungun. These are all examples of the symbolic use of Mapudungun as none of these examples demonstrates the use of the language for communicative purposes and in authentic interaction. At the same time, communication in dominant languages is naturalised in news reporting as common communicative actions are associated with these languages. While representations of English and Spanish are quite similar in these concordance lines, the representation of Mapudungun differs strikingly. Although the three languages are used as vehicles of communication, they communicate different cultural contexts: an ultra-modern globalised world of dominant languages and a somewhat backward, associated with the past and attached to local culture world of minoritised languages.

5.6 Summary

In summary, only two languages, English and Spanish, were comprehensively described in the corpus in terms of diverse aspects of their use for communication. As mentioned in section 5.2, these two languages are represented as languages of both written and spoken communication, a relationship established both quantitatively and qualitatively.

This demonstrates that the media are involved in the reproduction of uneven use of languages in the public domain in Chile and minoritised languages are further made invisible in public discourses. This means that the linguistic status quo remains largely unchanged in online reporting; big languages dominate reporting on languages, and although the indigenous languages are present in media discourses about communication, the reporting reflects their lower status and limited use, these being consequences of the nation-state's benign neglect towards them.

Statistical measurements showed that the relationship between communication theme and Rapa Nui, Huilliche, Kawashkar and Yagan is not significant, which

means these languages are represented as largely detached from use for communication. At the same time, representations of loss of spoken skills on behalf of their speakers are plentiful in the corpus. At the same time, numerous references were made to insufficient levels of communicative competence in these languages. Meanwhile, Mapudungun, Quechua, Huilliche, Yagan and Kawashkar were represented as mainly spoken languages. Aimara was an exception as it only had *leer* (to read) as collocate.

Albeit these representations might to some extent reflect the actual state of affairs in communicational use of indigenous languages in Chile, they do not reflect the equal communicative value of all languages. This inevitably frames minoritised languages as less 'useful' than dominant languages. This might play out as a motivation for speakers to shift to dominant languages.

At the same time, English had the most comprehensive representation within the communication theme. The fact that its salience in the corpus is higher than that of Spanish indicates that the media are invested in the reproduction of discourses of the importance of communicative competence in English. The attention of the national digital media to communicative skills in English may be explained by the fact that learning of English was announced a national goal in 2014 (MINSEGPRES, MINEDUC and MINEC, 2014) and it has been the only foreign language taught at public schools since 2010. Despite the generally low level of competence in English among Chileans (INE, 2013), the media conceive a positive representation of the language and its communicative value. This representation of English illustrates the involvement of the media in the spread of dominant ideologies and ideas about the value of languages promoted by the nation-states. In these discourses, English is the priority as the corpus of news demonstrates.

The attention to communication in Spanish was an expected finding because of the dominant position of the language in Chile and due to the role that media play in establishing a standard and spread of discourses on the appropriateness of some forms of the language. While the communication in English and minoritised languages was evaluated in terms of levels of competence, for Spanish, the issues of 'good and bad' use emerged along with negative evaluations of Chile's national variety. Section 5.3.3 demonstrated how corpus analysis highlighted the existing clash between Spanish and English for a hegemonic position in the world. While the

theme of prohibition or rejection to speak Spanish emerged in the corpus, English was only constructed as an unquestioned 'must' in Chilean online news. Such representations are associated with social indexation in the country, as they are tied to the ideas of how one's linguistic ability reflects the education level and social status of an individual. Such linkages reinforce the existing status quo and the unequal distribution of power across those who have and those who do not have access to the varieties of the power elites.

Overall, the representation of minoritised languages as spoken varieties is predominant in the corpus. However, within this appropriated domain, their communicative value is represented as strikingly low. This is achieved by extensive uses of quantification, a dichotomy in descriptions of the communicative ability of speakers and evaluative language around the levels of competence. There are no representations of minoritised languages in the corpus that would trivialise the ability to speak these languages. In fact, the ability to speak these languages is represented as unusual.

However, some similarities in the representation of English and Chile's minoritised languages were identified (ex. quantification of speakers and indicators of lack of competence) which suggests that some minoritised languages (Kawashkar, Yagan and Quechua) tend to be represented as foreign to the Chilean public. A striking example of this is the article on the Quechua language used by drug traffickers: not only no mention of the recognition of Quechua by the Chilean state was made, but also the representation of it as a clandestine medium for illegal purposes is prominent.

In the case of Mapudungun, the ideas about its communicative value are polarised between the ability and inability to speak the language, as constructed in the census questionnaires. It is one indication of how Spanish-speaking majorities only find out about minoritised languages when census data come out, and that the representations of minoritised peoples' speaking abilities are solely based on polarised statistics and pre-determined by the censing authorities' categories of what counts as competent/not competent use of language. The examination of social actors related to the communicative competence in Mapudungun showed that speakers of the language do not often have a say in the national news, but rather authorities and authoritative actors are central in online news. There is also a

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substantial difference in the way the representation of its communicative value is constructed as insufficient as a standalone characteristic of linguistic competence. The concordance lines showed, that a fundamental knowledge for Mapudungun-speaking teachers is *tugun*; at the same time, the communicative competence in the language is represented in essentialist terms: it is tied to the cosmovision and culture that it is necessary to think in the language to be completely competent in it. This suggests that communication in the language is part of another goal, being Mapuche. A recent study demonstrated that a concern with teachers' competence in Mapuche knowledge exists among students (Peña-Cortés *et al.*, 2019). In contrast, communicative competence in Spanish and English is self-sufficient and is an end in itself.

The fact that the media construe Chile's minoritised languages similarly to English, meaning as foreign languages, misrepresents their actual origins and historical belonging. Deliberately or not, media representations work to strengthen the national imaginary of Chile as a linguistically homogenous country. It further invisibilises minoritised languages in a rapidly changing context where minoritised languages have been gaining more relevance on the political arena (see Section 1.2 for recent legislative attempts around linguistic rights).

In terms of linguistic devices used by the media to construct the communicative value of languages, no explicit statements about the inappropriateness of languages were identified in the corpus. Therefore, no overt metalanguage that discusses the suitability of languages for communicative purposes. However, the representations of communicative values of languages tend to be a lot subtler. As section 5.5 showed, there is a tendency to represent communication in minoritised languages as a symbolic statement rather than communication for its own sake. Albeit such symbolic uses increase the visibility of languages, these do not construct minoritised languages as tools of communication that are equal to dominant languages. When symbolic uses of languages are the only representation of their communicative competence, it does not represent them as part of the linguistic repertoire of the speech community, but rather as a language that is used only for symbolic communication.

The subtleties in representations and absence of overt negative representations of communicative value of minoritised languages can be explained by the shift in

indigenous policies in the 1990s. As discussed in section 1.2, a radical shift took place in the relation of the Chilean state towards the indigenous peoples, in the sense that a tokenistic approach to their inclusion and alleged respect towards them was announced. However, the invisibility and subtlety in representations of languages still work towards reinforcement of the nation-state homogenous model of the nation. Speaking badly about minoritised languages would look bad, but not speaking about them is hard to notice, and hence, difficult to criticise.

Meanwhile, the representation of dominant languages as tools of communication is naturalised as often these were only mentioned in passing and no discussion of them was given. This is evident from the collocations of miscellaneous actions and modes of communication. When minoritised languages are only mentioned in passing, this is usually for purposes of translation of toponyms and other lexis of minoritised language origin.

This happens in the context where spoken skills in languages are central to the representations of different languages: overall, the tendency is to focus on these rather than literacy-related skills. This trend is true for all languages, both dominant and minoritised. This was corroborated by both corpus tools and CDA analyses. The communicative value of different languages was implicitly discussed in six out of ten downsampled texts. Most of them used quantification to demonstrate how useful a language is for communication: this usually presented the number of speakers of a given language. The communicative competence was also constructed employing evaluative language, that is, references to different levels of communicative competence were made in news stories.

Overall, findings in this chapter showed that the media reinforce nationalist language ideologies by employing a rationalist perspective on languages. Although it is founded on the idea of effective communication as the goal, it dismisses the fact that minoritised and dominant languages possess equal communicative value. What is reflected in news reporting is the alleged usefulness and practicality of dominant languages which may affect their further growth. Despite the absence of overtly negative representations of minoritised languages, the media reporting is dominated by Spanish and English, and this is related to the progressive loss of speakers of minoritised languages in Chile.

Chapter 6. Pride and profit in representations of languages

6.1 Introduction

This chapter explores how the value of languages is constructed in Chilean online newspapers in relation to tropes of 'pride' and 'profit'. As discussed in 2.4, the dichotomy of pride and profit is an axis on which the values that index linguistic practices are situated. Although they might seem unrelated, they co-constitute each other as they are based on differentiation (Gal, 2012, p. 23). Both of these are invested in the late capitalist model (Heller, 2010; Heller and Duchêne, 2012) and serve its functioning because they are persuasive and they naturalise the existing linguistic status quo. The 'pride' metaphor relates to the discourses that evoke positive emotions/feelings about language. It often has to do with the feelings of belonging to a social group, national, ethnic or otherwise. These discourses draw on languages to unify groups and to create outsiders (or others). The pride value of language is closely linked to nationalist ideologies, specifically, those of standard language and monolingualism(Heller, 2010; Heller and Duchêne, 2012).

The umbrella of 'profit' relates to discourses that conceive languages as economic assets, products on the linguistic market or means of generating financial profits. Another way of referring to this phenomenon is commodification of language (Heller, 2010) which usually occurs in the fields of tourism, language teaching, translation, marketing and advertising and performance arts. This value roots itself in the neoliberal free market ideologies more broadly and what Moreno Cabrera calls 'sociolinguistic Darwinism' (2008, p. 20).

This chapter is structured as follows. Section 6.2 reports the findings related to the pride value of language and, more specifically, to (1) the different social groups unified and othered by languages, and (2) the themes that evoke the feeling of pride towards different languages. Section 6.3 reports findings related to the profit value of languages as reported in the Chilean online news. Both sections first draw on numerical findings from corpus analysis and continue by discussing specific themes in the representation of languages by presenting concordance lines and extracts from texts. A summary of the findings follows in section 6.4.

6.2 Pride: the value of languages as markers of identity

Through analysis of collocation relationships and examination of concordance lines with co-occurrences (presented in 4.7), this section aims to demonstrate how ideologies that underpin discussions about languages can unite social groups and draw borders between people depending on their linguistic repertoire(s) (as discussed in 3.5.3). Findings presented in subsequent sections show how media discourses subtly construct groups around languages and help highlight their identity aspects based on national and ethnic belonging.

6.2.1 Nuestra lengua: Our language

One of the common ways in which belonging to a group is marked is using deixis, as discussed in 4.8.2. One of the most common types of deixis in identity discourses is pronouns, such as possessives (e.g. *nuestro/a* - our) and subject or object personal pronoun forms (e.g. *nosotros* - we, us). In the case of metalanguage, these are used to create an effect of inclusion of the readers into the group to whom the language belongs (e.g. *nuestra lengua*). On the other hand, the meaning of deixis placed into it by the author may differ from a reader's perception of it. It is not always possible to establish what ethnic group is presupposed in each extract by the author, nor can the reader's interpretation of it be predicted from an examination of corpus data.

One important finding of the corpus analyses of is that *nuestra* (our) was a significant and frequent collocate of the word *lengua* (language) (144 co-occurrences and 5.36 MI value). Similarly, *nuestro* collocated with *idioma* (language) on 114 occasions with 5.67 MI value across all the media included in the corpus. This statistical information indicates that news websites contribute significantly to representations of languages as proper of social groups and, consequently, constructing their 'pride' value. Both phrases are synonymous in Spanish and, hence, were considered of equal importance for the analysis.

However, without a reference to a specific language *nuestra lengua* and *nuestro idioma* can be used to refer to any language. To identify the languages labelled like this, the-first-to-the-left-position (L1) collocates and their concordance lines were examined. Despite the expectation that it would mostly contain references to Spanish, concordance lines referred to multiple languages (see Table 6-1 for a full list). Spanish was still the most frequently named language under the label *nuestra*

lengua. The next most numerous language was Mapudungun. This finding suggests that the 'pride' value of these two languages is frequently represented in the corpus of Chilean news.

Languages	Total (nuestra lengua) - 116	Total (nuestro idioma) - 95
SPANISH	49	71
MAPUDUNGUN	34	9
QUECHUA	7	0
AIMARA	3	5
FRENCH	3	0
HEBREW	2	0
ENGLISH	2	2
CATALÁN	1	0
GUARANÍ	1	0
SILETZ DEE-NI (OREGON)	1	0
RUSSIAN	1	0
KAWESQAR	1	0
SIGN LANGUAGE	1	0
KUNZA	1	0
CHABACANO	1	0
LANGUAGE IN GENERAL	1	1
LENGUA MEANING TONGUE	7	0
TAGALOG	0	1
ARABIC	0	1
HAITIAN CREOLE	0	1
RAPA NUI	0	2
WIXÁRIKA	0	2

Table 6-1 Nuestra lengua and nuestro idioma as references to different languages in media texts

The list also contains references to languages that do not relate to the Chilean context, such as French, Hebrew, Catalan and others. Other languages were only occasionally labelled in this way. Among these are foreign languages: French, Hebrew, Russian, English and Catalan. Other indigenous languages mentioned in the corpus were Guaraní and Siletz Dee-ni (Oregon, US). Nevertheless, these were much less frequent than languages that enjoy some official recognition in Chile (see 1.2 for discussion of language legislation in Chile).

Other Chilean languages under this label were Quechua, Aimara, Kawesqar, Kunza and the Chilean sign language. However, labelling these as *nuestra* was significantly less frequent as Table 6-1 shows; this is confirmed by the fact that these languages do not have *nuestra* in the list of their collocates either. It is worth mentioning that the Quechua language was also spelt in the corpus as *kichwa* twice, which means that

those references related to the Ecuadorian context. Quechua and Aimara are also spoken in other countries of South America, so the articles in the corpus might not necessarily deal with Chilean context.

Overall, the label 'our language' did not have a single meaning in the corpus: the high frequencies of Spanish and Mapudungun labelled or assumed as '*nuestra lengua*' in the corpus suggest that these languages mark group identities in the news texts which are anticipated to be national and ethnic identities. However, the spread of Spanish worldwide and the cross-border presence of Mapudungun does not allow to assume that these languages necessarily construct groups restricted to the Chilean context.

6.2.2 Pride value of Spanish – for whom?

A close examination of concordance lines was necessary to identify the group presupposed in the wording of each news story. Despite consulting expanded concordance lines, in many cases, it was not possible to identify the variety. Therefore, the media often presuppose the readers know Spanish is the topic of the story.

As Billig (1995) asserted nationalism in discourse can be very banal but also obscure at the same time (1995, p. 14). Findings presented in this section suggested that indeed, a general tendency to omit/eliminate the reference to a particular group when discussing languages exists in the corpus. Then, online newspapers are involved in the spread and reproduction of nationalist ideologies, as implicitness in statements is a key feature of ideology (see 2.3.1 for the presentation of key features of ideologies). The following subsections illustrate this with analysis of concordance lines.

Overall, the examination of concordance lines demonstrated that Spanish is more frequently represented as the language of the many speakers across national borders[97], i.e. international variety[98], than a language of the Chilean nation. This finding suggests that Spanish is not represented in the corpus specifically as a

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[97] This is not only due to the pluricentricity of Spanish but also can be explained by absence of geographical limits for online media and sourcing of information from international news agencies (see 3.3)

[98] Although examples do not make this explicit, in public discourses generic names of languages such as Spanish or English, refer to some dominant standard (Moreno Cabrera, 2008) rather than specific varieties.

unifying feature of the Chilean nation (see p. 174 for discussion). Concordance lines where this is the case, were outnumbered by concordance lines where the social group presupposed under the label of the language could not be identified (six references vs 26 for *nuestro idioma* and seven vs 38 for *nuestra lengua*).

There are multiple examples of Spanish labelled as the peninsular variety as well as the language of the '*latinos*'. The international status of Spanish (see 3.5.2 for an overview of representations of Spanish as lingua franca) is evident from multiple concordance lines where references to different countries were made in the discussion of Spanish. This not only includes nation-states where Spanish holds an official status but also the United States[99]. Therefore, the theme of expansion of Spanish is salient in the corpus even when employed deixis suggests the language is playing a unifying role but not unifying the Chilean nation. Here, the Chilean readers are included into a broader community and are constructed as partakes of the struggle for a hegemonic position of the language in the world in line with the project of *hispanofonía*[100] (del Valle, 2007b).

Evoking 'pride': linguistic features in the construction of superiority of Spanish
One important finding in the corpus of Chilean news about languages was the construction of Spanish as superior to other languages. This phenomenon manifested itself in several ways: through the discussion of the linguistic superiority of Spanish, its aesthetical and emotional value and its expansion and growth.

Figure 6-1 shows a selection of concordance lines where *lengua castellana* collocated with *nuestra*. The first two extracts draw on the lexical richness of the language: Spanish is represented as a language with *palabras ricas y poderosas* (rich and powerful words) and a language characterised by its *abundancia* (abundance) and *multiplicidad de vocablos* (a multitude of words). Such evaluative references aim to evoke 'pride' of speakers of the language. However, Spanish is a pluricentric language and what the media refer to here is an 'imagined' standard rather than Chilean variety. I would argue that such 'pride' discourses are instantiations of Spanish linguistic imperialism for the following reasons.

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[99] However, in the US Spanish is the second most spoken language after English.
[100] See section 3.5.2. p.81 for definition

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1	y vulgar, pero quiero recordarles que esas expresiones están contenidas varias veces en la obra cumbre de nuestra lengua castellana: me refiero a El Quijote de la Mancha. ¿Acaso pretende el querellante venir a decir que Miguel
2	han leído a nuestros escritores nativos, que se sorprenden ante el uso de palabras ricas y poderosas de nuestra lengua castellana. Si algo tiene nuestro idioma y lo caracteriza frente a otros, es su abundancia, su multiplicidad de
3	, hemos impuesto a Bernardo O'Higgins, Arturo Prat, Policarpo Toro. Nuestros profesores les han enseñado la lengua castellana y a cantar nuestra Canción Nacional, a venerar nuestra bandera y a celebrar el 18 de septiembre.

Figure 6-1 Concordance lines: nuestra lengua castellana

To make the representation more convincing, a reference to *Don Quijote* is made as an emblematic work written in the Spanish language. This literary work is conceived as *obra cumbre* (a masterpiece) which is regarded in this extract as the best example of the Spanish language that exists. In his extensive analysis of linguistic imperialism of Spain, Moreno Cabrera (2008) says that Spanish Golden age literature was 'an important cultural weapon' to spread the myth of Spanish as a universal language (2008, p. 145). Indeed, it is common to encounter references to literary works and prominent linguists in public discourses about dominant languages in construal of their superiority as proof of alleged merits (Moreno Cabrera, 2008). It is also explicitly stated in the concordance lines that these features make the language distinct in comparison to other languages: *lo caracteriza frente a otros* (it characterises it in comparison to others). Although there is no evaluative language, the statement implies that Spanish is different and even better than other languages.

These two examples could be targeted at any Spanish-speaking audience to evoke a feeling of unity around a language. The fact that Chile was not mentioned in the expanded extracts suggests that standard general Spanish is not closely linked to this particular territory. Although the deictic *nuestra* suggests otherwise, the absence of references to geographical territories represents Spanish as 'a voice from nowhere' (Woolard, 2008) which goes in hand with the ideology of anonymity (see section 2.4.2 for definition). The reporting misrecognises the origins of the language (in Spain) and in doing so, reinforces the post-colonial dominant status of Spanish.

The examples in Figure 6-1 build a positive representation of Spanish that would make speakers feel good about the language they speak (as presupposed in the reporting). Other reasons for 'pride' in Spanish cited in the corpus are that of its exclusive/distinctive features and other descriptors related to the number of speakers (a typical representation as 5.3.2 showed) and other emotional characteristics (see Figure 6-2). The first expanded concordance focuses on one lexical item

(*sobremesa*) of Spanish that allegedly exists only in Spanish. This representation emphasises the exclusivity of Spanish in comparison to other languages whilst failing to recognise the word describes a cultural phenomenon. This representation is a good illustration of how language has become so essential in understandings of culture that culture is often reduced to language. The next concordance line focuses on the words that do not exist in Spanish: albeit with a degree of doubt (*parece* – seems), it labels Spanish as *insuficiente* (insufficient). This representation is rather an exception from the general tendency in representations of Spanish in the corpus.

1	Español: Sobremesa Probablemente más de alguna vez te has quedado en la mesa haciendo sobremesa con tu familia, luego de un almuerzo de domingo. Este término que usamos a menudo sólo existe en nuestro idioma. Maptia Blog 7- Indonesia: Jayus Más de alguna vez te debe haber pasado: alguien cuenta un chiste tan, pero tan malo, que nadie puede evitar reírse a carcajadas.
2	36 Palabras que NO existen en español, pero deberían 36 Palabras que NO existen en español, pero deberían 15 June, 2015 07:06 #Tendencias Frente a estas joyas, nuestro idioma parece insuficiente. Empecemos: 1. HBO / Via wordpress.com Es un rostro al que lo único que le falta es un puñetazo.
3	el subtítulo del libro: "¿Estamos destrozando nuestra lengua?", y asegura que, gracias a internet y a las redes sociales, "nunca en la historia de la humanidad ha habido tanta gente hablando, escribiendo y comunicándose a través de nuestro idioma, y esa es la gran virtud". "La palabra se ha democratizado y el español se ha extendido y consolidado, primero gracias a los medios de comunicación tradicionales y, desde finales del siglo XX, gracias a la extensión de las redes sociales",
4	Felicidad: Descubren que el español es el idioma "más feliz" del planeta Nuestro idioma fue elegido de entre un total de 24 lenguas analizadas por un equipo de estadounidenses. Le siguen el portugués y el inglés. "Amor" es la palabra más feliz del mundo. ¿Cuál es tu palabra "más feliz"? VISITA NUESTRO SITIO DE LA "FELICIDAD"
5	La iniciativa del Instituto Cervantes ha tenido símiles previamente. Es el caso del concurso que organizó el sitio de la Escuela de Escritores de España en 2006, para elegir a la palabra más bella de nuestro idioma. En esa ocasión se impuso "amor". EFE miércoles, 24 de marzo de 2010 16:02 Irán presenta una web de videos compartidos similar a YouTube	Emol.com Emol El Mercurio Blogs Legal Campo Inversiones Autos Propiedades Empleos Económicos.cl Autos- Casa

Figure 6-2 Size of the language, its lexical affordances and emotional features in 'pride' construction of Spanish

The third concordance line suggests that the Spanish language '*se ha democratizado y el español se ha extendido y consolidado'* (it has democratised, extended and consolidated itself). It represents Spanish positively as a growing and democratised language. The word 'democratised' is a loaded political term which here contributes to a positive representation of the expansion of Spanish; the history of its colonial expansion can hardly be evaluated as positive. The misrecognition of the expansion of Spanish as not being imposed is highly controversial. It is worth noting that this article appeared on *Terra.cl*, a website with headquarters in Spain, and is quoting a Spanish writer Isaias Lafuente. This line contributes to the salient media discourse of

expansion of Spanish in the corpus, which is one of the dominant discourses in representations of Spanish, as discussed in 3.5.2.

The fourth extract labels Spanish as 'the happiest language in the world'[101]: the story reports on a study where participants had to evaluate words from different languages as positive or negative. This representation draws on the alleged emotional component of the language and constructs Spanish as superior to other languages. As in the previous representations, lexical features of Spanish were used to construct superiority of the language, here it is merely claimed to be superior to 24 other languages because a study demonstrated it. Without saying this explicitly, the quote suggests to the readers that speaking a happy language is good, probably makes speakers of Spanish happier people.

In a similar vein, another theme that makes Spanish the main point of a news story is its aesthetic value. The fifth extract in Figure 6-2 discussed the most beautiful word in Spanish without explicitly discussing the aesthetic value of Spanish. Both articles seem to have entertaining purposes for the readers while at the same time give greater visibility to Spanish. All these extracts do not make any explicit reference to Chilean Spanish, which can be explained by the pluricentric nature of the Spanish language and the independence of online media of a particular geographical place.

Nevertheless, the above representations do not suggest that the representation of Spanish as superior does not work towards the construction of 'pride' for speakers of Chilean variety of Spanish. For instance, the third extract in Figure 6-1 shows an example of the collocation when *nuestra* is not in L1 position. Here, language is portrayed as one of 'nationalising' tools in Chile: the story narrates how the Spanish language was taught to the indigenous groups in Chile along with other attributes of national culture, such as the flag, the national anthem and national festivities. Although *nuestra* does not describe the language here, it is the first element listed among others used to 'chileanise' the indigenous peoples. This example is a clear illustration of nationalist ideology in action, as it locates language among other attributes of 'banal nationalism' (Billig, 1995) and narrates on how language is instrumental in nation-building. Here, Spanish is directly linked to Chile as a nation-state, as it is depicted as one of the tools of 'making Chileans'; this extract presents a

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[101] This representation occurred in the corpus 10 times.

historical snapshot of the colonial times when the language was successfully employed in nation-building.

Chilean variety of Spanish: is it something to be proud of?

In order to identify the pride value that Chilean variety of Spanish represents, references to it in the corpus were examined. Three ways of referring to the Chilean variety of Spanish were identified in the corpus: *español/castellano chileno/de Chile, los chilenos hablamos/hablan* and *hablar como chileno.* In Spanish, it is also possible to create a deictic meaning in verbal forms. For instance, this was the case with the first-person plural in the present indicative tense of the verb *hablar – hablamos* (we speak). These deictic moves helped differentiate representations of Chilean Spanish from other varieties of Spanish.

It was expected that phrases *español/castellano chileno/de Chile* would be frequent in the corpus, but these totalled only 13 mentions in the whole dataset (see Appendix 21 for the full list). Therefore, Chilean Spanish is not a frequent topic in online newspapers but indicates recognition of this variety. Concordance lines with these phrases referred to academic context and most news stories were interviews with members of the Chilean Academy of Spanish (the director of the academy Alfredo Matus, José Victorino Lastarria, academics Dario Rojas, Juana Puga) that discussed the new publications on the Chilean variety of Spanish. This finding shows an attempt to establish Chilean Spanish as a legitimate variety by authoritative social actors such as academics and linguists.

Chilean Spanish is represented as a self-sufficient variety in these lines with distinctive linguistic features, history, origins and oral and written forms and as a field of scientific enquiry: *atenuación, sonidos, chilenismos, unidades léxicas, normas, textos escritos y orales, la prensa o las obras literarias, históricas y científicas, historia del idioma español-chileno, sus orígenes y sus transformaciones.* These phrases allude to a complete picture of Chilean Spanish as a linguistic variety: it has distinctive phonetic features and lexical items, its own norms and texts produced in Chilean Spanish. The quotes also suggest that the variety has a separate history with its own origins and changes that took place.

The discourse described above acknowledges the existence of the Chilean variety as such, which suggests its potential for being perceived as an identity marker for Chilean nationals. It is worth mentioning that the representation of Chilean Spanish

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here is neither positive nor negative but is rather informative in the choice of words; its features are simply listed in the news story without further evaluation. The informativeness and authoritative actors whose voices are represented in the news establish the idea of Chilean Spanish as a separate variety of language which contributes to the distinctiveness of the Chilean national identity.

However, other common references to the Chilean variety of Spanish in the corpus *los chilenos hablamos/hablan* and *hablar como chileno* had clear evaluative language in the immediate surrounding co-text. For instance, Figure 6-3 displays concordance lines with the phrase '*los chilenos hablamos*'. Similarly to the deictic *nuestra* (see section 6.2.1), *los chilenos hablamos* (we the Chileans speak) creates an effect of the inclusion of the reader into the group labelled as *chilenos* and, at the same time, generalises on the linguistic abilities of the whole nation[102]. These concordance lines are a snapshot of the process of media construction of an image of the Chilean nation as an imagined, unified linguistic community (Anderson, 1983).

1	Rojas. Foto: Sabino Aguad REVISTA VIERNES DE LA SEGUNDA¿POR QUÉ HABLAMOS TAN MAL LOS CHILENOS?Darío Rojas (31), lingüista, doctor en Filología Darío Rojas tiene un aro, usa barba y viste zapatillas. El
2	, como parte del Festival Puerto de Ideas. La actividad, justamente, se llama ¿Por qué hablamos tan mal los chilenos?, y fue la primera en agotar todas sus entradas. Alfredo Matus, lingüista y presidente de la Academia
3	hablamos como hablamos? (Darío Rojas) Constantemente escuchamos el lamento "qué mal hablamos los chilenos" y el ensalce a los peruanos por pronunciar correctamente el español. Este libro busca desmitificar esta
4	periodista y lingüista del idioma español conversó con ADN Radio Chile sobre la manera en que hablamos los chilenos, las palabras que hemos inventado, las más usadas y sus orígenes. Latinoamérica Chile Alejandro
5	ADN Radio Chile y conversó con los periodistas Beatriz Sánchez y Alejandro Guillier sobre cómo hablamos los chilenos, las palabras que hemos inventado, las más usadas, y sus orígenes. Escuche la entrevista completa a
6	le importa darse a entender (…) ¿Cómo nos vamos a sentir orgullosos con esa indolencia?".¿Cómo hablamos los chilenos? Hay un tópico como respuesta y es que hablamos mal. Pero por otro lado, hemos seguido
7	, "colorín" por pelirrojo, "empilucharse" por desnudarse o "pololo" por novio . En ese contexto, la afirmación "los chilenos no hablamos bien el español" se ha convertido en una frase recurrente entre los 16,1 millones de habitantes
8	fue a Valencia a cursar un doctorado en Filología Española. En el contraste cotidiano tomó consciencia de que los chilenos no hablamos como los españoles y de que existe una particularidad que logró introducirse en nuestro
9	Hispánica, el estudio específico de la lengua española. El mismo prejuicio, según él, que tiene convencidos a los chilenos de que hablamos muy, pero muy mal. "Para nosotros el lenguaje es importante", dice, haciéndose un
10	peor usa el idioma español. Para desmentir esta percepción, este lingüista publicó este año el libro ¿Por qué los chilenos hablamos como hablamos?, en el que repasa históricamente nuestra forma de comunicamos, apelando
11	de Chile y la Alberto Hurtado. "Lo sentimos parte de nuestra identidad , y una de las cosas que nos hace ser chilenos es hablar como hablamos". El principal problema, según Darío, es que desde el siglo XIX nos hemos ido

Figure 6-3 Expanded concordance lines: los chilenos hablamos

The omission of reference to Spanish suggests a presupposition characteristic of the sampled media in that the readers share the understanding with the author that

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[102] Although not all readers identify themselves as Chileans, online newspapers audiences are large and they tend to target dominant groups.

Chileans speak Spanish, and the readers are assumed to form part of the nation through this deictic device. The name of the language accompanies this phrase only if it is necessary to signal a language different from Spanish.

Concordance lines in Figure 6-3 show the most revealing co-occurrences of the two words which totalled 21 in the corpus. The phrase on all occasions was accompanied by an adverbial group which would evaluate the Chilean speech. In most cases, the evaluation is negative: *mal* (badly), *tan mal* (so bad), *qué mal* (how bad), *no hablamos bien* (we don't speak well), *muy, pero muy mal* (very, very bad). Interestingly, the phrase tends to appear in interrogative sentences; this suggests a presupposition that readers agree and would like to know why this is the case. Although this demonstrates a general tendency to negatively represent the Chilean variety of Spanish (see 3.5.2 on representations of Chilean Spanish), these discourses are a means of attracting readers' attention to the commonly accepted linguistic problem. At the same time, the meaning of 'bad language' is also largely presupposed and is left to the reader to interpret.

Similar representations of Chilean Spanish are displayed in Figure 6-4 where co-occurrences of the third person plural present tense form of *hablar* with *los chilenos* are listed. The usage of this form represents Chileans as an outgroup but regardless generalises about the Chilean variety of Spanish.

1	6 7 8 9 10 Alfredo Matus: "Es un mito que los chilenos hablan mal" | Sociedad | Alfredo Matus: "Es un mito que los chilenos hablan mal" "Siempre se dice que en Colombia se habla mucho mejor que en Chile, lo que pasa es que se
2	- (hace 6 años) El director de la Academia Chilena de la Lengua, Alfredo Matus aseguró que es un mito que los chilenos hablan mal y que se usa la lengua española "tan bien, o tan mal" como en otros países de habla hispana.
3	un grado de comunicabilidad tan amplio nos da muchísima fuerza", puntualizó . Alfredo Matus: "Es un mito que los chilenos hablan mal" Paulina Urrutia confirmó participación de Mario Vargas Llosa y Jorge Edwards en Congreso
4	igual que casi todos los países de la región, se queda atrás en comparación con el resto del mundo. Las mujeres chilenas hablan inglés un poco mejor que los hombres, sin embargo, el nivel de dominio del idioma por segmento
5	correctos En su libro, "Dudas e incorrecciones de nuestro idioma", Haydée Correa derriba el mito de que los chilenos hablan mal el español, ya que la RAE reconoce muchos de los modismos nacionales. SANTIAGO.- Frases
6	Kevin Cortés, enfatizó la relevancia de permitir que escolares se expongan al idioma, puesto que sólo el 11% de los chilenos hablan inglés. "Estas instancias son buenas para que ellos aprendan un poco más inglés y estén

Figure 6-4 Expanded concordance lines: los chilenas/os hablan

Overall, these concordance lines attempt to refute the myth that the Chileans speak badly. Firstly, this indicates that the idea of the inappropriateness of Chilean Spanish

is widely spread in public discourses. Secondly, these concordance lines show the role that the media play in introducing resistant discourses about language. In summary, negative representation of Chilean Spanish does not create an image of the language a nation could be proud of. Nevertheless, these extracts clearly outline the linguistic difference.

Comparisons of Chilean Spanish with other varieties also helps construe this difference. Other examples compare Chilean speech to other nationalities: *los chilenos no hablamos como los españoles* (we Chileans do not speak like the Spaniards); .*el ensalce a los peruanos* (an exaltation to the Peruvians; to emphasize how much better they speak); *siempre se dice que en Colombia se habla mucho mejor* (it has always been said that in Colombia they speak a lot better than in Chile) and *'tan bien o tan mal' como en otros paises de habla hispana* (as well or as badly as in other Spanish speaking countries). This representation of Chilean Spanish is based on nationalist stance as it constructs distinctive features of the national variety in comparison with others. It is a way of highlighting the uniqueness of the nation. This is one manifestation of the linguistic ideology of authenticity (Woolard, 2016) within the nationalistic view on language: even though Spanish is official in many nations, Chilean Spanish is appropriated in the media reporting through the contrast with others and the references to these distinctive features (ex. *las palabras que hemos inventado* – the words that we have invented).

The last concordance line Figure 6-3 also explicitly links Chilean Spanish with 'Chileanness': *'lo sentimos parte de nuestra identidad , y una de las cosas que nos hace ser chilenos'* (we feel it is a part of our identity and one of the things that make us feel Chilean). Here, *Emol.com* quotes Darío Rojas, an academic and a member of the Chilean Academy of Language; reference to this prominent actor makes the statement authoritative. This extract alludes to the emotional link between belonging to the nation and speaking a common variety (that legitimises the imagined nation) which is a clear manifestation of the pride (and, in this case, shame) value of language in the nation-state.

Discourses of the universality of Spanish: lengua común y lengua de encuentro (common language and the language of encounter)

The expanded concordance lines and extracts from texts presented in this section were deemed representative of the linguistic manifestation of the use of deixis to

label social groups around the Spanish language[103]. The analysis demonstrated further subtleties in how Spanish is represented as a language that unifies peoples within a nation and into trans-national groups.

Despite the use of unifying deixis, one example in the corpus where Spanish is labelled as *nuestra lengua común* illustrated its role as a language of COMMUNICATION rather than as identity marker:

> *"Whitbeck recalca que la lengua ancestral de Keyuk le permite ver la vida de un modo que sólo él entiende. Le pide que explique cómo su lengua ancestral le pinta un paisaje diferente al que describimos con <u>nuestra lengua común</u>, el castellano. Él responde que ciertamente hay una forma distinta de ver cuando es a través de otra lengua; una forma que revela una historia del mundo desde otra perspectiva. "Sí hay una manera de ver la tierra… El idioma hace la cultura"*

El Ciudadano, 13 May 2016

This news story tells about a young man who learnt Selk'nam, an indigenous language that has no speakers left in Chile; and the extract compares its features with Spanish. In line with the romantic language model (Geeraerts, 2008), he explains how learning this language gave him a different perspective on life and a unique worldview that was not available to him in 'our common language, Spanish' (*nuestra lengua común, el castellano*). While in the previous section, differences of Spanish from other languages were highlighted to construe it as superior to others, Selk'nam language is represented as exotic here (Cameron, 2007). The exoticisation of languages is underpinned by colonial views of indigenous peoples as 'primitive'.

Although the focus of the story is on Selk'nam and its virtues, to a certain extent, the status of Spanish as a common language in Chile allows the readers to relate to Selk'nam and understand the point of the protagonist of the news story. It implies that the readers of the article share Spanish as common language. However, no specific reference in the text constructs Spanish as a language that marks group identity for the Chilean audience of this article. However, Selk'nam is labelled as 'ancestral

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[103] As explained in section 6.2, the analysis of 'pride' value in the corpus focused on instances in texts where languages were marked by use of deixis that separates languages across 'ours' and 'theirs'. Manual examination of these data allowed to isolate references to Spanish. These are discussed in this section.

language' (*lengua ancestral*), which alludes to history and roots of the language (the archaic view) in line with the ideology of authenticity (Woolard, 2008). However, the social group to be unified around the language no longer exists: the colonisers exterminated the Selk'nam people at the beginning of the 20th century.

The representation of Spanish as a '*lengua común*' and '*lengua de encuentro'* is common on the Iberian peninsula Spain as Woolard's study on Catalonia demonstrated (Woolard, 2016). It is also part of the narrative of RAE (Paffey, 2007), the central pillar of *hispanofonía* (del Valle, 2007b) and Spanish linguistic imperialism (Moreno Cabrera, 2008). Other examples in the corpus show that this discursive representation is also common in the Chilean news. These representations of 'anonymous' Spanish in the corpus were usually emitted by powerful social groups, such as linguistic experts related to various academies of Spanish or political authorities in Spain and Chile (ex. the King of Spain, the minister of culture of Chile, chief of the exhibition in Madrid National Library, members of the Association of Academies of language).

However, even the raw frequencies of *español* (2670 occurrences) and *castellano* (872 occurrences)[104] in the corpus indicate that representations of universal Spanish dominate the corpus of news.This suggests that the idea of a common language is supported and reinforced by the dominant groups and such discourses occupy a hegemonic position in online media. 'Our language' unites the nations that speak it, declared the Spanish King Felipe VI in his first speech as a monarch:

> *que pese a lo que dijo el Rey, "el castellano se ha impuesto por la fuerza y no hace demasiado tiempo". El monarca hizo las declaraciones el lunes durante un acto académico en el que dijo que "nunca fue la nuestra lengua de imposición, sino de encuentro; a nadie se obligó nunca hablar en castellano: fueron los pueblos más diversos quienes hicieron suyos, por voluntad libérrima, el idioma de Cervantes".*

> Emol, 5 October 2016

He defined Spanish as '*lengua de encuentro'*, a widely used term in discourses about Spanish in Spain (Woolard, 2016). The term '*encuentro'* here is as contentious and

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[104] See 3.5.2 for discussion of differences in the names.

problematic as the term 'discovery' in the context of colonisation of the Americas. This position misrecognises the origins of Spanish in Latin American countries; it is nationalist in its roots and is a snapshot of neo-colonial discourses that favour Spain. Felipe VI's statement is, of course, a simplification of the sociolinguistic situation of colonised peoples of South America: in his speech, he eliminated the agency by using an impersonal passive form of the verb *obligar* (*a nadie se obligó nunca hablar*) so that the obliging actor is absent from the sentence whilst the fact of obliging is also denied. The agency is also eliminated by making the language itself an actor in this statement. In addition, the abstract 'peoples' (*pueblos*) are made responsible for their choice to speak Spanish, as they decided to do so 'out of free will' (*por voluntad libérrima)*. It makes 'all the diverse people' owners of Spanish as much as the Spaniards. Spanish is represented as 'a voice from nowhere' (Woolard, 2016) and the issue of ownership does not pose a problem in case of Spanish. As diverse people chose it, this extract creates an illusion of universality and social neutrality of Spanish. This representation roots in the ideology of anonymity (Woolard, 2016) as the language is not coherently linked to a specific community but instead is a language of all. Nevertheless, the universal anonymous Spanish favours Spain in maintaining and increasing its political influence beyond its borders (Moreno Cabrera, 2008). This also means economic advantages for Spain (discussed in detail in 6.3.1).

This extract is particularly revealing as it represents a snapshot of the struggle for sociolinguistic hegemony between two different views on colonisation as reflected in discourses about languages. King Felipe VI denied the imposition of Spanish in Spain's colonies ('*nunca fue nuestra lengua de imposición, sino de encuentro*'). He went on to claim that 'no one was ever obliged to speak Spanish, but the diverse peoples themselves who, out of free will, made the language of Cervantes their own' (*fueron los pueblos más diversos quienes hicieron suyos, por voluntad libérrima, el idioma de Cervantes*). While the people who speak the language are diverse, having a 'language of encounter' is beneficial, for it enables understanding. However, not just the example of Chile (see 1.2) speaks shows how this statement is ideological: indigenous languages have become extinct or minoritised since the '*encuentro'* (see Milán (1983) for the history of the expansion of Spanish in the New World).

In line with representations of Spanish as a superior language on page 170, by labelling Spanish as 'the language of Cervantes' (*el idioma de Cervantes*), Felipe VI alludes to written standardised Spanish in its highest expression (Cervantes's works).

It is a positive representation of Spanish as the heritage it draws on is a good reason for the speakers to be proud of their language.

However, in the same expanded concordance line, the monarch's standpoint was refuted with the statement that 'Spanish has imposed itself by force and not a long time ago' (*el castellano se ha impuesto por la fuerza y no hace demasiado tiempo*) by Javier Marías, a Spanish writer. Similarly to Felipe VI's statement, the agency is eliminated here, and the language appears as an impostor of itself. This position adds some context to the speech of the King by trying to demystify the misrecognised authority of Spanish in Latin America.

Moving to other examples of Spanish as '*lengua común*', the essentialisation of language as the main component of culture was identified in other 'pride' theme representations of Spanish in the corpus. Labelling language as cultural heritage along with the Spanish Royal press (*imprenta real*) is an illustration of the strong link between culture and language:

> *en el Centro Patrimonial Recoleta Dominica, con la presencia del ministro chileno de Cultura, Luciano Cruz-Coke, y del embajador de España en Chile, Juan Manuel Cabrera. "La Imprenta Real es un patrimonio cultural de todos, al igual que nuestra lengua", señaló José María Ribagorda, comisario de la exposición, la cual ya se exhibió en la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid durante los meses de diciembre y enero.*

La Tercera, 22 April 2010

Here, the domain of printed press and language are brought together as two valuable artefacts of culture that unite speakers of Spanish. The exhibition dedicated to them took place in Chile with authorities from Chile and Spain present at the event. The commonality of culture, language and cultural artefacts are assumed here between Spain and Chile. At the same time, the event that celebrates the printed press in Spanish suggests sentimental value it may represent for its speakers. Therefore, this is one artefact that adds to the 'pride' value of Spanish. It must be noted that this representation celebrates the neo-colonial universal Spanish that reinforces the idea of an 'imagined' panhispanic community (del Valle, 2007b).

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In the corpus, the idea of panhispanic unity around the language and culture was also supported in the accounts of language experts:

> *que recogen las variantes y usos de los distintos países y que tienen*
> *el apoyo de la ASALE. Todos ellos son bienvenidos porque ayudan*
> *a conocer mejor nuestra lengua y nos confirman que es mucho más*
> *lo que nos une, el léxico común, que lo que nos diferencia. Todo*
> *ello, lo que compartimos y las particularidades de cada lugar,*
> *contribuyen a enriquecernos como hablantes.*

La Tercera, 16 October 2015

This extract shows, the linguists claim that within the language itself, there is a lot more of 'what unites us, the common vocabulary, than what separates us' (*lo que nos une, el léxico común, que nos diferencie*). This argument emerged in a meeting of ASALE, where representatives of national language academies were present. The differences across varieties of Spanish 'are welcome because they help learn our language better' (*son bienvenidos porque ayudan a conocer mejor nuestra lengua*) and are considered enriching for everyone who speaks Spanish. The idea of richness alludes again to the practicality and status of Spanish in comparison to other languages that do not possess similar characteristics. This statement shows value in the diversity of language but, at the same time, represents Spanish as a united and anonymous variety that belongs to all. This representation can be linked to both the ideology of anonymity and the ideology of standard language. At the same time, this extract reflects how the language can be employed to unify groups around language: pride lies in the diversity of language that is labelled as enriching. The representation seems to be considering the diversity of varieties of Spanish and has a narrative of inclusion, but it disguises the economic benefits of the universality of Spanish for numerous institutions in Spain.

In the spirit of unity in diversity, even Felipe VI disregards linguistic differences among speakers of Spanish:

> *"nos unen la historia y lazos muy intensos de afecto y hermandad".*
> *En las últimas décadas, señaló, también nos unen intereses*
> *económicos crecientes y visiones cada vez más cercanas sobre lo*
> *global. "Pero, sobre todo, nos une <u>nuestra lengua</u> y nuestra cultura*

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compartidas", destacó. En sus palabras, Felipe VI se refirió también
a las tradiciones y culturas diversas que han vivido históricamente
en España "con las que de continuo se han enriquecido todos sus
pueblos".

Terra.cl, 19 June 2014

In his speech, he maintains that 'above all, our shared language and culture unites us' (*pero, sobre todo, nos une nuestra lengua y nuestra cultura compartidas*). The message focuses on unity, while language and culture are presupposed to be 'our shared'. Like in previous examples, the position of Spanish is naturalised and is framed as beneficial. Language and culture are constructed as the primary sources of richness (these are 'above all'), although Felipe VI also highlighted other unifying factors: affection and brotherhood (*afecto y hermandad*), growing economic interests and close views on the global (*intereses económicos crecientes y visiones cercanas sobre lo global*). In this excerpt, the use of deictic we (*nos*) implies all Spanish speaking nations, and particularly to the cultural and linguistic relation between Spain and Latin American countries. This representation yet again anonymises the language, contributing to its image as an 'everyman's' variety.

Overall, the data presented in this section showed that linguistic presuppositions construct the dominant position of Spanish: the texts often include deictic devices to delineate or blur the line as to who is included or excluded from the readership. In representations of languages, deixis contributes to reinforcing the ideology of anonymity. As a result, Spanish is predominantly represented as belonging to no one in particular, although the presence of political and other authoritative actors in news stories suggests that anonymous Spanish is beneficial for certain dominant groups.

While references to origins and geographical belonging of Spanish are sporadically made in the quotes analysed above, there is an attempt to balance between attempts not to undermine the diversity of people's that speak Spanish and to emphasise the unity of people around the language. In summary, a lot more effort is being made to promote Spanish as 'a voice from nowhere', a socially neutral and universal variety, while its historical circumstances (e.g. colonial history) are left out of the news coverage.

6.2.3 Pride value of Mapudungun

This section explores what meanings are constructed when Mapudungun is labelled in the corpus as 'our language'. Findings around representations of Mapudungun's 'pride' value come from two sources. Firstly, its collocation *nuestra* (MI 6.36) suggests that the language is frequently labelled with this possessive pronoun. Therefore, despite the unregulated status of Mapudungun in Chile, labelling Mapudungun as 'our language' appeals to some readers of Chilean news websites, expectedly the Mapuche readers. Figure 6-5 shows concordance lines where these words co-occur. Secondly, Mapudungun was indirectly labelled as *nuestra/o lengua/idioma* on numerous occasions (see Table 6-1): Figure 6-6 shows expanded concordance lines with examples. These focus specifically on the valorisations of Mapudungun and the influence that the Chilean state has had on them.

1	taller "Qué vuelva a brotar nuestra lengua mapuche" en la U.de Chile Invitan a mini taller "Qué vuelva a brotar nuestra lengua mapuche" en la U.de Chile 22 June, 2015 18:06 #Chile, #Cultura, #Espiritualidad, #Organización social,
2	y enseñanza del mapudungun, de hecho, ella es la creadora del Diccionario Ta iñ Mapun Dungun (Nuestra Lengua Mapuche). Este resulta ser un aspecto fundamental en la realización de la platería, ya que a las piezas hay
3	en su implementación, con obligaciones y sugerencias a las instituciones del Estado para poner en valor nuestra lengua mapuche como un derecho colectivo en todos los territorios", sostuvo Sandoval.El consejero destacó el
4	mapuche y otra en las universidades y espacios académicos para poder dar la connotación y valor real que tiene la lengua mapuche en nuestra sociedad". En tanto, Necul Painemal, Lingüista encargado del programa de Revitalización
5	de Servicio Social y Trabajo Social, junto a algunos alumnos de Psicología , pudieran interiorizarse de la cultura y lengua mapuche. "En nuestra institución contamos con jóvenes que pertenecen a la cosmovisión indígena y ésta fue un

Figure 6-5 Expanded concordance lines: nuestra lengua mapuche

Explicit references to the value of Mapudungun in two extracts appear in Figure 6-5: *poner en valor* (put in the value)*, poder dar la connotación y valor real* (to be able to give connotation and the real value). Overall*,* these extracts allude to the 'pride' value that is attributed to languages in nationalist ideologies: no explicit explanation of the reasoning behind it is offered to the reader but it is instead assumed as known by the reader. Most concordance lines contain direct quotes of the Mapuche social actors: e.g. linguist Necul Paineman and the regional counsellor for Araucania region Daniel Sandoval. This representation suggests that the value of Mapudungun has not yet been appreciated duly by the state and the society; it is the Chilean establishment that is implied in these extracts.

Turning to subtleties in the representation of Mapudungun in these concordance lines, the first one, on the whole, points to reduced communicative uses of Mapudungun in present-day Chile. Although solemn and poetic, the name of the workshop on Mapudungun in the first concordance line suggests a poor state of the language: it uses a metaphor of a wilted plant to speak about the language and is hopeful that the situation will change in the future. The metaphor comes from the field of linguistic ecology (discussed in 3.5), and comparing loss of languages to loss of species is quite common in the representation of minoritised languages (see 3.5.1). This representation also gives evidence of bottom-up efforts to revitalise and popularise Mapudungun. In contrast, the extract on the dictionary publication represents Mapudungun as a standard written language and introduces a practical domain of its use, the traditional silversmith's practices, to which Mapudungun is key. This domain, although instrumental, is specific and exclusive to the Mapuche culture.

The cultural link in the representation of Mapudungun can also be seen in the last concordance in Figure 6-5: the language was marked as important for students within *nuestra institución* (our institution; here, a university) as a part of Mapuche culture and worldview. Link to culture is characteristic of the ideology of authenticity, and it was expected that Mapudungun would be represented as having a strong link to culture. On the other hand, this concordance line highlights a modern context in which the language gained relevance as a subject of study, a university. As discussed in 1.2, universities are to play a role in the revitalisation and spread of minoritised languages according to the Indigenous Law (Mideplan, 1993). Then, the media reporting makes visible the top-down policies of revitalisation of Mapudungun via state institutions.

Another representation of Mapudungun as associated with culture was identified in a downsampled text that narrates about a summer course of Mapudungun for students and staff at the University of Chile (see Appendix 15 for full text). This representation was unique because Mapudungun was construed as part of 'the rich multiculturality that the country possesses' (*la rica multiculturalidad que posee el país*) and 'such an important part of the Chilean culture' (*parte tan importante de la cultura chilena*). The text makes many references to the Chilean national culture that has so far lacked the recognition of the cultural richness within it. The purposes of the course were to 'show and spread the rich multiculturalism' (*mostrar y difundir la rica multiculturalidad*), 'mark the identity of a country and recover the language as cultural

heritage of everyone' *(marcar la identidad de un país y recuperar la lengua como patrimonio cultural de todos)*, 'recover the multicultural view of the country that we have' (*recuperar la noción multicultural del país que temenos*). Therefore, Mapudungun is linked to the Chilean culture here, which is a resistant discourse to all previous that in line with the ideology of authenticity construe Mapudungun as an exclusively Mapuche cultural feature. This can be explained by the background of the news website where it was published: *ElCiudadano* claims to provide independent and autonomous reporting that does not fit in the national establishment media (see 4.4 for details on the news website's background).

Other ways in which Mapudungun was linked to culture was through the following references in Figure 6-5 and Figure 6-6: *cultura, espiritualidad, platería*. These two often appear together in the news which strengthens te link between Mapudungun and the Mapuche culture: *nuestro idioma y nuestras costumbres propias* (our language and our own customs), *nuestro idioma Mapudungun y nuestra espiritualidad ancestral* (our language Mapudungun and our ancestral spirituality).

The third and fourth concordance lines in Figure 6-5 raise the issue of the political value of Mapudungun for the Mapuche as a group: here the actors defend collective linguistic rights of the speakers and call the governmental institutions to recognise the value of Mapudungun in the areas where it is spoken. The association of language with territories is not surprising as territorial conflicts in the historical Mapuche areas are ongoing (Bengoa, 2000; Catrillanca Antil and Logko, 2009; Padilla Pairican, 2014). This link to the territory (*derecho colectivo de todos los territiorios*) and the emphasis on the value of language for the society are both manifestations of the ideology of authenticity (Woolard, 2016). It is important to point out that both actors in these two extracts are authoritative representatives/experts in the issue –linguist Necul Paineman and regional counsellor Daniel Sandoval – who define the aspirations of the Mapuche people overall.

Largely, the 'pride' value of Mapudungun is constructed in opposition to the Chilean establishment in both pieces of data. In all extracts in Figure 6-6, it is the state education system that is blamed for the decrease in numbers of speakers of Mapudungun and its negative influence on the identity of the Mapuche people. This is not surprising as rapid decrease in numbers of Mapudungun speakers was caused by integration of the Mapuche children into Chilean schools (FUNPROEIB Andes and

UNICEF, 2009) which not only did not provide education in mother tongue but also prohibited use of Mapudungun in schools in the past, and now represents one of the sites where children experience racial discrimination (Lagos Fernández, 2012). This phenomenon is similar to other countries in Latin America. In fact, Lagos Fernández (2012) argues that the school is one of the leading public institutions that 'instilled attitudes of rejection' towards Mapudungun (Lagos Fernández, 2012, p. 173).

1	heredó las condiciones de pobreza. Ustedes tienen una deuda histórica para con nosotros, en circunstancias en que no sólo nos quitaron tierras causandonos pobreza, sino que nos ocultaron a través de procesos de homogeneización desplazando nuestro idioma y nuestras costumbres propias. Esta es una consecuencia de la mala calidad educacional chilena que enseña que los mapuche estamos extintos en el presente. Dejamos en claro que el pueblo mapuche sigue en pie, dando la lucha por los justos derechos
2	del Estado chileno para lograr un cupo en la sociedad, muchos ven con tristeza el olvido del mapudungún, raramente enseñado en los colegios y liceos del país. "La educación chilena influye de manera grave en nuestra identidad, absorbiendo nuestro idioma. Hoy día hay generaciones que ya no lo manejan", cuenta Millalén. Por su parte, Ancalao asegura que "la educación, durante 100 años, por lo menos dentro del Wallmapu, ha servido como homogenizador, negando la posibilidad de una sociedad heterogén
3	educación sobre la importancia de la identidad, en este caso la Mapuche", contesta. "A valorizar nuestra existencia. Al respeto, ya que hay mucho desconocimiento sobre nuestra cultura; aún existen profesores de universidad que enseñan que nuestro idioma ya no se habla, y hasta que casi estamos extintos, además los medios se han encargado de mostrar lo más negativo". Nota: En este reportaje, para las expresiones propias en lengua mapuche se ha usado el alfabeto Unificado. Uno de los entrevistados

Figure 6-6 The Chilean state and its influence on valorisations of Mapudungun

The extracts also point to misrepresentation of the Mapuche people in the educational system: *nos ocultaron a través de procesos de homogeniazación* (we were hidden through processes of homogenisation), *hay mucho desconocimiento sobre nuestra cultura, […] que nuestro idioma casi no se habla, y hasta que casi estamos extintos* (there is a lot of ignorance about our culture, […] that our language is hardly spoken, and even that we are almost extinct).

In addition to the alleged erroneous representation of the Mapuche in education and media, these statements point to their general invisibilisation in Chilean society. Firstly, this is due to the homogenising role of the education system as applied to both Chileans and the Mapuche; *la educación durante 100 años, por lo menos del Wallmapu, ha servido como homogenizador* (the education for 100 years has served, at least in Wallmapu as homogeniser). This quote suggests that historically, state education has worked to acculturate the Mapuche and assimilate them into the dominant Chilean cultural paradigm. At the same time, as the previous quotations

suggest, the same education system misrepresents the Mapuche and Mapudungun to the broader public by eliminating them and the language from the sociolinguistic picture of Chile. These quotes draw on dominant representations perceived by the Mapuche reflected in research (Rojas, Lagos Fernández and Espinoza, 2016).

Another way in which the value is attributed to Mapudungun in the above extracts is through definitions: it was defined as *derecho colectivo de todos los territorios* (collective right of all territories) and *aspecto fundamental de la platería* (a fundamental aspect of silversmith's work). The language represents a collective right for the Mapuche as a group while also playing a role in traditional practices. The reference to all territories is due to the historical claims for lands and the fight of the Mapuche for autonomy (Haughney, 2006).

Another extract highlights the role of Mapudungun as the mother tongue when outlining the dangers of language shift: '*A través de nuestro idioma materno, llegamos a conocer, representar, nombrar y actuar sobre el mundo*' (Through our mother tongue, we get to know, represent, name and act in the world). Here, Mapudungun is construed as a distinctive worldview that to some extent, predetermines the understanding, perception and reproduction of the immediate environment of its speakers. It contributes to the construction of the pride value of the language because, although not stated explicitly, Mapudungun marks a difference between the Mapuche and the Chileans.

Overall, media texts reflect the ongoing struggle of the Mapuche to give Mapudungun the role that national languages play in nation-states, that of unifying the people around the language as well as legitimising themselves as a political body. It can be argued that Mapudungun is becoming salient in Mapuche discourses about autonomy. At the same time, the lack of value attributed to the language and obstacles imposed by the nation-state are acknowledged in media reporting.

6.2.4 *Su lengua:* Their language

Previous sections focused on how the media use possessive deixis and other linguistic features to create pride value for languages and to form social groups around them. It was also necessary to examine instances in the corpus where languages were used to construct out-groups or mark different groups. This section examines the multiple uses of *su lengua* (his/her/their language) in order to identify

the out-groups discussed in the Chilean online media. It is explored here how language is employed to mark the difference and what other aspects come into place when out-groups are marked in the news media.

When the references to *nuestra/o lengua/idioma* in the corpus were not notably frequent for the size of the corpus (section 6.2.1), *su lengua/idioma* was four times more frequent. The raw frequency of *su lengua* and *su idioma* in the corpus was 442 and 213, respectively. One explanation for this is that *su* in Spanish is a possessive pronoun for 'his/her' and 'their', so high frequency may be due to the reference to both groups of people and individual actors. However, further in the section, concordance lines are examined to uncover whom the media refer to when speaking about 'her/his/their' language. As examining every concordance line for *su lengua/idioma* was an extremely laborious task, a manageable sample was selected with the help of cluster tool (see section 4.7.4). Three to five frequent word clusters with *su lengua/idioma* are listed in Table 6-2.

Cluster	Freq.	Cluster	Freq.
En su lengua	96	*En su idioma*	86
Su lengua materna	66	*Su idioma materno*	31
Su lengua y	41	*Su idioma y*	19
Su lengua originaria	21	*Su idioma nativo*	14
A su lengua	19	*Su idioma original*	11
Su lengua nativa	16	*Su idioma natal*	10
Hablan y entienden su lengua	9	*Hablar su idioma*	7

Table 6-2 Su lengua and su idioma clusters

Clusters include phrases with post modifiers *materno/a, nativo/a, natal, originaria,* and *original*: the first three adjectives point to a discussion of mother tongues in the corpus, '*originaria'* refers to indigenous languages and '*original'* refers to cases when things have been translated from their ORIGINAL languages to others. Premodifiers *en* and *a* used in phrases *en su lengua* and *a su lengua* indicate some use of language, such as translation. Other clusters included pre-modifying verbs: 'speak and

understand their language', 'to speak their language'. However, the clusters themselves do not show to what social groups the languages are attributed. To identify these, it was necessary to examine expanded concordance lines of each cluster.

As the postmodifying adjectives preluded, the most frequently discussed social groups mentioned in the concordance lines with *en su lengua* were children and indigenous minorities in Chile and beyond. It is worth mentioning that this phrase was used in references to multiple indigenous languages with only a few exceptions (children in general, Belgians and a few individual social actors of other origins). Interestingly, concordance lines with *en su idioma* contained references almost exclusively to European and other dominant languages that possess official status in different countries.

Therefore, a trend of labelling indigenous languages as *lenguas* exists while dominant languages tend to be labelled as *idiomas* in the corpus of online news. Despite the synonymy of these two words, the difference in meaning is clearly reflected in the lexical choices made in news reporting. As discussed in 1.4, linguistic label, such language and dialect, are problematic; and perception of inferiority of '*lengua*' to '*idioma*' exists (see Itzamná (2015)). Then, such word choice in Chilean online media reinforces the hierarchisation of languages via the use of these concepts.

This representation of indigenous languages under the label of *su lengua* develops within the substantial discussion of (1) the right for education in mother tongue (under postmodifiers *materno/a, nativo/a, natal*) and (2) numerous issues around the use of mother tongues by the indigenous peoples (*su lengua originaria*). These two categories often overlapped when the right of indigenous children to be educated in their mother tongue were the topic discussed in the news.

Concordance lines analysis demonstrated that usually the language of the Rapa Nui and the Mapuche were discussed in the corpus. Speakers of these languages are constructed as out-groups that are not linked to Chile: Figure 6-7 shows examples where the Rapa Nui language is preceded by possessive *su*, and the context shows that it refers to school students (*alumnos de primero a cuarto básico, estudiantes Rapa Nui*). When narrating news stories, the media tend to use *su* in the impersonal

narration, which does not create a representation of Chile's indigenous languages as related to the country. However, no textual devices construe Rapa Nui as a politically independent people.

| 1 | Rapa Nui, incluyendo en este proyecto a alumnos de primero a cuarto básico, quienes además de recibir aportes en su lengua natal, obtuvieron instrumentos típicos de su cultura, destacando un viaje a Tahiti a una muestra internacional. |
| 2 | Ministro Lavín anuncia que estudiantes Rapa Nui tendrán clases en su lengua originaria Publicado por Agencia UPI Durante su visita a Rapa Nui, el ministro de Educación Joaquín Lavín visitó el colegio Lorenzo Baeza Vega |

Figure 6-7 Concordance lines about Rapa Nui: su lengua originaria

The representation of Mapudungun is similar to that of Rapa Nui in this aspect. No examples where Mapudungun would be represented as connected to Chilean establishment were found. Figure 6-8 shows some examples of such references to Mapudungun. Here, the media refer to the language in order to define the Mapuche ethnic group:

1	Mapuche significa "pueblo de la tierra" en su lengua mapudungun. Ellos resistieron
2	Los mapuche -o 'gente de la tierra' en su lengua nativa (mapudungún)- fueron los
3	los mapuches -o 'gente de la tierra' en su lengua, el mapudungun- habían perdido ya

Figure 6-8 Concordance lines: en su lengua Mapudungun

Clearly, this representation reflects how a separate language contributes to creating a distinctive group. Despite the increasing visibility of the Mapuche in the media, this representation marks the difference of the Mapuche by referring to an aspect of their identity. Although the language is only mentioned in passing here, it is one of the manifestations of how deixis can be employed to conceive out-groups in Chilean media.

While in the case of Mapudungun, the group was clearly marked, on a few occasions, it was not apparent which languages or what ethnic groups were discussed in a given text. For instance, a news story on *Terra.cl* had the following headline:

> '*Juzgan en Argentina a indígena boliviana que no tuvo intérprete*
> *para defensa*'

Terra.cl, 28 Oct 2014

The news value that might have motivated the story was that of negativity: the headline highlights the lack of interpreter for the hearing. Further ahead in the story it

was highlighted that the Buenos Aires executive *logró que le propicien un intérprete a Maraz para que pueda declarar en su lengua maternal* (managed to get an interpreter for Maraz so that she can declare in her mother tongue). However, the reference to the Quechua language, which she needed the interpreting from was only mentioned at the end of the article. The aspects of her ethnic identity were not explained beyond defining her nationality - '*indígena boliviana*' (an indigenous Bolivian). Other identity aspects of the accused were outlined in the speech of her lawyer: *No se ve la subalternidad en la que se encuentra esta mujer, como migrante, aborigen, mujer, analfabeta, pobre y víctima de violencia* (you cannot see the subalternity in which this woman is, as a migrant, aborigine, woman, illiterate, poor and a victim of violence). This statement presents a very hopeless picture of the situation of the protagonist of the story, which does not add up to a positive representation of the language that she speaks, Quechua. Although no explicit link here is established, the language appears associated with social characteristics that cannot be perceived positively by the readers. At the same time, this story illustrates the point that, largely, indigenous languages are excluded from the nation-state power structures. While the Quechua language makes a part of the protagonist's identity, the nation-state fails not only to understand her but also to provide her with basic rights the state must guarantee.

Overall, speakers of indigenous languages constructed as an out-group in contrast to the national majority groups. Other phrases with '*en su lengua*' used to label social groups in the concordance lines corroborated this idea: *personas de comunidades indígenas rurales*, *adultos y jóvenes inalfabetos* and *hablantes de lenguas originarias*. This finding suggests that these groups are frequently othered in the corpus of Chilean news. More specifically, these groups are usually subordinate indigenous people from rural areas.[105] This example shows how othering deixis is used in the news to construct out-groups. Often no references are made to the nation-state that these groups are part of, but rather their geographical regions*: Amazonia, Arauco, Los Andes* are some of the regions mentioned in descriptions of indigenous communities.

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[105] However, the highest numbers of indigenous people in Chile in Santiago and the metropolitan region (INE, 2018) which is also the case in other countries of Latin America (FUNPROEIB Andes and UNICEF, 2009)

6.3 Profit: languages as economic assets

Corpus tools established that only Spanish and English had collocations under the economy theme. Therefore, other languages are not represented as related to the economy or as economic assets. More specifically, none of the local minoritised languages of Chile was attributed value as economic assets: the examination' of concordance lines with less frequently mentioned languages showed no references to the economic theme. Table 6-3 presents the collocates of English and Spanish under communication theme.

Spanish	English
Clientes (6.1)	Mercados (6.18)
Industria (5.49)	Negocios (5.91)
Mercado (5.19)	Servicios (6.09)
Negocio (5.39)	Tendrán (oportunidades) (5.36)

Table 6-3 Market-related collocates of English and Spanish

The list of collocates shows that the representation of these two languages is quite similar; references to markets (*mercado, mercados*) and business (*negocio, negocios*) are the common for Spanish and English.

Another important finding beyond the economic value of specific languages was that speaking a second language in one's linguistic repertoire is constructed as financially beneficial in the corpus. One downsampled text discussed the need for a second language for 'economic reasons': '*Hoy no manejar más que tu idioma materno es una barrera de entrada al mercado laboral', 'Por razones económicas, un segundo idioma se ha vuelto mucho más necesario, como una herramienta de trabajo'* (BBC Mundo, 2016, n. p.). Speaking one language is constructed as a barrier for individuals to enter the market. At the same time, language skills are represented as a tool of work. It is assumed that the readers understand how an extensive linguistic repertoire benefits workers. Whilst the text maintains that it is not the English language that is going to be the language of the XXI century, it does not explicitly state which second languages are valuable: '*Los idiomas son una herramienta básica y necesaria para que los jóvenes del siglo XXI logren comunicarse con el mundo y puedan avanzar en sus carreras*' (BBC Mundo, 2016). It very abstractly refers to 'languages' without naming any; however, the news story does discuss the

idea that English is not enough and positively discusses the Spanish language immersion programmes in the US that were extended and now include French, Chinese, Portuguese and German. All of them are languages with a prominent status in the respective states and internationally. When examining them from the perspective of economic value, these languages may be considered worth learning due to their extended usage.

The following sections present collocations of Spanish and English under the economic theme and their respective concordance lines to analyse in detail how the economic value of these languages is constructed in the corpus.

6.3.1 Spanish as a language of commerce

The collocate *industria* (see Figure 6-9) shows how the Spanish language partakes in several industries. The examples include books and editorial businesses, the audio and visual industry and cultural industries in general. These industries are dependant on language. In concordance lines below, the concerns around the future development of these economic areas are discussed (*el futuro*) and its importance is highlighted (*la importancia, el tema de debate*). Last two concordance lines refer specifically to industries worldwide and in the US where Spanish does not hold official status. This links to the theme of expansion of Spanish, which is related to economic growth and, hence, conceives Spanish as one of the tools of economic growth. As Moreno Cabrera (2008) asserts, the association between language and its profitability consolidates in imperialist projects, and Spain is one of the beneficiaries of this ideological relationship.

1	importantes de la industria editorial en español, que nuevamente contará
2	el futuro de la industria audiovisual en español, que, a su juicio, y como
3	sus debates. La industria del libro en español es el tema de debate de la
4	"la importancia de la industria del libro en español". "No somos conscientes a
5	estimaron que la industria del libro en español debe avanzar sin miedo,
6	"Los latinos y las industrias culturales en español en Estados Unidos",
7	para las industrias culturales en español de todo el mundo, pero

Figure 6-9 Concordance lines: Industria(s) en español

A similar representation of Spanish appears in concordance lines in Figure 6-10 where instances of collocate *mercado* are listed. Similar economic areas are mentioned here. Although the marketable products are not the language itself, they demonstrate how languages define markets. Here, the language establishes limits of

the existing markets and indicates where potential new markets can emerge. First two lines mark the discontent around the absence of a big market of Spanish language cinema (*reprocha la falta de un "gran mercado"*). The necessity to create one is highlighted in the next line (*crear*); the penultimate line highlights the potential that the market of books in Spanish has in the US – this is not the only representation of Spanish as a language of expanding markets but also as expanding into new domains. Indeed, international commerce of goods and services is one of the most important sources of financial income and dividends from Spanish language (Moreno Cabrera, 2008, p. 168).

1	ojos" reprocha la falta de un "gran mercado" de cine en español	Emol.com Santiago: Miércoles 05 de
2	ojos" reprocha la falta de un "gran mercado" de cine en español "Tenemos que empezar a tratar nuestro
3	crear un "gran mercado" de contenidos audiovisuales en español, apostando por el respeto a los acentos
4	"mejunje" para lograr un "gran mercado" audiovisual en español, con un flujo de contenidos entre los
5	sus discos, que en esta ocasión saldrán al mercado en español, francés, italiano e inglés. El diario
6	"perímetro de operación" en el mercado de medios en español y portugués.Cebrián negó que Prisa vaya
7	fundamental" para EFE, pues se trata del mercado en español "que más está creciendo", y recordó que
8	protagonistas. Marisol Schulz: "El mercado de libros en español está por explorarse en EEUU" Feria
9	en portugués para el mercado brasileño. La versión en español ya estaba disponible anteriormente, afirmó

Figure 6-10 Concordance lines: Mercado en español

One news story highlights the need to respect language variation across Spanish-speaking countries (*apostando por el respeto a los acentos*). Examination of the full text showed criticism of dubbing Spanish-language films into other varieties of Spanish: more specifically, film director Juan José Campanella criticised the dubbing of an Argentinian film into the peninsular variety and into '*español neutro*' (neutral Spanish). The idea of such neutral Spanish is underpinned by ideologies of standard language – an invented variety (Makoni and Pennycook, 2007) that would be acceptable for everyone. Then, standard language ideology reinforces the economic value of language that materialises in higher sales in the film industry.

However, the protagonist of this article resists this dominant panhispanic ideology: Campanella points out that dubbing erased many features of the protagonist of the film, which undoubtfully diminishes the value of the film. Then, the resistant discourse is based on the ideology of authenticity – authentic language adds to the artistic value of films. At the same time, he makes a remark that '*tenemos que empezar a tratar nuestro idioma como un idioma con muchos acentos, a reconocernos en otros países*' (Emol, 19th of July 2014). This statement suggests that despite the academies' efforts to keep Spanish unified (Paffey, 2012), markets' demand is not

satisfied exclusively by the neutral variety proposed by the academies. The demand for regional varieties due to their expressive value in visual arts is a resisting discourse within the economic theme in the representation of Spanish, as it opposes discourse of massive expansion of Spanish in favour of its local authenticity.

CDA results corroborated the representation of Spanish as a language of commerce. This representation was key in an article that reported an interview with the director of Cervantes Institute ahead of CILE (*Congreso Internacional de la Lengua Española*) that was to take place in Chile in 2010 (ADN Deportes, 2010). In the direct quotations from her speech, Spanish was defined as the language of the future (*la lengua del futuro*) and the language of commerce (*una lengua/un idioma comercial*) that is marked by a boom around this language (*creciente auge del idioma, el auge que está adquiriendo*). This constructs Spanish as a key to access the world of business and commerce. The title of the article contains a metaphor *'estar en un momento dulce'* (to be in a sweet moment) which suggests Spanish is going through a good period in its history.

It is worth pointing out that this 'sweet moment' of Spanish is economically beneficial to the commercial agency that the speaker in this article represents. As discussed in 3.5.2, Instituto Cervantes, institution based in Spain, has the monopoly of teaching Spanish abroad with offices present on all continents (Instituto Cervantes, 2018b). This discourse is also accompanied by references to the expansion of Spanish, as the noun *auge* suggests: the speaker in this article emphasised the growth of the language. This claim is supported with superlative quantifiers, such as numbers of speakers, countries and the ranking places that Spanish occupies among other languages in the world. However, it does not explain how this makes up to evidence of a boom around Spanish. The article does not present numbers of speakers of Spanish as a second language and, indeed, constructs Spanish as a mother tongue of many peoples. This is a unique representation of Spanish in the corpus. In terms of the contexts of use, Caffarel says it is spoken in international institutions (*se habla en organismos internacionales*), which is another example of how the prestigious position of Spanish internationally is reinforced in the discourse of the authoritative organisations that aim to spread the language.

At the same time, Spanish is represented as a language that allows individuals access to the job market (*acceder al mercado laboral*) and permits to improve one's

career (*mejorar el propio empleo*). This is an explicit reference to the profitability of Spanish as a professional skill for employees. The profit value of the language is further constructed in monetary terms in the same text: '*en Estados Unidos quien sabe bien inglés y español cobra US $7.000 más al año*' (in the United States, those who know English and Spanish well, receive 7000 US dollars more per year). Albeit no source is provided in the article to support this claim, this is one example of an accurate estimation of the economic value of the Spanish language. The author of the article labels this as an example of the boom around Spanish discussed above.

In the final part of the article, an explicit reference to power is made: '*El hecho de que 21 países compartamos la lengua materna con un grado de comunicabilidad tan amplio nos da muchísima fuerza*' (The fact that 21 countries share the mother tongue with such a broad degree of communicability gives us much strength). The use of deictic 'us' is a reference to the imagined panhispanic community discussed in 6.2.2; this construct helps 'consolidate the market where the presence of Spain would be perceived as natural and legitimate' (del Valle, 2007b, p. 39). This is an illustration of the idea that languages are tools of social and political power because they permit those seeking power to gain access to people with whom they share the language. Scollon (2004) also ascertains that teaching of a foreign language is, to a great extent, a way of exercising power which is often taken for granted[106]. Because Instituto Cervantes purpose is to teach Spanish as a foreign language, this organisation exercises precisely this kind of soft power and helps expand it further.

The allusion to power is made because it is considered good; and speakers of Spanish, then, become more socio-politically powerful than those who do not speak the language. Alternatively, being able to communicate in Spanish permits outreach to large audiences and, henceforth, a chance to influence speakers of that language; the higher the numbers of speakers, the more power a language has to offer.

The power of the language is also marked by a unity of the speakers around it: the use of deictic forms *compartamos* (that we share) and *nos* (us) as these communicate a degree of unity around the Spanish language that is expected to be perceived by the reader. This is a representation of one of the conflicting discourses around Spanish, that of the unity of the language which is widely promoted by *Instituto Cervantes* as well as the Royal Academy of Spanish. This discourse is in

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[106] See section 3.5 for discourses about dominant languages as a threat to linguistic diversity.

conflict with the nationalist discourse of language that aims to unify a nation around a language.

Figure 6-11 shows how speakers of Spanish are conceived as such consumers of services through the collocate '*clientes'* (clients). Concordance lines here present the availability of new sources of information in Spanish: these were technology related websites and blogs (Dell), electronic commerce (Amazon) and a news agency (in line 3). This news suggests that more services have become available to speakers of Spanish, which resonates with the theme of expansion of Spanish through entering the domain of technology, at the moment, dominated by English.

1	Lun Tecnología Santiago: Miércoles 05 de octubre del 2016	Actualizado 07:10 Emol Tecnología Dell lanza blog en español para clientes, blogueros e interesados en la tecnología También tiene iniciativas similares en inglés y
2	y chino, aparte de nuestro idioma. Foto: El Mercurio MIAMI.- Dell lanzó su blog DellenDirecto, su bitácora oficial en español dedicado a los clientes, bloggers y usuarios interesados en temas tecnológicos. "Escuchando
3	sobre los estándares periodísticos de la agencia, sólo está siendo ofrecido a los clientes de servicio de noticias en español, pero estará disponible para el público a principios de 2013. El costo será de 26 dólares al año por
4	, incluirán también a partir de hoy en EE UU páginas de ayuda, configuración y servicio de atención al cliente en español. Con este gesto, Amazon intenta capitalizar el auge de dos mercados: el de los dispositivos y libros
5	a la tienda, así como de la experiencia de compra y lectura mejorada, que incluye servicios de atención al cliente en español". Amazon buscaría así ampliar la rentabilidad alcanzada por la venta de dispositivos y libros

Figure 6-11 Cliente(s) and en español concordance lines

These stories also corroborate the argument that markets are limited by their linguistic repertoires and can grow if it widens. These stories show the availability of new additional services in the Spanish language, which can attract new Spanish-speaking clients. This gives evidence to both how Spanish expands in online communication and media and helps extend markets and, hence, profits for companies.

Figure 6-12 shows examples where Spanish was explicitly labelled as a '*base de negocio*' (basis of business) and '*activo generador de negocio*' (active business generator). Unlike previous representations where Spanish was a vehicle of moving book and audiovisual industry, here Spanish is represented as a product in itself.

1	"El español, una alternativa global", se reunirán hasta el 26 de abril distintos sectores cuya base de negocio es la lengua española para sondear los espacios económicos en los que el castellano "tiene que prosperar", según los
2	económico se pretende impulsar en el I Foro Internacional del Español 2015, FiE2.0. Foro Internacional de la lengua española como activo generador de negocio ¿Cómo revitalizar a las lenguas indígenas? Darío
3	correcto" Este foro reunirá en Madrid del 23 al 26 de abril a los distintos sectores cuya base de negocio es la lengua española bajo el lema "El español, una alternativa global", una iniciativa en la que participan las

Figure 6-12 Spanish as a basis of business

Concordance lines discuss the International Forum of the Spanish language in 2015 which was a meeting of different sectors whose purpose was to '*sondear los espacios económicos en los que el castellano "tiene que prosperar"*' (to probe the economic spaces in which Spanish "has to prosper"). The purpose of this event is clearly to look for domains which Spanish can enter and how financial profits can be generated from Spanish as a marketable product. The name of the conference '*El español, una alternativa global*' suggests that the ambition is to spread the language globally. If secured, the financial profits of such expansion may also be substantial. The word *alternativa* implies a reference to another language of the market with which Spanish competes, English.

6.3.2 English as the language of the market

Figure 6-13 shows some examples of collocation *mercados* and *en inglés.* Similarly to the representations of Spanish, the concordance lines focus on the film industry. However, when for Spanish the representation of the expansion of the language into this industry and a necessity to make it grow was expressed, the lines below demonstrate the dominance of English in this area in line with representations of English discussed in 3.5.2. This is explained as follows: '*desgraciadamente, porque así funcionan los mercados*' (unfortunately, because this is how the markets work), '*es muy difícil hacer las preventas cuando la película no está hablada en inglés*' (it is very difficult to do presales when a film is not spoken in English). These not only point to the dominance of English but also suggest that foreign language films are less financially profitable due to the 'linguistic policies' of the market. It is a clear illustration of financial obstacles that filmmakers in languages other than English face.

1	coemnzará el próximo abril y será en inglés. "Desgraciadamente, porque así funcionan los mercados, se rodará en inglés para poder financiarla, porque estamos haciéndolo básicamente con preventas internacionales y, si
2	hechos sucedieron", porque "es muy difícil hacer las preventas internacionales cuando la película no está hablada en inglés, y los mercados ponen muchas reticencias". El rodaje sufrió retrasos al estar en concurso de

Figure 6-13 Mercados and en inglés concordance lines

The collocate *servicios* (see Figure 6-14) offered a very similar representation of English to that of Spanish in Figure 6-11: the lines deal with English language becoming available for use on the Baidu website which is the main search engine used in China. It shows how English expands into new domains; even Baidu widely used in China due to the government's ban of foreign search engines in order to increase its profits (*intentar potenciar su presencia en el mercado de búsquedas internacionales*) introduced English-language interface. Improving its services in English (*mejorar sus servicios*) is crucial for attracting clients who will use the search engine in English: this language is represented as having a potential to increase the number of searches and the number of clients. It conceives English as a language that generates financial profit in the area of technology.

1	Buscador chino anuncia acuerdo con Microsoft La alianza permitirá a Baidu mejorar sus servicios de búsqueda en idioma inglés. por Reuters - 04/07/ 2011 - 09:29 Baidu, el principal motor de exploración en internet de China,
2	fuerte disputa con Pekín a causa de la censura. La alianza permitirá a Baidu mejorar sus servicios de búsqueda en idioma inglés en un momento en el que intenta potenciar su presencia en el mercado de búsquedas internacionales, y

Figure 6-14 Servicios en idioma inglés concordance lines

This is especially true in digital communications where the outreach to new users is not limited geographically. It is probably one reason why digital technologies and audiovisual industry are the most widely mentioned under the theme of the economy.

Another form of discourse around English within the economy theme was that of opportunities (collocate *tendrán* in Figure 6-15): except for one concordance line, *oportunidades* (opportunities) collocated with *tendrán* (future tense third person form of 'to have') as its direct object. Therefore, English is represented here as associated with future opportunities.

1	. De los 3.000 habitantes de las islas, se espera que voten unos 1.600. Los electores de las Malvinas, conocidas en inglés como las Falklands, tendrán que responder sí o no a la siguiente pregunta: "¿Desea usted que las islas
2	capital humano para lograr el desarrollo de nuestro país y sabemos que mientras más personas se capaciten en inglés, más oportunidades tendrán en el mercado nacional e internacional", resaltó el vicepresidente ejecutivo de
3	capital humano para lograr el desarrollo de nuestro país y sabemos que mientras más personas se capaciten en inglés, más oportunidades tendrán en el mercado nacional e internacional", resaltó el vicepresidente ejecutivo de
4	local IANS, con la que EFE tiene un acuerdo. "A partir de ahora los medios de comunicación que se editan en inglés en los países árabes tendrán la oportunidad de ver al mundo desde una perspectiva diferente", apuntó Fuad

Figure 6-15 Tendrán oportunidades and en inglés concordance lines

Lines 2 and 3 show how the necessity to speak English is stressed for individuals: this is due to the opportunities '*en el mercado nacional e internacional*' (on the national and international market) and because English is needed to '*lograr el desarrollo de nuestro país*' (to achieve the development of our country). Then, English is constructed as essential for participation in any economic activity, as it marked as relevant for both national and international job opportunities.

Interestingly, through the construction of English as a key to job opportunities, the language is also linked to the development of the country overall, a reference to human capital suggests that. However, it is not clear how English contributes to development, as it is not explicitly stated how the foreign language contributes if taken on board by most people possible (*mientras más personas*). The underlying assumption of this statement might have to do with the idea of the economic growth by expansion into new markets and attracting international investors, and for both aims a common language with an international outlook is necessary.

The last concordance line presents the idea that the media in Arabic countries that use English in their work allows them to get '*una perspectiva diferente*' (a different perspective). This story places the media that use English as their working language at an advantage as a new service becomes available from the EFE agency in this language. Because this is a Spanish news agency, this representation of English reinforces its dominant position in the world. It constructs English as the language of the first preference for the media around the world. Therefore, media outlets need to make use of English in their struggle for influence. Using English as a working language in a news agency offers a chance to reach wider audiences, and hence, influence more people.

Returning to the representation of English as a key to economic prosperity for individuals, CDA analyses corroborated this finding. In the article by ADN Radio (see Appendix 7) the executive of Education First (EF) headquarters in Chile maintains that those who are fluent in English can aim at a 30% higher salary which is a '*ventaja comparativa con los demás postulantes* (a comparative advantage with other applicants) (Agencia UPI, 2011a). Like in the case of Spanish, competence in English is represented in very concrete terms as a financially profitable language for its speakers. However, this information on the salary raise is not supported by any statistics but aims to impress the reader; the trustworthiness of the news story is constructed with the authoritative voice (the director of EF in Chile). Another piece of statistics offered to the reader to support the previous example is that at the time of the article going to press, one out of every four job offers in Chile required speaking English and predicted the increase of three out of every four job offers in 2020, as estimated by the Inter-American Development Bank.

It is worth emphasising that the so-called deficit in English is constructed in this story as collective on the nation-state level. At the same time, competence in English is constructed as beneficial for the economic prosperity of individuals. Therefore, the responsibility to improve the overall numbers of speakers of English in the country lies on each individual; this is the strategy that the state adapts to increase these numbers, by motivating individuals to learn the language through financial incentives for the future.

Another article (Emol.com, 2010) presents survey results to the readers that demonstrate a great interest among young people (*el alto interés de los jóvenes)* to learn English due to its usefulness for professional development. English is labelled as *esencial en su desarrollo profesional, relevante para su desarrollo profesional* and is associated with *mejores oportunidades laborales.* This article is similar to others because it represents English in terms of its usefulness for professional development. However, it is different in that English here is also a product on the travel market. In the first part of the article, a survey that focuses on young Chileans' competence in and perception of the English language for their professional development is presented. Then, it suggests that the best way to learn is by travelling to an English-speaking country, the message communicated to the readers in the second part of the article. This is understandable as the survey presented here was carried out by *Viajes Falabella*, a company that specialises in selling touristic

packages. Then, this company gains profit from the growing interest to learn English among young Chileans. The English language is, then, not only useful as an add-on skill that helps generate additional income but represents a product that can generate substantial profits for companies.

On the other hand, the countries listed among the English learning destinations are the UK, the United States, Canada or Australia, all countries of the inner circle Englishes. Then, despite the appropriation of English by other nation-states, these still lead in the linguistic market when it comes to teaching and learning English as a foreign language. This suggests that the economic benefits of having English as a mother tongue are only received by the countries of the inner circle (Kachru, 1992). This discourse demonstrates the hegemonic position that the varieties of English spoken in these countries occupy in the present day. It also suggests that despite the status of English and the efforts of outer circle nation-states in learning English, they are still not considered as a destination for learning the language. This is due to the persistence of ideologies of standard language and associated ideas of the worth of other varieties which tend to be compared with the 'standard' (see 2.3.5 for discussion of standard language ideology).

6.4 Summary

This chapter presented findings related to the construction of 'pride' and 'profit' value of languages in Chile. Although these themes may appear unrelated at first, their conjunct analysis helps identify patterns in representations of languages in connection with the linguistic ideologies of authenticity and anonymity that underpin both concepts. In representations of minoritised languages, the 'pride' value dominates the media discourse, while in the case of dominant languages, the 'pride' value is either absent entirely or only constitutes a part of the media representations.

Indeed, in the corpus about languages in Chile, when the 'pride' value of minoritised languages is constructed as closely tied to a specific territory and community, it tends to lack the 'profit' value; hence, dominant and minoritised languages have different general functions. Such was the case of Mapudungun, which was conceived in the corpus exclusively in terms of its 'pride' value. Although no specific social groups were mentioned in relation to Mapudungun, concordance analysis showed that the language is one of the cultural artefacts along with other cultural practices

(silversmith's, cosmovision, etc.) exclusive to the Mapuche people. This means that Mapudungun is attributed value in terms of its authenticity while no 'profit' value of Mapudungun was identified in the corpus.

This is because Mapudungun has been attributed key value in the political struggle of the Mapuche for recognition and autonomy. It is expected that language would play a key role in the discourses of the Mapuche in the Chilean media. Because the nation-state model has proved to be an effective way of gaining independence, it is not surprising the Mapuche activists employ the romanticist view of language to create a separate national imaginary for the Mapuche. Then, the presence of pride value representations of Mapudungun in the national media are instrumental in the fight for autonomy. This increases the visibility of the language and serves as a motivator for potential new speakers of Mapudungun.

On the other hand, the representation of English was the complete opposite: no 'pride' value was attributed to the language while it was possible to identify both quantitatively and qualitatively the economic discourses around it. Indeed, the language was represented as a must, an opportunity for job seeking individuals and also a way of further developing the country. The representation of Spanish is similar to English in that it also had an extensive 'profit' representation in the corpus. Spanish is also represented as advantageous for individuals on the job market. Also, the economic value of Spanish is made up of discourses of its expansion to new geographic and economic areas.

However, the representation of Spanish is very different from English in its 'pride' value. Despite the pluricentricity of Spanish, in the corpus of Chilean online news, the Chilean variety is a marker of distinctiveness as compared to other speakers of Spanish. Albeit its representation is mostly negative (see Figure 6-3 and Figure 6-4), Chilean Spanish is one feature that makes Chilean identity unique and different from other speakers of Spanish. Then, it serves the purpose of unification of people around a common language as per nationalist valorisations of languages.

However, the 'pride' value of Spanish is also constructed around the positive features related to its pluricentric condition: it is a big, expanding, powerful, beautiful and happy language that unifies all speakers of Spanish. These findings then demonstrate that pluricentric dominant languages can also be ascribed a significant

level of 'pride' value in media discourses, for both national and global speech communities. Their anonymity in terms of relation to specific geographic places and communities does not impede employing these in discourses of unity of their speakers.

The dataset clearly showed how the market value of expanding languages can contribute to its pride value. Indeed, the pride value of Spanish is not limited to Chile but offers an emotional attachment to a larger growing community of Spanish speakers. Belonging to such an outstanding speech community is a reason to feel good as its size is what makes it remarkable. The positive representations of Spanish as an international language help it grow further and mark its superiority before minoritised languages.

Whilst the 'pride' for dominant languages can vary depending on their relevance to Chilean context, the 'profit' value of minoritised languages is not flexible. Indeed, this was corroborated by the absence of minoritised languages among the economy related collocates. The exception from this tendency was found in downsampled texts that advocated the acquisition of a second language as financially beneficial for individuals. Nevertheless, these texts implied either other dominant languages or languages with official status in other nation-states. This means that the economy-related talk about languages in the media is dominated by 'big' languages, and the potential of smaller languages is left out.

Overall, corpus analysis demonstrated that the 'pride' value of languages is constructed in the corpus in very subtle ways: the media tend to presuppose specific ethnic, national and other groups in the reporting and widely employ deictic *nuestra/o* in their references to language. Indeed, raw frequencies and the strength of collocations cannot indicate which group is being unified around the language. However, the contextual analysis demonstrated how the flagging of languages construes nations, ethnic groups and global speech communities in Chilean news websites.

Chapter 7. Multilingualism in the news

7.1 Introduction

As discussed in section 3.5.3, the understandings of multilingualism differ among researchers in sociolinguistics and psycholinguistics. Indeed, many questions arise about the definitions of language and dialect, boundaries between languages, whether the phenomenon is to be treated as societal or on the individual level and, what criteria make an individual qualify for the multilingual condition. From a post-structuralist approach to language, Makoni & Pennycook (2007) and García, Flores & Spotti (2016) challenge the idea of multilingualism as a term altogether because it views languages as bounded and enumerated objects, while evidence from multiple contexts suggests that often the actual linguistic practices do not occur under the patterns theorised in the western academy.

Although sociolinguists are stepping away from such objectifying terminology, this chapter explores representations of multilingualism as reported in online news; and the media tend to present events and phenomena in familiar and straightforward to the reader terms (see section 3.2 for discussion). Having considered a post-structuralist move in sociolinguistics, I adopt a more fluid and dynamic understanding of language practices (as discussed in 1.4), but it is the data that dictates the choice of terminology. Therefore, to describe the findings, I use the terminology as it appears in the news. The choice of multilingualism in the chapter's title was motivated by the greater inclusivity of linguistic practices into the term than, for example, bilingualism.

Because this study's interest is to investigate the representations of multilingualism in the online news, this chapter sets out to explore what understandings are given to multilingualism and related terms in the Chilean news. The findings presented here seek to answer RQ2 (listed in 1.5). Before delving into specific themes in representations of multilingualism, it is necessary to refer to how exactly the news label multilingual practices and how often they refer to these. Figure 7-1 shows the count of multilingualism-related lemmas that appeared in the corpus of Chilean news. The most frequent lemma was BILING* (1025), which includes words *bilingüe(s)* and

bilingüísmo. This high frequency suggests that this term dominates media discourse even though in academic research, the term is no longer used as widely as multilingualism. It can be explained by the salience of political discourses on the national goal 'to become a bilingual country in the future' (MINSEGPRES, MINEDUC and MINEC, 2014, p. 9).

Furthermore, multilingualism was the second most mentioned term in the corpus with 143 references to lemma MULTILING *. Other terms used to refer to the ability to speak multiple languages were by using the lemma PLURILING* (19) and TRILING* (12), where plurilingualism is synonymous to multilingualism and trilingualism may refer to the ability to speak three languages. Another way of referring to multilingualism in the corpus was through nominal phrase *diversidad linguistica* (linguistic diversity) which is one way of describing multilingual societies. Some discussion of monolingualism also occurs in the corpus as it was mentioned on 67 occasions.
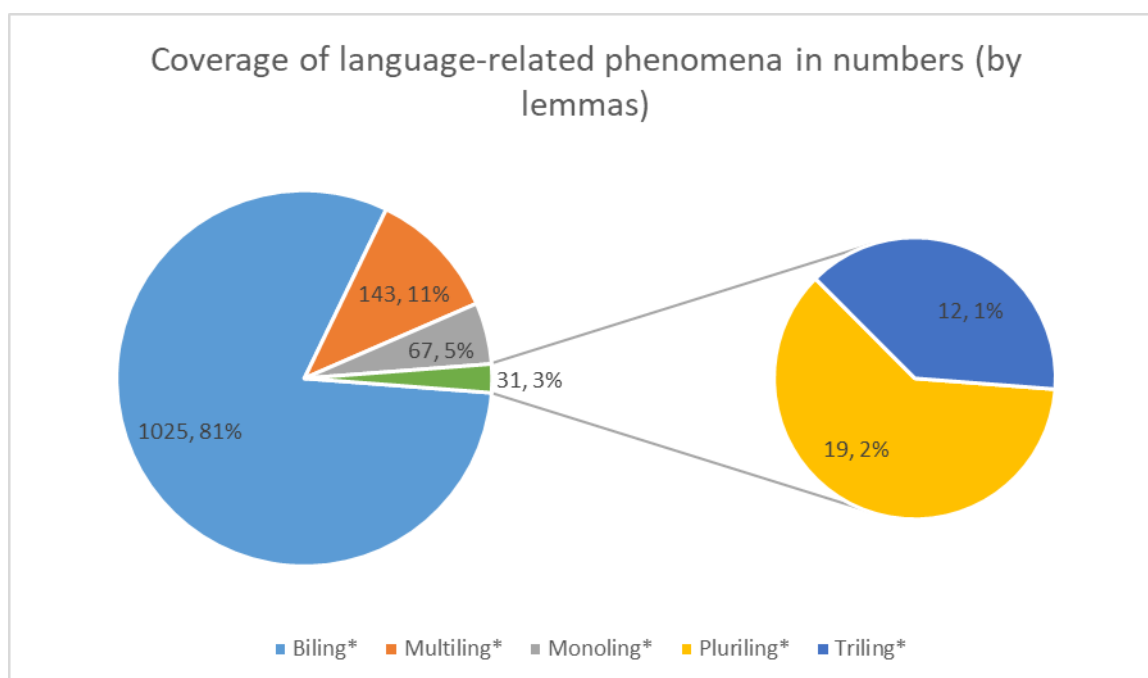
Figure 7-1 Frequencies of lemmas of multilingualism related words

From the frequency data, the discussion of multilingualism in the corpus predominantly develops around bilingualism. Because bilingualism was the most frequent term used in the corpus, it inevitably has a wider range of collocates than other terms presented in Figure 7-1. Table 7-1 lists all statistically significant collocates of multilingualism-related terminology in the corpus. Collocating functional words were excluded from the analysis. Because trilingualism and plurilingualism

only returned functional words as collocates (ex. *el, del,* etc.), these are not presented in the table.

Examination of collocates indicates similarity in how bilingualism and multilingualism are construed in the corpus. Both terms have a common collocate – *ventajas* (advantages) which indicates salience of discourse around advantages of the bilingual and multilingual condition. These representations are informed by research in psycholinguistics that overwhelmingly advocates its advantages for cognitive development (e.g. Barac and Bialystok (2012)). The collocates provide some evidence that academic research becomes public thanks to online news reporting. The question remains as to what findings end up in the news; this is discussed further with the presentation of concordance lines in section 7.2.

BILINGUISMO (108)		MULTILINGUISMO (45)		DIVERSIDAD LINGÜÍSTICA (26)	
Collocate	**MI**	**Collocate**	**MI**	**Collocate**	**MI**
ANIMA	12.30	ANDROULLA	16.20	PROMOVER	11.09
OBTIENEN	11.45	VASSILIOU	15.55	VALOR	9.68
VENTAJAS	10.84	DIAMOND	14.60	CULTURAL	9.22
CREENCIAS	10.36	JARED	14.46		
HISPANOS	9.60	JUVENTUD	12.42		
APARICIÓN	9.60	ESTIMULAR	11.77		
CONSECUENCIAS	9.13	VENTAJAS	11.65		
EFECTO	8.77	EUROPEA	11.02		
AYUDAR	8.69	INVESTIGADOR	10.63		
ESTUDIO	7.34	OBJETIVO	8.76		
ALGO	5.92	EDUCACIÓN	8.76		
CONTRA	5.51	CULTURA	8.60		
EMOL	5.09	MAYOR	7.22		
TIENE	4.64	UNIVERSIDAD	6.56		

Table 7-1 Collocates of bilingualism, multilingualism and linguistic diversity

Multilingualism's collocates indicate a link to education and academia: *educación*, *universidad*, *investigador*. Indeed, multilingualism has long been a central issue in academic research, and foreign-language teaching in modern nation-states often happens through means of formal education. In a similar vein, bilingualism collocates

with *estudio* (study) which also indicates a link to academic research. As with the effects and consequences of bilingualism and multilingualism, these collocates demonstrate directly that news media refer to research in their reporting.

The collocates communicate a positive connotation for the three terms: *anima* (encourages), *estimular* (to stimulate) and *promover* (to promote). These could refer to any sphere of language use but to some extent refer to action encouraging multilingualism and concordance lines can show the specific details of the efforts made, who makes them and in what contexts. The collocate *mayor* (major) suggests that multilingualism may be on the rise or is encouraged. Sections 7.3 and 7.4 present these collocates in context and explain how these contribute towards a positive representation of multilingualism.

Because language is often regarded as a means of national, ethnic, local and regional identification (Clyne, 1996, p. 2), somewhat expected was the finding the link between multilingualism, linguistic diversity and culture: collocates *cultura* and *cultural* are evidence of this. Interestingly, *bilinguismo* did not return any culture-related collocates. The collocation pair '*multilinguismo-cultura/cultural*' establishes the link between multilingualism and communities rather than individuals. It indirectly demonstrates that multilingualism and linguistic diversity are conceived in the corpus as societal phenomena. One collocate of *bilinguismo* suggests similarly – *hispanos* (the Hispanics), which refers to the speech community of Spanish speakers in the US. For *multilinguismo*, the collocate *europea* suggests some discussion of multilingual practices in the European context, which again places the phenomenon onto the societal level.

The collocate analysis helped identify the names of the languages that collocated with BILING*, most frequent multilingualism-related lemma in the corpus. Table 7-2 contains the list where perhaps unsurprisingly Spanish appears twice as *español* and *castellano*[107]. Other languages of Chile in the list include Mapudungun, Quechua and Rapa Nui. English was also associated with bilingualism, along with other 'big' languages – French, Chinese and Arabic.

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[107] See section 3.5.2 for discussion of terminology in the name of Spanish language.

Languages			People by origin	Places in Chile and beyond	
Español	*Guaraní*	*Inglés*	*Hispanos*	*Lastarria*	*Jerusalén*
Francés	*Chino*	*Castellano*	*Andinos*	*Biobio*	*Doral (US)*
Árabe	*Mapudungún*	*Quechua*	*Mexicanos*	*Región*	*Miami*
Rapa Nui	*Hebreo*			*Araucanía*	*Latinoamérica*
					EE UU

Table 7-2 Languages, people and places as collocates of BILING*

Three significant collocates were also sorted into the semantic category of people by origin: interestingly, Chileans did not appear here which tentatively suggests that Chileans were not represented in the corpus as a bilingual nation. *Hispanos* (Hispanics) appeared in the corpus as linked to the debate on bilingualism as well as *andinos* (Andeans) - two broad 'imagined' communities (Anderson, 1983). Another revealing semantic category of collocates was geographical places (Table 7-1). Within Chile, two names of regions came up – Biobio and Araucanía – both characterised by high numbers of the Mapuche population. Latin America also appeared linked to the discussion of bilingualism as well as the US (*EE UU*) and two cities within it.

However, these are only indications of possible meanings attached to the concept of multilingualism and its collocations in the corpus of Chilean news. No direct links between multilingualism and Chile could be established by examining collocates. This means that representations of Chile as a multilingual country are not numerically salient in the corpus. Collocates tool was also insufficient in identifying whether bilingualism is constructed as:

- a societal
- state
- or individual condition.

Subsequent sections present concordance lines in an attempt to answer this question and to establish to what extent multilingualism relates to Chile and its languages. They discuss collocation pairs of the multilingualism-related terms in expanded concordance lines. Statistically significant collocates of the lemma BILING* are presented to explore representations of all things bilingual (see Figure 7-1).

7.2 The theme of health benefits

Health benefits were one of the salient themes in the positive representation of multilingualism in the corpus. Table 7-3 shows statistically significant collocates of BILING* by sub-themes. When bilingualism is discussed in the news, references are made to body parts, brain diseases and other general medical terminology. Because the benefits of bilingualism are represented as universal, they tend to be dissociated from any geographical context and detached from any specific languages. Then, representations of bilingualism and multilingualism under the theme of health benefits did not contribute towards representations of any particular language, dominant or minoritised.

Organs	Disease	Other
Cerebro(s)	*Demencia*	*Pacientes*
Cerebrales	*Formas*	*Contra*
	Síntomas	*Estudio*
	Diagnosticados	*Edad*
	Diferencias	
	Aparición	

Table 7-3 Health benefits of multilingualism: collocates of BILING by sub-themes*

Other collocates of bilingualism listed in Table 7-1 demonstrate that bilingualism is construed as advantageous for individuals. Concordance lines of collocation pair *bilinguismo* and *obtienen* (they gain) (see Figure 7-2) illustrate how the advantage is constructed discursively. These two extracts discuss bilingualism at the level of individuals referring to specific cognitive effects it has on the development of Alzheimer's disease. Allegedly, bilinguals tend to develop Alzheimer's disease later than monolinguals, as reported by a US scientist. This finding coincides with Jaworska & Themistocleous (2017) results that showed that the British press also tends to positively represent multilingualism for the health of the elderly.

1	menos riesgo de desarrollar Alzheimer más tarde en su vida. Ése es uno de los beneficios que, según un científico estadounidense, se **obtienen** con el **bilingüismo.** En todo el mundo, se cree que el número de personas que hablan dos o más idiomas supera a la cifra de quienes sólo hablan uno. Hasta
2	en su vida. BBC MUNDO.com 15 oct 2010 20h13 comentarios Ése es uno de los beneficios que, según un científico estadounidense, se **obtienen** con el **bilingüismo.** Cérebro Foto: Getty Images En todo el mundo, se cree que el número de personas que hablan dos o más idiomas supera a la cifra de quienes sólo

Figure 7-2 Concordance lines: bilingualism gains

The extracts refer to *beneficios* (benefits) which according to the phrasing are numerous as the one discussed in the articles is one of the many – *ese es uno de los beneficios*. Examination of the whole text showed that other benefits listed include a better adjustment in confusing situations and delay in the development of dementia. These concordance lines also indicate that the term bilingualism is not exclusively understood as the ability to speak two languages; extracts above discuss the benefits of speaking two or more languages (*dos o más idiomas*). Overall, the language used in this extract makes up a positive representation of the multilingual ability. The strength of the argument is achieved as the information comes from *científico estadounidense* (a US scientist). No reference is made to the Chilean context in these lines.

One extract with collocate *consecuencia* also advocates for the health value of bilingualism (Figure 7-3). Based on a scientific study as well, this article indicates that bilingualism helps protect the brain from cognitive deterioration and delays dementia. As the previous extracts, it suggests that bilinguals are at less risk of developing Alzheimer's.

unas mayores reservas cognitivas a medida que envejecen, lo que contribuye a un menor riesgo de padecer Alzheimer. por EFE - 01/04/2012 - 13:41 Investigadores canadienses dijeron hoy que recientes estudios demuestran que el bilingüismo ayuda a proteger el cerebro del deterioro cognitivo y retrasa la aparición de los signos de demencia. El estudio, **"Bilingüismo: consecuencias** para la mente y el cerebro" publicado en la revista médica "Trends in Cognitive Sciences", revisa recientes estudios sobre los efectos del bilingüismo en la cognición de los adultos. Los autores del estudio, dirigido por Ellen Bialystok, del Departamento de Psicología de la Universidad de York (Canadá), indicaron que los

Figure 7-3 Consequences of bilingualism: extract from LaTercera.cl 01/04/2012

As in the previous examples, this extract does not refer to any specific language but rather an ability to speak two or more. In addition to a positive valorisation of bilingualism, this extract does not offer any evaluation of specific languages but provides a persuasive argumentation on why it is beneficial to speak other languages. Concordance lines with collocate *efecto* (effect) and *ayudar* (to help) showed similar arguments in favour of bilingualism.

The benefits of bilingualism are further explained in the extracts with collocate *aparición* (emergence) (Figure 7-4). The main argument throughout the news articles here is that bilingualism protects against the emergence of dementia. Some of them also say that it prevents Alzheimer´s disease, as shown in previous examples. Extract 3 contradicts this saying it does not just prevent it but somewhat

compensates the loss of mental capacities. Extract 1 says that bilingualism has been proven to delay the appearance of the disease by 4.5 years. Extracts 3 and 5 point to greater cognitive reserves among bilinguals as they age.

1	y la demencia frontotemporal o vascular cuatro años y medio más tarde que los que hablaban sólo un idioma. La misma diferencia fue observada entre los analfabetos y los que sabían leer , apuntaron los autores. El efecto beneficioso del **bilingüismo** en la edad de aparición de la demencia fue observado independientemente de otros factores, como el nivel de educación, el género, la ocupación o si los participantes vivían en una ciudad o en un área rural, precisó Alladi. http://rbb.cl/
2	que no había diferencias entre los pacientes de diferentes sexos. Tras el análisis de la información recopilada, los investigadores señalaron que los datos "confirman resultados de un estudio previo y por tanto concluimos que toda una vida de **bilingüismo** confiere protección contra la aparición del alzhéimer". El estudio señala que no es que el bilingüismo previene la aparición de alzhéimer sino que parece compensar parcialmente la pérdida de capacidades cerebrales causadas por la
3	recopilada, los investigadores señalaron que los datos "confirman resultados de un estudio previo y por tanto concluimos que toda una vida de bilingüismo confiere protección contra la aparición del alzhéimer". El estudio señala que no es que el **bilingüismo** previene la aparición de alzhéimer sino que parece compensar parcialmente la pérdida de capacidades cerebrales causadas por la enfermedad. "El bilingüismo parece contribuir a la reserva cognitiva, que actúa para compensar por los
4	que el mejor rendimiento en las tareas de lenguaje fue alcanzado por los niños bilingües cuya lengua de enseñanza era el mismo que el idioma en el que le hicieron la prueba y cuyas dos lenguas eran más parecidas. OFERTAS . .Estudio señala que el **bilingüismo** protege contra la aparición de la demencia	Tendencias	LA TERCERA LATERCERA.COM Estudio señala que el bilingüismo protege contra la aparición de la demencia Los autores del estudio indicaron que los individuos bilingües tienen
5	el idioma en el que le hicieron la prueba y cuyas dos lenguas eran más parecidas. OFERTAS . .Estudio señala que el bilingüismo protege contra la aparición de la demencia	Tendencias	LA TERCERA LATERCERA.COM Estudio señala que el **bilingüismo** protege contra la aparición de la demencia Los autores del estudio indicaron que los individuos bilingües tienen unas mayores reservas cognitivas a medida que envejecen, lo que contribuye a un menor riesgo de padecer Alzheimer. por

Figure 7-4 Collocate pair aparición and bilingüísmo

Clearly, these extracts attempt to create a positive representation of the health benefits of bilingualism. These refer to different studies and provide precise details to build the argument.

A similar but less frequent representation of advantages of multilingualism was revealed in the concordance lines of collocate *ventajas* (advantages). One example of this was published on two websites, *Terra.cl* and *LaTercera.cl* in 2010:

la enfermedad, lo que significa que no desarrollaría síntomas sino hasta cumplir 102 años, es decir, no se enfermaría de demencia en absoluto". El experto está consciente de que unos pocos estudios no pueden ofrecer evidencia concluyente de las ventajas del multilingüismo. Pero insta a no repetir los errores de muchos inmigrantes en Estados Unidos, incluidos muchos miembros de su propia familia, que han elegido no pasar sus idiomas nativos a sus hijos una vez que llegan a tierra estadounidense. "Por lo menos, no hay

Figure 7-5. Extract: ventajas del multilingüísmo

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This extract suggests that multilingualism delays dementia until the age of 102. Despite the positive representation, the author doubts, to a certain extent, that '*unos pocos estudios*' (a few studies) can prove the positive cognitive effects of multilingualism. At the same time, not speaking the mother tongue to the children is defined as an error that many immigrants commit when arriving in a foreign country. Employing a sociolinguistic questionnaire, Jaworska & Themistocleous (2017) also identified that the majority of their respondents (55%) were unsure about the positive effects of multilingualism on the brain.

One downsampled text (see Appendix 12) suggested 'speaking two languages improves memory and attention'(*La Tercera,* 2011). Firstly, this representation is different in that it does not refer to any specific age group as in all examples presented above. Secondly, it proposes a definition of bilingual: *que tengan fluidez u hablen continuamente el idioma* ('that they are fluent and speak the language continuously') (*La Tercera,* 2011, n. p.). This definition leaves questions about what fluency is and what continuously means: it is not explained in the story what fluency and continuity a speaker must have to qualify as a bilingual. As in the previous examples, the text in Appendix 12 resorts to an academic study to build the argument: this is stated at the beginning of the first sentence of the news story to establish the authority early on and reminds the readers of this in every paragraph of the article. The text uses anatomy vocabulary to construe the representation of bilingualism: *nivel cerebral, actividad cerebral, parte prefrontal del cerebro, entrenamiento cerebral* (brain level, brain activity, prefrontal part of the brain, brain training). Interestingly, learning an L2 is defined as brain exercise in this text, which construes bilingualism as a healthy practice.

Overall, the findings presented in this section are similar to the study of representations of multilingualism in the British press (Jaworska and Themistocleous, 2017). The similarities may be explained by the time of data collection – between 2010 and 2014 - which coincides with the data collection period of this study. The theme of health benefits of bilingualism in their corpus was pointed through keywords '*dementia, Alzheimer, brain, cognitive, ageing, disease*'(Jaworska and Themistocleous, 2017, p. 70). The authors identified these as a new discourse around multilingualism in the media. They point to the use of war metaphors, such as *keep at bay*, *combat*, and *fight off* (Jaworska and Themistocleous, 2017, p. 73) to describe the impact of multilingualism which creates a strong argument for acquiring

a second language to avoid dementia and Alzheimer's disease. In the case of Chilean corpus, the rhetorical moves create a prevention and protection discourse. Nevertheless, the collocates and extracts presented here construct a convincing image of bilingualism as a safeguard against neurodegenerative diseases on both quantitative and qualitative levels of analysis.

7.3 Societal multilingualism: an advantage or a problem?

Before looking at the specific aspects of the representation of multilingualism in the news, it was necessary to get an idea about how it is defined in the news. Here, collocate *algo* (something) pointed to some of the definitions in the corpus. In both examples presented in Figure 7-6, it is defined as 'something positive in/for a society' with evaluative adjective *positivo*. In the first extract, as an example of such bilingualism, Spanish and English are mentioned, and in the second extract, a reference to 'some countries of northern Europe' (*algunos países del norte de Europa*) is given as an example of successful societal bilingualism. Both extracts contain references to English, which might suggest this language is a must for a bilingual society.

1	cada vez mejor el inglés y el español y donde desde 1974 está presente la Academia Norteamericana de la Lengua Española. En su opinión, el **bilingüismo** es **algo** positivo en una sociedad moderna y la propia España es un buen ejemplo de territorio donde conviven en armonía varias
2	que a su juicio no debe ser visto como un problema, sino como algo positivo para la ciudadanía. En ese sentido recordó que, en el entendimiento de que el **bilingüismo** es **algo** positivo para sus sociedades, en algunos países del norte de Europa se ha forzado la enseñanza de una segunda lengua y el inglés

Figure 7-6 Definitions of bilingualism: collocation pair bilingüísmo and algo

These points suggest that the discussion here is on foreign countries rather than the Chilean context. Indeed, the examination of the full text of Extract 1 in Figure 7-6 showed that the article focuses on Puerto Rico where bilingualism is established on a state level. The appearance of a news story on Spanish-English bilingualism in Chilean news may be due to the national goal of societal bilingualismin English and Spanish in Chile (MINSEGPRES, MINEDUC and MINEC, 2014).

A counterargument is offered at the beginning of Extract 2, where the article refers to bilingualism being problematic for society but only to try and disprove it. The article then refers to the teaching of second languages at school in the northern part of Europe while mentioning English as one of the target languages. Although this

representation of societal bilingualism is positive, it is based on an elite model of bilingualism, which promotes language acquisition of dominant languages through formal schooling and disregarding competence in minoritised languages.

Although they speak of the advantages of multilingualism, the following extracts offer a slightly different view on the phenomenon. Concordance lines below show the co-occurrences of bilingualism and *ventajas* collocation pair: first and third lines draw on political discourses while the second line draws on bilingual families.

1	, que defienden una educación sólo en inglés para que los inmigrantes puedan integrarse mejor en la sociedad, Clinton destacó las **ventajas** *del* **bilingüismo** y animó a los latinos a hablar a sus hijos en español. "A algunos padres les han dicho que no deberían hablar a sus hijos en su lengua materna,
2	ese trabajo, firmado en 2006, "los abuelos se enojan y exigen respeto a la lengua de sus propios abuelos; los padres toleran pensando en las **ventajas** *del* **bilingüismo;** muchos jóvenes sueñan en castellano". La vendedora de garrapiñadas explica a algunos periodistas que la rodean interesados en su historia que
3	(CDU) en la que Merkel será reelegida líder del partido, la canciller hizo referencia hoy a la propuesta de sus socios bávaros y defendió las **"ventajas"** *del* **bilingüismo.** "El buen conocimiento del alemán forma parte de la integración", declaró la canciller, quien consideró que, "no obstante, no tiene nada de

Figure 7-7 Advantages of bilingualism: collocate pair ventajas and bilingüísmo

In the first expanded concordance, it is the US presidential candidate Hilary Clinton is quoted encouraging Latino parents in the US to speak to their children in the mother tongue and highlights the 'advantages of bilingualism' (*ventajas del bilingüísmo*). However, this view of bilingualism only considers the by default bilingual community, the US Latinos. At the same time, other ethnic groups are not mentioned in the speech. This representation of bilingualism can be explained by the presidential election campaign when this article was published. This stance might be targeting the votes of speakers of Spanish who constitute a substantial part of the US population and may oppose the policies based on English-only legislation (Horner and Trimbur, 2007). A Similar representation of bilingualism was found in another article titled '*Hillary Clinton propone reforma migratoria en EEUU y anima a hispanos al bilinguismo*' (La Tercera, Emol, 18 June 2015). The collocate pair *anima* and *hispanos* highlights the positive connotation of the value of bilingualism but also points directly to a specific ethnic group, *hispanos,* who possess a different linguistic capital to the majority of the US population. However, because of salient discourses of expansion and universality of Spanish and its significant communicative value (see 5.3.2, 6.2.2 and 6.3.1), Clinton does not encourage other Americans to learn Spanish as it represents a threat to English in the US.

Concurrently, this representation of multilingualism emerges in the context of prevailing in the US subtractive bilingualism (García and Torres-Guevara, 2009),

which aims to make immigrants proficient in English while disregarding their existing linguistic repertoire. This is accompanied by the belief that one must give up his/her own language to acquire a new language. It also devalues the linguistic repertoire of those who do not speak English: the assertion that it helps newcomers integrate into the society suggests that English is the only language in which this can be achieved and, hence, has superior value to other languages. Such value is constructed in other official state discourses on language and integration, such as language policies and citizenship tests (Hogan-Brun, Mar-Molinero and Stevenson, 2009). Fundamentally, these are underpinned by the ideology of monolingualism, and positive representations of multilingualism in the media are just discursive moves to demonstrate illusory acceptance of others in the US political discourse.

Overall, Extract 1 in Figure 7-7 highlights the advantages of bilingualism but only for one ethnolinguistic group in the US, the Latinos. It does not encourage bilingualism among monolingual Americans. At the same time, it tries to demystify the idea that children need to speak only English in order to acquire a native-like ability in it; indeed, Clinton gives an alternative discourse to the dominant monolingual discourses.

The third extract draws on a similar message from Chancellor Merkel in Germany, who points to the value of good knowledge of German for the integration of immigrants, but also states '*no obstante, no tiene nada de equivocado que los niños crezcan por ejemplo con dos idiomas y tengan que aprender una lengua extranjera menos*' (Terra.cl, 8th December 2014). The phrase '*no tiene nada equivocado*' (there is nothing wrong) is an attempt to refute the discourses that suggest that speaking a language different from the official language of the country is inappropriate. Merkel defends speaking a native language at home as the child will have one less language to learn at school.

The examination of the whole article showed that Merkel issued this statement as a refutation of the controversial policy proposed by her party that meant to impose speaking German even in private settings. This extract is a good illustration of how the media can act as arenas for language policy debates: if it was not for their interest, the CSU party proposal to intervene in language choice decisions at home would never make it to the public and gathered reactions of any sort.

Extract 2 in Figure 7-7 draws on the intergenerational transmission of minoritised languages: the advantages of bilingualism come up in relation to parents who 'tolerate' (*toleran*) the grandparents' anger that the children 'dream in Spanish' (*sueñan en castellano*). This excerpt illustrates the intergenerational loss of language among indigenous peoples of Mexico and shows that even in informal settings, minoritised languages are displaced by Spanish. Although language policies in Mexico differ from those in Chile (see Cru (2018) for a review of both), indigenous languages of Mexico are losing their speakers too (FUNPROEIB Andes and UNICEF, 2009). This example shows that despite the advantages of bilingualism, dominant languages take over. Research in the Chilean context showed that, indeed, when minoritised languages are not used in the public sphere, their use in private domains also reduces (Lagos Fernández, 2012).

Turning to the topic of increase of multilingualism identified at the stage of collocate analysis in the introduction to this chapter, the collocate *mayor* suggested that the discourse of increase of multilingualism is salient in the online news and the quote below demonstrates how this is achieved discursively:

un idioma distinto al inglés en casa en 2011, según el informe. Esa cifra contrasta con los 23 millones de 1980, o casi uno de cada once.En las últimas tres décadas, el número de personas que hablaban un idioma diferente al inglés en casa se incrementó en un 158 por ciento, a un ritmo bastante más alto que el de la población estadounidense, que creció un 38 por ciento.El experto lingüista Peter Sayer dijo que los datos mostraban un "multilingüismo" cada vez **mayor** en Estados Unidos ya que un creciente número de personas habla al menos otro idioma distinto al inglés."El español es el principal, pero hay un alza de la diversidad lingüística", dijo Sayer, profesor del Departamento de Estudios Biculturales-Bilingües de la Universidad de Texas, en San Antonio.Entre quienes recurren a una lengua distintaal inglés en casa, dos tercios usan el español. Unos

Terra.cl, 11 December 2013

The story presents a dramatical growth of multilingualism in the US due to immigration: it uses quantification to show the increase in numbers of speakers of languages other than English. This quantification frames multilingualism as a disruptive phenomenon in a context that is imagined as linguistically homogenous[108]. In studies on representations of immigrants in the press (Gabrielatos and Baker, 2008; Baker, Gabrielatos and McEnery, 2013), the heavy reliance on quantification was discovered which resonates with this particular extract as it constructs societal multilingualism as a result of immigration. With the authority of an expert (in this case,

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[108] See section 3.5.3 for overview of representations of multilingualism as a problem.

a linguist, Prof. Sayer of University of Texas), the article also points to a rise in linguistic diversity overall but suggests that Spanish is the most commonly spoken language that adds to this diversity. This is reiterated by quantifying the number of speakers of Spanish in the pool of all multilinguals.

This extract is also a vivid illustration of a power struggle between English and Spanish in the US (as do the examples of Clinton's discourses of encouragement of bilingualism among the Latinos): multilingualism is a background setting to demonstrate that Spanish is gaining strength in a nation-state 'imagined' to be English-only[109]. English is a given, a point of reference in this story; its dominant position is taken for granted: instead of naming these other languages spoken in the US they are labelled as '*un idioma diferente al inglés*' (a language different from English). The article goes on to say that the number of bilinguals in the US has grown much faster than the population, and in the next line, the word multilingualism appears in inverted commas. Therefore, the journalist's understanding of multilingualism is simply the use of a language different to the official language of the nation-state, which is a reductionist view underpinned by monolingual language ideology. This representation is ideological in that it implies multilingualism is the result of the inability to use English in all spheres of life.

A motivation to include an article of this kind into Chilean news coverage lies in the representation of Spanish as a growing language that can compete with English internationally (del Valle, 2007b; del Valle and Villa, 2007; Moreno Cabrera, 2008). Although this is not stated overtly with evaluative language, this extract does not represent multilingualism as a positive phenomenon because linguistic clues, such as quantification and use of inverted commas, suggest otherwise.

Turning to a more positive representation of societal bilingualism, one article reports on a study that deals with the beliefs around multilingualism. The reporting here suggests that early age bilingualism can reduce essentialist beliefs in children. It links bilingual ability to open-mindedness: the study concludes that acquiring or learning a second language early in life helps increase acceptance of social diversity as adults.

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[109] Spanish has a special status in the state of California and is used as an additional language in Florida, New Mexico and Texas.

1	letrina al borde del abismo. Eso sí, si tuviera una ventana trasera o lateral la vista desde su interior de los Montes Altai sería impresionante. Vía: http://www.labrujulaverde.com Julio 17, 2015 + · 0 · 0 · 0 El bilingüismo cambia las **creencias** de los niños El **bilingüismo** cambia las **creencias** de los niños La mayoría de los niños pequeños son esencialistas, sin embargo, un nuevo estudio sugiere que niños que hablan más de un idioma desde pequeño, piensan en otra manera. El resultado tiene importantes
2	de esencialismo en los niños." El estudio tiene importantes implicaciones sociales porque los adultos que tienen creencias esencialistas más fuertes son más propensos a apoyar los estereotipos y las actitudes prejuiciosas. "Nuestro hallazgo de que el **bilingüismo** reduce **creencias** esencialistas plantea la posibilidad de que la segunda enseñanza de idiomas a temprana edad en la vida podría utilizarse para promover la aceptación de la diversidad social y física humana," dice Byers-Heinlein.

Figure 7-8 The impact of bilingualism on essentialist thinking: collocate pair bilinguísmo and creencias

This representation draws on concrete positive implications of bilingualism when acquired early in life: it serves as an opportunity to decrease stereotypes and prejudiced attitudes (*estereotipos y las actitudes prejuiciosas*) which are prominent in contemporary societies, especially with the rise of right-wing governments in Chile and South America in general. These articles indicate how the essence of bilingualism can challenge the underpinnings of monolingual ideology and links stereotypical and prejudiced behaviour to monolingualism. It was a unique representation of bilingualism in the corpus, and previous studies have not retrieved similar representations.

7.4 Multilingualism and culture

This section examines how the link between multilingualism and culture is constructed. As a strong collocation, the adjective *cultural* and the phrase *diversidad linguistica* (linguistic diversity) suggested, the link between these is salient in the corpus. The collocate pair *diversidad linguistica* and *cultural* not only have a strong collocation relationship but also often compose a single semantic unit joined by conjunction *y* (and) (extracts 1, 2 and 4 in Figure 7-9) or without it. This is indicative of close ties that exist between the linguistic and the cultural as reported in the news.

1	será gratuita, el cupo es limitado y requiere inscripción previa, además de la lectura de material bibliográfico. El seminario-taller que se propone "se basa en la necesidad de profundizar una perspectiva intercultural y literaria que posibilite el diálogo, valorando positivamente la diversidad lingüística y **cultural** de nuestra sociedad". Se dirige en particular a docentes, estudiantes y personas "que se sientan comprometidas con la necesidad del diálogo intercultural", anticipó su coordinador. En este marco, afirma Spíndola que "la poesía mapuche se ofrece
2	de Estudio del Sector de Lengua Indígena (NB1) en escuelas urbanas: bases para una propuesta metodológica . -Felipe Hasler y Silvia Castillo (Red EIB Chile). Hacia un marco común de enseñanza de lenguas indígenas en América Latina. Mesa 5: – Promoción del valor de la diversidad lingüística y **cultural** en los medios públicos, culturales y educativos. Coordina: Jaime Huenún, Red EIB Chile Secretaria: Alejandra Estay, Red EIB Chile. Osmar Valdebenito (Wikimedia Chile). Wikipedia: una nueva oportunidad de desarrollo paras las lenguas
3	de nuestros derechos colectivos, y a manifestamos por una nueva Constitución. Hacemos también un llamado al pueblo de Chile, para que nos acompañe en este camino de construcción de un Nuevo Pacto Social, sobre la base del reconocimiento de nuestra pluralidad y diversidad lingüística **cultural"**. Sus mensaje fue expresado en mapudungún, para lo cual al inicio se entregó a los presentes una cartilla con la traducción. El vocero del Movimiento de Liberación Homosexual, Jaime Parada, destacó que "los aquí reunidos compartidos
4	la propiedad intelectual y en relación a los conocimientos tradicionales; las experiencias innovadoras de enseñanza-aprendizaje de las lenguas indígenas en niños y niñas, jóvenes y adultos indagando en metodologías de enseñanza; y la promoción del valor de la diversidad lingüística y **cultural** en los medios públicos, culturales y educativos. El desarrollo del Congreso combinará las estrategias discursivas de los pueblos, con el discurso académico, participando niños, jóvenes, adultos, abuelas y abuelos que cultivan el don de la palabra en

Figure 7-9 Expanded concordance lines: linguistic and cultural diversity

Interestingly, the extracts presented here all report on Chile: this is evident upon the examination of full texts and the use of possessive pronouns (*nuestra sociedad, nuestra pluralidad*). The first line reports on a cross-cultural workshop on Mapuche cosmovision, the second and the fourth – on the Congress of indigenous languages in Chile and the third on the demands of a referendum to create a new constitution. All four examples transmit encouragement of linguistic and cultural diversity through the following rhetoric devices: *valorando positivamente, promoción del valor* (line 2 and 4), *reconocimiento*.

The use of the phrase *diversidad lingüística* here is different from the representations and understanding of bilingualism and multilingualism in other extracts presented in this chapter. While multilingualism and bilingualism are defined as both societal and individual level phenomena, linguistic diversity is a quality of a given society only. What is peculiar about this representation of linguistic diversity is that it is linked to minoritised languages, rather than dominant languages, as is the case of bilingualism and multilingualism.

The discourse of promotion and encouragement of linguistic diversity is the result of this connection with indigenous languages. The underpinning idea in this discourse is that linguistic diversity is not appropriately recognised in Chile (see 1.2 for an overview of LP in Chile). Indeed, the purpose of the workshop described in Extract 1 was to facilitate cross-cultural dialogue and positive perception of linguistic and cultural diversity, which suggests a lack or even absence of these. Extracts 2 and 4 present some points of the Congress of indigenous languages that highlights the

promotion of the value of linguistic diversity in the media, education and culture. As in the previous extract, such co-text suggests a lack of value in these specific domains of social life.

Extract 3 presents linguistic diversity in the context of demands for a new constitution: elicited by a Mapuche political actor, recognition of linguistic diversity appears as an essential basis for a new constitution[110]. This representation is, to a certain extent, linked to the perspective on linguistic and cultural rights. The discursive construction of the phrase suggests that the current constitution does not acknowledge this aspect.

Despite the overall positive representation of linguistic diversity in the expanded concordances in Figure 7-9, these are resistant discourses to the dominant ideas of a linguistically homogenous nation-state. The low frequency of collocation '*diversidad lingüística-cultural*'[111] supports this, and absence of establishment political actors in media reporting suggests that the revalorisation of linguistic and cultural diversity is not on the top-down policy agenda of the Chilean state.

Referring to the European context, collocate pair '*mayor-multilinguismo'* also showed a link between linguistic practices and culture:

> - Agencia EFE - . Iglesias aboga por el multilingüismo para **mayor** comprensión entre culturas Europa Iglesias aboga por el multilingüismo para mayor comprensión entre culturas 11 dic 2013 12h33 comentarios El secretario general iberoamer

Figure 7-10 Multilingualism and comprehension across cultures: multilingüísmo and mayor

It is the comprehension between cultures that multilingualism can facilitate according to the Iberoamerican general secretary Enrique Iglesias[112]. Examination of the full article showed that the main argument of the news story is that speaking a language is not only a linguistic practice but represents the cultural identity of its speakers and reflects certain values.

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[110] On the level of state recognition of linguistic diversity and relevant LP Chile is behind other Latin American countries (Loncon Antileo, 2017).

[111] All instances of co-occurrence are presented in Figure 7-9.

[112] He was the Secretary General to *Secretaría General Iberoamericana*, an international organisation that coordinates and manages the Ibero-American Summits, annual meetings between heads of state of Latin American and the Iberian peninsula countries aimed to maintain economic, cultural and historic ties between the members (http://www.segib.org/cumbres-iberoamericanas/).

As the article develops, references to French, Spanish and Portuguese were made in the text. These languages were presented as 'diversifying' the monolingualism in English firmly established in international relationships. Then, the text serves as a critique of the dominance of English in the international arena. In sum, the discussion of multilingualism offered here represents a background for a power struggle among dominant languages. The text also refers to the globalisation of economy which alludes to the real reasons speakers of non-dominant languages are missing out.

The economy and international relations are at stake in this news story: the hegemony of English leaves out speakers of other dominant languages. For instance, one of the arguments presented in the text stated: '*Está en juego el derecho de los pueblos a expresar sus diferencias culturales*' (The right of peoples to express their cultural differences is at stake). This argument comes from a different discourse: it seems to recur to 'language as a right' discourse (Ruíz, 1984) which can hardly be problematised in the case of dominant European languages mentioned in the text. What the speaker does with this move is equating cultural expression to mother tongue used. This is a reductionist view of cultural expression that essentialises the link between culture and language. Rather than advocacy for multilingualism and cross-cultural understanding, this article is an attempt to gain some of the space that has been occupied by English in international affairs and the economy for other languages.

Because multilingualism collocated with *cultura* (as listed in Table 7-1), numerous informative extracts from texts were expected. However, it needs to be kept in mind that many of these co-occurrences were due to these concepts being mentioned in relation to Androulla Vassilliou, the European commissioner for education, culture, multilingualism and the youth between 2010 and 2014. Each time this politician appeared in the news and her title was mentioned in a story, the terms would co-occur. However, in a text from 7 April, 2014 published on Terra.cl a meaningful representation in terms of multilingualism and culture link was identified: here, the commissioner is mentioned in relation to the EU's efforts to strengthen their cultural diplomacy beyond the borders of the union. The point of it is as follows: '*compartamos con otros países (nuestros) valores y nuestra cultura europea*' (that we share (our) values and our European culture). In this direct quote of the commissioner, culture becomes a component of international diplomacy and, at the

same time, the commonality of values around the culture is constructed for its 28 member-countries.

Concordance lines of the collocate pair *multilinguismo* and *estimular* (Figure 7-11) showed some examples of the link between multilingualism and cultural diversity. The extracts focus on the UN's initiative to promote both. In addition to these, the article refers to parity in use of the official languages within the organisation. These concordance lines constituted a positive representation of multilingualism and cultural diversity due to the prestige of the UN as a world-known organisation. The articles presented here are rather informative than evaluative: among the UNESCO's efforts to change the situation only the celebration of the mother tongue day was mentioned, and it is not clear how the equality among the working languages of the UN is to be achieved.

1	seis idiomas oficiales de la organización multilateral. Naciones Unidas lanzó hoy una iniciativa para estimular el multilingüismo y la diversidad cultural, además de promover la paridad de los seis idiomas oficiales de la
2	de siglo. por EFE - 19/02/2010 - 18:05 La ONU anunció que desarrollará una serie de iniciativas para estimular el multilingüismo y la paridad de los seis idiomas oficiales de la organización multilateral. La ONU anunció que
3	oficiales de la organización multilateral. La ONU anunció que desarrollará una serie de iniciativas para estimular el multilingüismo y la paridad de los seis idiomas oficiales de la organización multilateral. Naciones Unidas lanzó hoy

Figure 7-11 Collocate pair multilingüísmo and estimular

Collocate pair *diversidad linguistica* and *promover* (to promote) showed similar findings to those above. The news stories in concordance lines below (Figure 7-12) report on the international day of the mother tongue and the effort to promote the use of mother tongues. This initiative exists to tackle the problem of languages in danger of extinction. The material verbal processes that describe the event create a 'hopeful' feel to it: *pretende poner en relieve* (tries to highlight), *resulta esencial alentar el pleno respeto hacia el uso* (it is essential to encourage respect for the use). These, along with *promover,* make up a discourse of encouragement of the use of mother tongues. It is a salient discourse in online news as the review of literature has demonstrated (see 3.2 and 3.5.1).

1	en países como Paraguay y Hungría o en el continente africano. El Día Internacional de la Lengua Materna pretende poner de relieve la importancia que reviste la diversidad lingüística y **promover** el uso de los idiomas maternos. EFE miércoles, 20 de febrero de 2008 12:39 Universidad Mayor realiza el concurso interescolar
2	promueve el Año Internacional de los Idiomas contra riesgo extinción El Día Internacional de la Lengua Materna pretende poner de relieve la importancia que reviste la diversidad lingüística y **promover** el uso de los idiomas maternos. PARÍS.- La Organización de la ONU para la Educación, la Ciencia y la Cultura (Unesco) lanzará
3	del país. La movilización coincidió con la celebración del Día Internacional de la Lengua Materna, instaurado por la Unesco cada 19 de febrero para **promover** la diversidad lingüística, cultural y el plurilingüismo. Según el organismo de la ONU las lenguas son vehículos de transmisión de los sistemas de valores y de las expresiones
4	en un documento que presentó en París que "resulta esencial alentar el pleno respeto hacia el uso de la lengua matera en la enseñanza y el aprendizaje y **promover** la diversidad lingüística Uno de los casos que se destacan es Honduras, donde el 94% del alumnado de sexto de primaria que era educado en su idioma, había adquirido

Figure 7-12 Collocation pair diversidad linguistica and promover

In the third extract in Figure 7-12, *diversidad lingüística* appears as the direct object of *promover* along with cultural diversity and plurilingualism. This suggests that the cultural and the linguistic are closely tied: they complement each other. Plurilingualism is also mentioned in connection with linguistic diversity: linguistic diversity refers to societal multilingualism, while plurilingualism refers to individuals' ability to speak many languages. Interestingly, this extract also defines languages as vehicles of the transmission of value systems: this representation is similar to the representation of Selk'nam language as an 'exotic' variety in 6.2.2. It highlights the value of languages beyond communication and this argument is used in the article to justify the need to protect languages from decline.

Another common theme mentioned in the last expanded concordance is education. Here, a point in favour of education in the mother tongue is made and the story refers to the example of Honduras as a successful case where the vast majority of sixth-graders successfully learnt how to read thanks to being educated in their mother tongue. However, it is not clear from the full text (published on Latercera.com on 19.02.2016) whether it is mere coincidence that the mother tongue of the students is the same as the official language of the nation-state or the government of Honduras makes an effort to provide education in minoritised languages. Section 7.5 addresses the theme of multilingualism in education in detail.

7.5 Multilingualism and education

Several collocates suggest a trend to represent multilingualism as related to the sphere of education: Table 7-4 shows all education-related collocates for the lemma BILING*. In fact, the theme of education returned the highest number of collocates, which suggests this is the most salient multilingualism-related theme in the corpus of Chilean online news. This is perhaps not surprising, because in western nation-states

a common way of becoming multilingual is through formal schooling where ideologies of monolingualism and standard language are spread (as discussed in 2.3.4), and the population is homogenised to fit in the uniform imaginary of the nation-state (e.g. PEIB as a tool of castilianisation indigenous peoples in Latin America). As discussed in section 1.2, language education policies of Chile follow this model. In the specific context of Chile, the salience of education theme is due to its long-established status in the Chilean curriculum; in fact, foreign language education is obligatory. At the same time, indigenous language education is not, and it is only offered to students of indigenous origin in schools with significant numbers of indigenous students (MINEDUC, 2017).

Educational system and programmes	Institutions	Individuals	General terms	Activities	Learning processes	Evaluation, purposes and results
PEIB EIB Intercultural Programa(s) Proyecto Plan Sistemas Educación inicial	Colegios privados Jardines infantiles Escuela(s) Liceo Colegio(s) MINEDUC	Educadores Alumnos Profesora	Enseñanza Aprendizaje Educación Educativo(as)	Pruebas Clases	Aprenden Aprendido Practicar Suelen ejercitar	Alfabetización Consecuencias Formación Formar Nivel

Table 7-4 Collocates of BILING: education theme*

Indeed, the analysis of downsampled texts showed the top-down character of minoritised languages education in Chile. Appendix 13 presents a story on the advances in minoritised languages teacher training: 'thirty traditional educators and teachers' (*educadores y educadoras tradicionales y docentes*) were certified to work teaching Rapa Nui, Aimara, Quechua and Mapudungun by the MINEDUC. The article highlights MINEDUC's efforts to incorporate these languages into state education via formal mechanisms (*capacitaciones, certificaciones*) and MINEDUC here is represented as a central player along with its authoritative social actors (*seremi* – regional ministerial secretary). Use of passive voice construes the teachers as passive participants in the news story.

A similar representation of the MINEDUC and its minister was identified in a story titled 'Minister Lavín announces that Rapa Nui student will have classes in their

native language'[113] (Agencia UPI, 2011b). The change is presented to the reader as the exclusive initiative of the MINEDUC, who is also construed as the enabler of new language policies in Rapa Nui schools, as they are the ones who made it possible financially. At the same time, it only becomes clear later in the article that the change affects only primary school and some preschool children (*1o a 4o básico y algunos de prebásica*). Another exception is maths and Spanish lessons which are to be taught in both Spanish and Rapa Nui; this is justified by the need 'not to lose the contents that are evaluated by the Simce[114] test' (*para así no perder contenidos que son evaluados en la prueba Simce*). This statement implies that teaching in children's mother tongue means a loss of knowledge and fails to recognise the limitations of national testing system to evaluate progress in students' mother tongues. This representation reinforces the subtractive bilingualism model as it suggests that Rapa Nui can only be used at basic levels of education and only for some subjects.

One sub-theme in Table 7-4 contains words referring to educational programmes related to language education. In addition to generic educational terminology (programme, project, plan, systems, basic education), salient were references to the intercultural bilingual education programme (intercultural, EIB and PEIB). Therefore, not only foreign language education is related to the construction of multilingualism in the media, but indigenous languages are also present in the national curriculum and get coverage in online news.

Regarding the institutions associated with multilingualism, collocates returned almost all existing educational establishments: schools (*escuelas, colegios*), lyceum and kindergartens. MINEDUC appears among collocates too: this was an expected finding because the ministry plays an important role in decision-making regarding language education on the national level. Then, preschool and school education are key in the representation of bilingualism in Chile: these are the sites where the bilingual condition can be achieved. Because like in other countries in Latin America, PEIB is implemented in primary education in Chile, bilingualism in minoritised languages cannot be associated with preschool and secondary school education. These stages are associated with 'elite' bilingualism (de Mejía, 2002), that is bilingualism in Spanish and English. As collocate analysis did not show any

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[113] Full text in Appendix 14.
[114] Simce is the national system of evaluation of learning outcomes that since 1988 externally evaluates achievements of Chilean students in maths, Spanish, natural sciences, history, English, geography and social sciences and physical education.

associations of bilingualism with family in online news, it can be said that in Chile, school is the only institution where an individual can become bilingual.

A group of collocates that relate to the process in acquisition of bilingualism within the educational system support this argument: the social actors that participate in it are educators (*educadores*), pupils (*alumnos*) and teacher (*profesora*); in general terms it is teaching (*enseñanza*) and learning (*aprendizaje*) that takes place through activities such as classes (*clases*) and tests (*pruebas*). The processes that describe these activities are *aprenden* (they learn), *aprendido* (learnt), *practicar* (to practice), *suelen*, (they tend to) and *ejercitar* (exercise). This draws a picture of a standard educational environment and the same procedures used in classrooms for any subjects and learning outcomes.

The last column in Table 7-4 includes collocates under the umbrella of purposes, results and evaluation of education which could tentatively give a more detailed picture of how bilingualism is represented. Because the meaning of these is not clear without the context, concordances and excerpts from full texts are presented below.

As a purpose of bilingual education, the noun *formación* appeared among the collocates of BILING*. This word is often used in Spanish in relation to education as an act of shaping or training, in this case, of bilingual children (Figure 7-13). The use of this term in relation to young children (lines 1 and 2 focus on children that attend kindergartens) suggests a very structured and restricted way of reaching a bilingual condition.

1	unny Side. Y es que es el único bajo la administración municipal del país que entrega **formación** bilingue y que hoy fue inaugurado en Hualpén. Son 112 niños los que asisten al jardín infantil Sunny Sid
2	o a que se potencian las habilidades a una temprana edad, contribuyendo a la **formación** de niños bilingües. En el mercado chileno la oferta de servicios o actividades para niños menores de 3 años es mu
3	comprende 21 países y que fue realizada por el Programa de **Formación** en Educación Intercultural Bilingüe para los Países Andinos, resolvió que la mayor cantidad de pueblos aborígenes se concentra en B

Figure 7-13 Bilingual children as a goal: collocation pair BILING* and formación

Interestingly, Extracts 1 and 2 that deal with Chilean context specifically do not mention what languages Chilean children acquire in the process of education. It was necessary to look at the whole texts to see that in both cases the language acquired

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was English. The way that bilingualism in English and Spanish is often discursively framed in Chilean online news is that the language pairs are not made explicit, but it is instead assumed that bilingual means speaking Spanish and English. Discursively, this is achieved by absences of names of languages in news texts and a general presupposition that (1) children of readers are monolingual in Spanish and (2) parents want them to learn English.

The third extract in Figure 7-13 is an exception from this pattern: here the two words co-occurred in the name of an organisation dedicated to the research of issues related indigenous peoples in the Andes and teaching of intercultural bilingual education. It is related to the PEIB and EIB programmes listed in Table 7-4.

Most of the examples of collocate *consecuencias* were sorted under the theme of health advantages in a predominantly positive light but one interesting example where the consequences of bilingual education plans in Puerto Rico are discussed presented a view on bilingual education that contradicts this positive representation of bilingualism. An article titled '*Editorial española SM preocupada por consecuencias planes bilingüismo P. Rico*' (Terra.cl, 22 June 2012) presents arguments against educational programmes of bilingualism implemented in Puerto Rico. Remarkably, these are expressed by the chief director of the Spanish editorial that publishes books in Spanish for Puerto Rican schools. Obviously, there is an economic interest involved when a change in educational language policy affects the demand for books in Spanish as well as the costs involved in adapting the business to English.

Upon examining the whole text, the actor gives the following arguments to highlight why bilingual programmes might have negative consequences for the students. Firstly, the main actor in the story states that for monolingual children, it is better to acquire a new language once his/her mother tongue is fully developed. According to him, such bilingual programmes can slow down the acquisition of mother tongue and hinder the acquisition of the second language. He claims some studies confirm this. However, he names no specific studies to support the argument. At the same time, without even knowing the content of those studies, this argument presents several internal inconsistencies: (1) by the time children start formal education, their language must be fully developed to be accepted into a school under the majority educational programme; (2) the author disregards studies that advocate for the

earliest possible acquisition of a second language. The argument is affected by monolingual ideologies and the ideology of standard language (see 2.3.4).

This representation of bilingualism is driven by resistance to policies challenging monolingual ideologies and by economic interests around the use of dominant languages. This article is also a good example of the economic value (discussed in 2.4.3) that languages represent for actors in some industries[115], in this case, editorial business. This is also a good illustration of the power struggle for domination among two already dominant languages, which creates an impression that bilingualism is to a certain extent impossible and complicates things rather than facilitating and diversifying. This representation is a rather one-sided view of bilingualism and, unlike other representations that are quite positive.

Figure 7-14 shows concordances of the collocation pair BILING* and *alfabetización* (literacy). The news story reports on UNESCO Prize given to Mexico's bilingual literacy programmes. These programmes target illiterate indigenous populations and Mexico. It is not clear if the programmes are successful because they are bilingual, or it is the fact that the instructors are fluent in the indigenous languages that the target populations speak. Because literacy is achieved through formal schooling, a state institution, the government's failure to provide education in mother tongue is disregarded in this news story. Without a doubt, this programme is beneficial for its participants, but this story represents monolingualism in indigenous languages as illiteracy. While literacy is usually a result of formal schooling, the unavailability of state education in indigenous languages can hardly be blamed on indigenous peoples.

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[115] Moreno Cabrera (2008) calls Spanish language '*la compañera del imperio económico*' (p. 167) [the companion of the economic empire]: indeed, Instituto Cervantes mentions other profitable domains for Spanish, such as international commerce and teaching Spanish as a foreign language (Instituto Cervantes, 2018a).

1	http://rbb.cl/8ewv 1 2 3 4 5 UNESCO entregará premio a México por programas de **alfabetización** bilingües UNESCO entregará premio a México por programas de alfabetización bilingües Publicado
2	as de alfabetización bilingües UNESCO entregará premio a México por programas de **alfabetización** bilingües Publicado por Agencia AFP La UNESCO entregará el próximo jueves el premio Rey Sejong
3	Nacional para la Educación de los Adultos de México (INEA) por sus programas de **alfabetización** bilingües en preámbulo de una conferencia internacional que tendrá lugar en la India. La entrega de

Figure 7-14 Concordance lines: alfabetización and bilingüe

This representation also offers a very rigid understanding of literacy is: equating it with the ability to read and write in the state language excludes all other kinds of knowledge from the spectrum and dismisses the profound differences regarding this issue between the nation-state and minoritised language speakers (as discussed in 2.3.4). This representation inevitably associates minoritised languages with illiteracy. It disregards the perceived problems of standardisation of indigenous languages (see 1.2 for discussion of indigenous literacy) and the fact that for many indigenous peoples reading and writing in their mother tongues is a meaningless social practice because it originated in a different cultural tradition (Závala, 2014).

Another common collocate of BILING* was *nivel* (level) which was placed into the evaluation category because the examination of concordance lines (see Figure 7-15) showed attempts to assess bilingualism.

y precisó que "en 10 años queremos tener un buen **nivel"** bilingüe. Comenzó la "English Week", iniciativa para promover el
y precisó que "en 10 años queremos tener un buen **nivel"** bilingüe. Educación Latinoamérica Ministerio de Educación Chile
tres años y las utilizan diariamente. El segundo lo integraban los bilingües tardíos y de **nivel** más bajo, que aprendieron el vasco
Sólo un tercio de los egresados de colegios privados no bilingües tiene **nivel** aceptable de inglés Es el diagnóstico de la
. .Sólo un tercio de los egresados de colegios privados no bilingües tiene **nivel** aceptable de inglés | Media | LA TERCERA
7 mar 2016 13h58 actualizado a las 14h07 comentarios No ser bilingües, o no tener un **nivel** decente de inglés, generará
de Internet; e idiomas, tanto a **nivel** de pueblo originario como de bilingüismo. El cuestionario debe ser respondido en su totalidad
de este idioma, 20% nivel medio, 20% **nivel** básico y sólo un 10% bilingüismo."Hoy, la mayoría de los cargos TI requiere dominio del
y del mismo sexo, e idiomas, tanto a **nivel** indígena como de bilingüismo. A través del Censo, el INE busca actualizar las
quieren más castellano. Tenemos que asegurarnos de que hay bilingüismo", dijo un asesor de alto **nivel** del presidente Mariano
con los menores que manejaban sólo un idioma. El **nivel** de bilingüismo de los pequeños fue informado por los progenitores,

Figure 7-15 Level of bilingualism: collocate pair BILING and nivel*

The presence of English in the concordance lines is overwhelming. The first two draw on the government's plan of becoming a bilingual country and the associated initiatives such as the English Week organised by MINEDUC. Both concordances cite Rodrigo Fábrega, the director of the programme '*Inglés abre puertas'*, who is using the deictic *queremos* (we want) sets the deadline for the acquisition of English within ten years. Other concordance lines also discuss the level of English in Chile's private

schools and criticise the results of such non-bilingual education: the story suggests only a third of students has an acceptable level of English. These extracts expose the assumption that private schools have better results in English, an illustration of Chile's social class divide in terms of access to better education: this article might have appeared in the news due to the unexpectedness of such bad results.

Another concordance line concerns *nivel decente* (decent level) of English. Along with such abstract references, some quantification in form of percentages and fractions is also present in the discussion of bilingualism. The phrase '*tenemos que asegurarnos de que hay bilinguismo*' (we need to make sure that there is bilingualism) suggests a binary understanding of linguistic ability as across two poles: presence or absence of bilingualism. This finding is similar to findings about the communicative value of languages in 5.3.2 where numerical representations of languages become a powerful tool in the construction of dominant languages; e.g. as Spanish is often discussed in terms of numbers of speakers in public discourses (Moreno Cabrera, 2008; Paffey, 2012).

While these are clearly attempting to measure the bilingual condition of individuals and the country as a whole, the tools used to measure it are also mentioned in the corpus: references to surveys (*cuestionario*) and population census (*censo*). The problematic nature of the use of large-scale surveys and census data for language planning and policy decision making has long been highlighted in the literature (Edwards, 2012), but this is still the most common reference used by the media to inform the readers about the sociolinguistic situation in Chile.

The concordance line on 2012 population census in Chile listed languages as one of the points of interest in the following way: '*e idiomas, tanto a nivel indígena como de bilingüísmo*' (Terra.cl, 26 nov 2011). The word *nivel* here is used to draw a line between linguistic competence in indigenous languages and bilingualism. This differentiation suggests that bilingual ability is understood as competence in languages other than indigenous. Because this was not further explained in the full text and the news story here quotes a regional director of *Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas* (INE), this discursive representation of bilingualism is the government's view on bilingualism and indigenous languages. What languages one has to speak to be bilingual is not clear from the context, but the national policy of bilingualism by 2030 (MINSEGPRES, MINEDUC and MINEC, 2014) suggests it is the level of

English that interests the government. This goes in hand with the elite bilingualism model adopted in Chile's educational system.

The collocation pair of BILING* and PEIB/EIB disrupts the picture of elite multilingualism that collocate analysis findings have so far suggested. Because EIB usually refers to similar bilingual education programmes in indigenous languages in the whole of Latin America region, these are not discussed in detail here. However, they set a comparative background and show how successful Chile is in comparison to the neighbouring countries in this matter. In brief, news stories name Bolivia and Ecuador as the most successful executors of this programme. Figure 7-16 presents concordance lines with references to PEIB, the term used in Chile. News stories presented here report on updates regarding the developments of the programme. Some of them are quite positive as in Extract 1, which reports on a new software developed by Microsoft and MINEDUC to facilitate the learning of Mapudungun. Others report on the northern part of Chile and the incorporation of PEIB for the Aimara language there. Extract 2 contains some information from the PEIB implementation policy, which sets a benchmark of at least 20% of indigenous students for a school to offer PEIB. Therefore, the PEIB is only available in schools with high numbers of indigenous students, which does not make it widely accessible.

```
1        para preservar la cultura de los pueblos de origen, Microsoft y el
Programa de Educación Intercultural Bilinge (PEIB) del Ministerio de Educación
de Chile, desarrollaron el software en mapunzugun de Windows
2        Educación agregó este año a 18 establecimientos de Arica al Programa de
Educación Intercultural Bilingüe (PEIB), que en la zona significa la enseñanza de la
lengua aymara. El incremento se debió a que [deben incorporar el programa si
tienen mas de 20% de estudiantes indigena]
3         chilenas en materia de educación para con los pueblos indígenas, es la
Educación Intercultural Bilingüe (PEIB) llevada a cabo en las escuelas desde hace
ya 20 años, y en donde se han obtenido pésimos
4        a (S. Educación) La asignatura de Lengua Indígena Aymara del Programa
de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe (PEIB), del Ministerio de Educación, deberá
ser impartida desde este año, durante 4 horas seman
```

Figure 7-16 Concordance lines: PEIB in Chile

Only extract 3 contains evaluative language in the assessment of PEIB results in Chile: it states that although the programme was established 20 years ago, it has had *pésimos resultados* (disastrous results) which means not just bad but that these could not be worse.

Having examined the whole article that reflects the students' movement stance on issues of education and indigenous peoples, it was clear that they concluded that the programme is highly ineffective as '*hasta el momento no han logrado ningún niño o niña hablante del Mapuzugun y probablemente no lo logre en los años que vienen*' (ElCiudadano.cl, 7 jun 2016). This statement is quite critical, unlike other concordance lines that merely describe the updates about the programme. This concordance line gives an objective look at the state of affairs in indigenous language and culture education. Researchers of PEIB in Chile share this view (Riedemann Fuentes, 2008; Lagos Fernández, 2013; Lagos Fernández, Espinoza and Rojas, 2013; Lepe-Carrión, 2015; Rojas, Lagos Fernández and Espinoza, 2016).

Turning to higher education and multilingualism, no statistically significant collocates in this theme where identified for lemma BILING*. However, *universidad* (university) collocated with multilingualism specifically and the examination of concordances showed that this is due to the research of multilingualism carried out at universities. The collocation is due to the presence of the word 'multilingualism' in the names of academic departments outside Chile that research the topic. This is another manifestation that the media report on advances in scientific research about multilingualism.

7.6 What multilingualism is not: representations of monolingualism

Because in the previous sections it was not possible to establish whether Chile was represented as a multilingual country, this section examines the construction of monolingualism in the corpus of Chilean news through examination of concordance lines of the lemma MONOLING* (see Appendix 22).

Who was depicted in the corpus as monolingual? A wide range of nouns in an L1 (first to the left) position that referred to different social groups preceded the adjective *monolingüe* in the corpus. This was the most frequent type of noun that was described as monolingual. These included references to *individuos* (individuals) by age group (*bebés, niños, adultos mayores*), as subjects of studies (*pacientes, participantes, pares, grupos, estudiantes*) and by their ethnic or national features (*mexicanos, indígenas*). Interestingly, *mexicanos* were also in the list of collocates for the lemma BILING* which gives a contradictory representation of the group but also suggests there are conflicting discourses in the corpus. This may be due to greater

linguistic diversity and wider recognition of indigenous peoples in Mexico than in Chile. Overall, the examination of social actors' sub-theme of collocates suggests that monolingualism is frequently constructed as a characteristic of individuals or small groups (as in references to research subjects).

Less frequently, the adjective *monolingüe* co-occurred with nouns that relate to geographical entities: *país* (country) and *territorios* (territories). This suggests that monolingualism can be a feature of nation-states, in line with the ideology of monolingualism. The fact that countries are less frequently framed as monolingual than individuals is a finding in itself. It suggests that the media tend to discuss monolingualism on the level of individuals more frequently than on the level of society which, to some extent, means that the responsibility for the monolingual condition is placed on the individual rather than the state. It normalises monolingualism without critically examining its cause: such representations are ideological in that they misrecognise the fact that due to nation-state's homogenising policies multilingualism is eliminated and is construed as problematic. Uncommon examples where the countries are labelled as monolingual represented a resisting discourse to the dominant. One of the few examples where Chile was labelled as one such monolingual country is quoted in the expanded concordance below:

> este siglo y, con ellas, la mayoría de los conocimientos que aún guardan sus culturas milenarias. La mayoría de éstas se concentran en pocos países, algunos con la imagen de ser **territorios monolingües.** Tal es el caso de Chile, donde el idioma oficial –y por tanto la única lengua de enseñanza obligatoria- es el español, a pesar de reconocer la Ley Indígena la existencia de ocho "etnias"
> ElCuidadano.cl, 24 March 2009, LaTercera.com, 22 March 2015

The extract suggests that Chile has a monolingual image when, in fact, there are other ethnic groups present in the country. This is one example when Chile was explicitly constructed as a monolingual country, while in most other cases it is implied in the wording. This extract points to the contradictions in this image and in doing so highlights inconsistencies (conjunction *a pesar de* creates this rhetorical effect) in the ideology of monolingualism as reflected in different domains within nation-states. These are monolingual education (*la unica lengua de enseñanza obligatoria es el español*) and the law that recognises indigenous ethnicities but does nothing to ensure the presence of indigenous languages in the public sphere. This again

demonstrates how schooling is a powerful institution that moulds the citizens to be participants of the status quo with its implicit values and ideologies.

Another example of this came up in the data; the extract below illustrates the co-occurrence between *escuela* (school) and *monolingue*:

> , seca el agua de los pozos, nos quita los bosques y los remedios que usan nuestras ñaña (mujeres mapuche), impide el traspaso del idioma mapuche de madres a hijas a través de la **escuela monolingüe,** y ahora vienen a celebrar a la mujer mapuche …". Curinao atribuyó a un interés de "utilizar las mentes de la gente, una utilización mediática de la historia originaria", los actos que el gobierno
>
> ElCiudadano.cl, 03 September 2008

Here, the educational system is blamed for the intergenerational loss of Mapudungun. The accumulation figure of speech was used here to argue the point forcefully: monolingual school is just one of the wrongs that the Mapuche people endure within the Chilean state. The quote also highlights the meaningless nature of tokenistic celebrations organised in Chile; in this case, the celebration of the indigenous woman is the topic of the story. Here, the event that celebrates the Mapuche women is perceived as a farce, a false attempt to empower the minoritised group without changing the power dynamics.

Another critical view on societal monolingualism was given to refute the salient idea that the US is a monolingual country:

> . Este tipo de ataques verbales de Trump azuzan el movimiento del "English only" , que busca reducir el español a categoría de idioma extraño y ajeno, cuando, de hecho, Estados Unidos "no es un **país monolingüe"**, dijo a Efe Phillip M. Carter, profesor de Lingüística e Inglés de la Universidad Internacional de Florida (FIU). Lo cierto es que comentarios "dañinos" como el vertido por Trump,
>
> Terra.cl, 5 September 2015

The news story here uses a quotation of a language expert, linguistics professor Carter, to elicit the argument. The direct quote was used in this case to make the statement more convincing to the readers. As in the case of Chile, this wording suggests that the statement attempts to break the conventional thinking that the US is a monolingual country. The linguist cited in the extract refers to Trump's

comments[116] as 'damaging' and triggering movements such as 'English only'. Overall, this is a negative representation of monolingualism.

Two other less frequent nouns that were described as monolingual were *modelo* (model) and *políticas* (policies). These nouns describe the organisation of the nation-state. The extract below talks about the case of Argentina, that like Chile adopted a monolingual and monocultural model in its nation-building process. It is noted that despite the dominance of this model, 32 indigenous languages only *perviven* (survive):

> de 600.000 personas se reconocen como pertenecientes a pueblos indígenas"
> argentinos o lo son en primera generación. Consideró que en su país se mantuvo
> tras la colonización europea un **modelo "monolingüe** y monocultual" a lo largo
> de la segunda mitad del siglo XIX hasta la actualidad, en la que perviven 32
> lenguas indígenas agrupadas en 13 familias. Ese es el triste panorama actual de
>
> Terra.cl, 22 September 2011

Such framing points to the fact that within this model, languages are in a situation of survival. An evaluative '*triste'* (sad) was used to describe the prospects of minoritised languages within a monolingual model. In a similar vein, *politicas* (policies) is also an academic term in the same field. Expanded concordances below present Chile's language policies as discriminatory:

1	. Esto es así porque tradicionalmente Chile ha tenido una política lingüística etnocida respecto de sus lenguas originarias así como respecto de los pueblos que las hablan. Su política **pública monolingüe** de castellanización ha visto equivocadamente al mapuzugun como un problema, como un sinónimo de retraso y barbarie que es necesario asimilar y desplazar en favor del castellano.
2	de peligro de extinción de la lengua mapuche producto de las políticas del Estado . Ya que, según señala: "desde la colonización del territorio mapuche por parte del Estado se impusieron **políticas monolingües** y discriminatorias hacia el Mapuzugun y sus hablantes". Asimismo, la organización reconoce la necesidad e importancia de hacer valer el marco jurídico chileno y aplicar, plenamente, el

Figure 7-17 Expanded concordance lines: pólíticas monolingües

Extract 1 gives a good illustration of how monolingual ideology constructs minoritised languages and multilingualism: *como un problema* (as a problem), *sinonimo de retraso y barbarie* (synonym of backwardness and barbarity). Such representations of minoritised languages justify the choice of a dominant language and the abandonment of, in this case, Mapudungun. Nevertheless, these extracts criticise the

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[116] Examination of the full text showed that Trump's comment discussed here is about 'giving an example and speaking English while in the US'.

monolingual policies of the Chilean state. Interestingly, these extracts were published in ElCiudadano.cl, a non-mainstream medium engaged in social activism, and Latercera.com, a conservative newspaper. Indeed, Chilean language policies can be characterised as of benign neglect (see 1.2 for details) where minoritised languages are left to their own devices while linguistic policies are nearly inexistent (Leclerc, 2015).

7.7 Summary

In conclusion, the objective of this chapter was to explore how multilingualism and other multilingual linguistic practices are represented in Chilean online media. Quantitative analysis has shown that bilingualism is the term that is most widely discussed in the news even though it is not central to sociolinguistics any longer. Indeed, this term dominated discourse around multilingual practices in the news while others were significantly less frequent. It is worth mentioning that none of the recently coined terms in sociolinguistics, such as translanguaging, metrolingualism, polylingualism and others, were identified in the corpus of news. This can be explained by the incompatibility between the complexity of these notions and their manifestations and the nature of online news. Because the term bilingualism was the first coined in academic research, it might be the case that Chilean public is more familiar with it than others.

Overall, in their tendency to provide a simple and palatable picture of the world to the audience, the media fail to cover the wide range of multilingual practices and competences that can be observed in multilingual societies. Although such representations are not unique to media discourses, they present multilingualism as a collection of rigidly separated languages in one's repertoire which reinforces the rationalist approach to language and communication. Such discourses can negatively affect people's ideas about what counts as multilingualism which in turn can reflect in survey data. This is particularly relevant to reports on minoritised languages proficiency, where survey data is of interest and can be used to inform new language policies.

In terms of the discursive construction of the terms in the corpus, it must be said that bilingualism is predominantly construed as an individual characteristic, while multilingualism is rather represented as a societal phenomenon albeit with a few

exceptions. At the same time, linguistic diversity exclusively describes societies in the corpus of news. Unlike bilingualism, it is closely linked to cultural diversity in news reporting.

It is striking that bilingualism in the Chilean media tends to be construed as a characteristic of individuals because in official discourses is construed as a collective national goal. Nevertheless, the responsibility for becoming bilingual is passed onto individual citizens of the country. Such discourses have faults of internal logics as nation-state ideology worked hard over centuries to create an imaginary of nationals as monolingual subjects. A radical change in official discourses on bilingualism seems to be taking place in media discourse; bilingualism seems to have become a valuable individual characteristic in the Chilean context if it does not disrupt the monolingual nation-state. Clearly, such non-disruptive bilingualism is covertly represented as competence in Spanish and English. This yet again leaves out the minoritised languages of Chile.

At the same time, the qualitative analysis showed that bilingualism, multilingualism and linguistic diversity were generally positively evaluated. Only on some occasions, societal multilingualism was construed as problematic. These representations were often subtle and implicit. Discourses around societal multilingualism predominantly emerge in political discourses while discourse about bilingualism in individuals develops around research findings from the field of linguistics and opinions of academic experts in the field of linguistics. Other actors that appear in the discussion of multilingualism include political authorities (the European commissioner) and international organisations (like the UN, UNICEF). In terms of generic references to individuals, the collocate analysis showed that the news focuses on younger generations and the elderly. This is because the main concern in the news reporting is with the early development of bilingualism and the cognitive effects that it has on older people.

Turning to the themes that emerged in connection to multilingualism, the most salient were culture, education and the medical theme. In terms of the medical theme, bilingualism is overwhelmingly represented as advantageous for cognitive health at an older age, in line with a similar study on representations of multilingualism in the British press (Jaworska and Themistocleous, 2017). The representation of health benefits for the elderly was prominent in the corpus: a third of all collocates of

bilingualism appeared in texts that drew on studies into effects of speaking a second language on the development of Alzheimer and dementia. This representation was mostly positive and focused on bilingual condition as a phenomenon without references to any specific languages or countries and in that sense did not contribute to the depiction of Chile and Chileans as bilinguals or otherwise. These representations clearly construct bilingualism at an individual level.

Although some studies demonstrated health benefits of participating in indigenous language programmes (Whalen, Moss and Baldwin, 2016), such as palliative effects on substance abuse and a general improvement of physical and mental health, findings presented in this chapter do not indicate that this is the case for indigenous languages in Chile. This might be explained by the recency of the study's findings or by the differences in circumstances of the indigenous peoples in North America (Whalen, Moss and Baldwin's study) and Chile.

Regarding the education theme, bilingualism is represented almost like a school subject, a goal to be reached via conventional school activities. Other ways of becoming multilingual are overlooked in online news. School is responsible for 'moulding' bilingual children. Frequent references to English suggest that the elite bilingualism is pursued in Chile's educational system even though the PEIB is also often mentioned in the corpus. Collocates showed there is a tendency to measure the bilingual capacity in school children, which suggests a certain degree of concern with their results. However, the representations of PEIB are very neutral and tend to inform about the new schools where it is implemented; no frequent evaluation of the success of PEIB can be found in the corpus. Therefore, proficiency in indigenous languages is not of interest to the media. In fact, one text quoted in this chapter blames monolingual national schooling for loss of Mapudungun. This demonstrates the general neglect towards the minoritised languages in the national education system in the country, and the media reporting reflect this. When educational policies around minoritised languages are tokenistic and do not hold language acquisition as a learning outcome, media discourses reflect this by absences of minoritised languages in discourses about bilingual education.

These findings resonate with Jaworska & Themistocleous's (2017) study that found that multilingualism is represented positively as long as it is linked to dominant or prestigious languages and is associated with prestigious institutions (formal

schooling) and economic advantages. While in their study the hierarchy of languages included 'prestigious' and 'non-prestigious' languages of Europe, in Chile English is at the top and the indigenous languages at the bottom. This representation is in line with subtractive bilingualism that disregards individuals' existing linguistic repertoire as well as construing the indigenous people as 'needing a remedy'. The absence of references to less dominant and prestigious languages is an indication that these are made invisible in the news and, hence, do not represent the same value as English and other dominant European languages.

The issue of literacy also came up in the corpus with quite a negative representation of monolingual speakers of indigenous languages as illiterate and 'remedied' by bilingual educational programmes. Although it is hard to deny the benefits of literacy in dominant languages for living in nation-states, such representations construct fundamental differences as deficiencies.

Examination of the culture-related collocates showed that linguistic diversity is almost equated to cultural diversity. When looking at the representations of multilingualism beyond Chile, the news reporting focuses on the UN's initiative of celebrating the mother tongue day. Because no concrete details are given on how this helps maintain linguistic diversity, it makes up a rather tokenistic image of this effort. Nevertheless, it serves to increase the visibility of minoritised languages.

The discourse of linguistic diversity in Chile also develops around the question of visibility. The representation of linguistic diversity in the corpus was dominated by aspirations for recognition of linguistic and cultural diversity in Chile. It somewhat answers the question of whether Chile is a multilingual country. At the moment, this is not the case, as the discourse around linguistic diversity alludes to a general lack of such in the country. On one occasion, Chile was explicitly labelled as monolingual, and no representations of Chile as a multilingual country were identified in the corpus. Linguistic diversity is made invisible as a result of a dominant ideology of monolingualism, and it is a matter of concern about indigenous languages of Chile. One representation of bilingualism in a news story on 2012 census gave a snapshot of the government's interpretation of bilingualism: speaking Spanish and an indigenous language is not considered bilingualism, as per discussed in section 7.5. This is evidence of the dominance of monolingual ideology when the linguistic

diversity in the nation-state is denied for the sake of maintaining the 'imagined' homogeneity.

In summary, very much like language policies in Chile, the media are very subtle in their ways of framing Chile as a monolingual country: the idea that transcends much talk about multilingualism and linguistic diversity is the image of Chile as a monolingual context. An alternative discourse of encouragement of linguistic diversity emerges in the corpus; this is achieved through the positive valorisation of multilingualism and linguistic diversity and presentation of their benefits.

Chapter 8. Conclusions

8.1 Introduction

This final chapter of the thesis highlights and summarises the main findings of the study. Therefore, the first two sections revisit the research questions and sub-questions proposed in 1.5. Sections 8.4 and 8.5 present the contribution of the thesis and the implications of the findings. The chapter concludes with the limitations of the study and directions for future research.

8.2 Research question one – representations of languages

The first research question asked: 'How languages of Chile are represented in the national online media?' This overarching question was divided into three sub-questions that were proposed to gather evidence of representation of languages in the Chilean media in terms of similarities, differences and the value attributed to the languages in the news quantitatively and qualitatively.

In response to this research question that was fundamental for the study, findings in Chapters Five and Six demonstrate that in general, the Chilean online news websites (1) represent languages as separate entities, commodities and practical tools, as well as markers of belonging to groups (ethnic, national, global) and, in doing so, (2) propagate dominant nationalist ideologies of languages.

More specifically, in response to sub-question 1.1, section 1.5 presented raw frequencies of references to each language to identify the proportion of each language in the news reporting on languages in the Chilean news. These illustrate the implicit value of languages because although the numbers do not evaluate languages explicitly, they demonstrate the significance of each language in the totality of online news reporting. Spanish was the most extensively represented in the corpus of Chilean news (see 5.1 for raw frequencies). Then, implicitly, Spanish is given the greatest value in the corpus of Chilean online news as it is the most prominent in quantitative terms. Because English was the second most frequently mentioned language in the corpus, its overall value is also implicitly construed as high. The overall value of Mapudungun was also high as references to it made up

almost the fifth part of references to languages in the corpus. However, other minoritised languages (Quechua, Aimara, Rapa Nui, Kawashkar, Yagan, Kunza and Huilliche) were significantly less frequent in which their overall value was implicitly construed as lesser in the news reporting.

In response to sub-question 1.2, both dominant and minoritised languages were associated with social actors and geographical places (countries, regions, cities). This means that all languages are represented as descriptors of people and places. However, the value attributed to them becomes visible thanks to different themes in their construal: for instance, section 6.3 showed that dominant languages are both quantitatively and qualitatively represented as commodities within the economy theme while minoritised languages do not appear associated with the economy.

In response to sub-question 1.3, I summarise the findings presented in Chapters Five and Six according to the theoretical framework of values of languages (see 2.4.1, 2.4.2 and 2.4.3). In terms of the communicative value of languages, only dominant languages, English and Spanish, are represented in Chilean news as tools of communication. This was established with both quantitative and qualitative tools of analysis. For example, the media often recur to quantification to illustrate the outstanding usefulness of Spanish for communication (see section 5.3.2). At the same time, minoritised languages are represented mainly via discourses of endangerment and loss of speakers. The most salient examples in representations of Rapa Nui, Kawashkar, Huilliche and Yagan in section 5.3.4 were references to extinction, rescue and documentation of languages. Another dimension of communicative value has to do with the representation of languages as spoken or written: here, similarly, minoritised languages are represented mainly as spoken languages as their associations with writing and reading were limited (see 5.4 for examples). As discussed in Chapter One, alphabetic written tradition as conceptualised in the West, is foreign to most indigenous languages of Latin America. Despite the efforts to standardise minoritised languages and create alphabets for them (see 1.2 for Mapudungun standardisation efforts), such practices are not widely accepted among the speakers, and, consequently, the media do not represent them as such, or use minoritised languages for news production. A clash of two different cultural paradigms can be observed here: indigenous cultures and their non-mainstream literacies are ignored within the western cultural tradition (Hornberger, 1996).

Representations of dominant languages as practical tools are widely common sensed and naturalised (see 5.2): these languages are present in all domains of use on the national and international levels, and this is reflected in the media as such prestigious domains of language use as film industry, publishing, education are numerically dominated by associations with Spanish and English. At the same time, the spaces for the use of minoritised languages in prestigious domains are lacking, and yet much is to be done to create such spaces and promote and legitimise their use in public spheres in Chile. For this, the use of minoritised languages needs to be normalised in the public space, and the first step is the creation of institutional language policy and planning that would establish the use of minoritised languages of Chile in public domains. As noted in 1.2, language policy and planning for minoritised languages are almost absent at the state level in Chile, and creation of language policies that would target the expansion of use could be beneficial for a substantial change in the situation of minoritised languages in Chile.

The data showed that discourses about the communicative value of language are closely linked with the perceptions of economic value (for instance, representations of English discussed in 5.3.1 and 5.3.2). Because some domains of communicative use of languages are economically profitable, languages often either represent commodities or add value to products. In terms of economic value, English and Spanish were vastly represented as commodities (see sections 6.3.1 and 6.3.2): they are languages associated with foreign language teaching, publishing, media, music and film industries. At the same time, minoritised languages of Chile are not construed as possessing economic value, even though some studies give evidence of symbolic use of Mapudungun in tourism (Maragliano, 2011; Skewes, Henríquez and Pilquimán, 2012).

The economic value of languages benefits only a few in Chile: because access to good education is defined by income, not everyone receives foreign language education that can ensure a level of English that would enable people to use it for business purposes. At the same time, the usefulness of English for work is clearly exaggerated in the news (see examples in 6.3.2), as Spanish is the region's lingua franca. The potential increase of the presence of foreign businesses in Chile hardly requires a national plan of bilingualism in Spanish and English by 2030 proposed by the right-wing conservative government in 2014. An excessive preoccupation with the competence in English in the Chilean news (see examples in 5.3.1) has to do with

the financial ambitions of the economically powerful circles in the country: the more people are linguistically enabled to participate in a globalised economy, the more gain it means for a few (Holborow, 2015).

As Bengoa (2018) argues, throughout history, Chile developed as a profoundly unequal society as 'behind every instance of its economic success, there is a trail of human disasters, sacrifices of thousands of people, environmental catastrophes and destroyed local communities' (2018, p. iii). The loss of languages of the indigenous peoples represents one of such sacrifices that have generally passed unnoticed. Given the lack of language policies to legitimise the use of minoritised languages in formal domains, the drawbacks of the PEIB and the increasing government's push to learn English, it seems that English might become the additional 'killer language' for minoritised languages in Chile. News exceeds at portraying its enormous communicative and economic value, and often in testimonies of the Mapuche, English comes up as a more necessary language than Mapudungun (see Lagos Fernández (2012), Rojas *et al.* (2016)). Because almost no monolinguals in indigenous languages remain in Chile, and Spanish is the language that allows integration and functionality in Chilean society, English is often portrayed as a booster of financial prosperity. It is as if nowadays speakers of minoritised languages are under pressure to choose between improving the proficiency in their mother tongue or learning English to achieve financial wellbeing. This tendency is not unique to Chilean context; to name a few, in Central and Eastern Europe younger generations prioritise English over minority languages (Prina, Smith and Molnar Sansum, 2019), 'more & earlier' approach is taken to teaching English in Mexico (Sayer, 2015) and language policies in Southeast Asia have similar effects on language use (Sercombe, 2019). Roux (2015) notes that in Colombia, English language educational policies are ideological in that they represent an outcome of outer economic forces which is not acknowledged or analysed critically by the state.

The conceptualisation of languages as commodities is a result of appropriation of neoliberal market logic, values and practices (Urla, 2012) into the understanding of languages and multilingualism. This view of languages and linguistic practices was reflected in the corpus by recurrent quantification of the 'size' of languages, i.e. the number of speakers (see 5.3.2 and 5.3.4), measurements of the level of competence and other often implicit evaluation of languages. While such view of languages benefits few powerful actors involved in 'language businesses' (language teaching

institutes, academies of language), it is not based on the principles of social equality and disregards linguistic diversity for the sake of inclusion of yet more individuals into the 'globalised market'. This is also an ideological move to position languages into hierarchies that enable this market of languages.

Findings in Chapter Six indicate that minoritised languages tend to have a stronger link with ethnic identity than dominant languages in Chilean online news. A clear example of this was the contrast in representations of Mapudungun and English in sections 6.2.1 and 6.2.3: Mapudungun with a strong association of the language to culture and the Mapuche people and English as lacking such value completely. At the same time, Chilean Spanish is represented as distinctive among many other varieties of Spanish (as discussed in 6.2.2): Chilean language experts attempt to refute ideas of its inappropriateness and evoke 'pride' of the national variety. However, the corpus contained more references to 'global' Spanish than to Chilean Spanish, and the former was not explicitly represented as pertinent to any particular ethnic or national group. Representations of global Spanish contributed significantly to the panhispanic discourse, which contained positive evaluations of expansion of Spanish and portrayed belonging to this large Spanish-speaking community as attractive for its speakers. Indeed, Spanish is construed as powerful and beautiful, a language one can be proud to speak. Then, I would argue that pluricentric Spanish serves the creation of a global community of speakers post-national in nature; in the construction of this global linguistic group pluricentric Spanish serves as its unifier, a 'pride' factor shared by all. This is an example of how nationalist ideologies can evolve to create worldwide 'imagined' communities.

An overarching finding for all languages in the corpus was their representation as separate or standalone entities meaning languages with strict boundaries from each other and, at times, separate from their speakers. Indeed, the media fail to recognise hybrid linguistic practices and view competence in languages as a binary between sufficient and insufficient. Considering examples of Chile's most endangered and extinct languages (e.g. Yagan, Kawashkar and Kakan discussed in 5.3.4) and revitalisation attempts reported in the news, it is striking to see how languages are objectified as museum-like objects independent from their speakers who are represented as passive actors in this process. At the same time, it is the state authorities such as the CONADI who are portrayed as the main initiators of revitalisation efforts (see examples in 5.3.4 and 6.2.3). Such news stories only serve

the dominant groups to make visible the top-down tokenistic efforts they undertake for minoritised peoples while often disregarding the grassroots movements and initiatives carried out by the indigenous activists themselves. Unfortunately, detaching languages from their speakers does not help understand the needs of minoritised groups, nor does it help reverse the ongoing language shift. Making state institutions the key players in issues of language revitalisation only reinforces their dominant position and portrays them in a positive light. Unlike in other Latin American countries where indigenous languages are utilised in nation-building (e.g. Mexico and Peru), minoritised languages remain excluded from the nation-state paradigm – they are not accepted as 'Chilean' but are rather 'ancestor' languages under 'protection and conservation' of the state. Absences of speakers of Yagan, Kawashkar, Huilliche, Rapa Nui, Mapudungun, Quechua and Aimara from news stories only help further reinforce the 'one nation – one language' model because whilst languages cannot speak for themselves, their speakers can use their languages to mark the difference and distort the imagined homogenous and uniform nation.

8.3 Research question two – representations of multilingualism

The second research question asked: 'How is multilingualism is constructed in Chile's online newspapers?'. This question was broken down into four sub-questions that I briefly answer below.

In response to sub-question 2.1, bilingualism remains the most widely covered phenomenon in the news, with references to bilingualism among individuals as most frequent. In response to sub-question 2.2, it is largely represented as an individual characteristic rather than a societal characteristic. In turn, multilingualism and linguistic diversity are construed in the news as societal phenomena (see findings in 7.3). Nevertheless, Chile is not represented as a bilingual or multilingual country: news that discusses linguistic diversity in Chile highlight the lack of its recognition from the state. This shows a clash between the government's push towards 'elite' bilingualism with an emphasis on English and its failure to recognise the 'folk' bilingualism with indigenous languages that is in place already. Again a view of multilingualism within the market logic dominates the Chilean online news because multilingualism is largely associated with dominant and, hence, 'marketable' languages (see 7.1 for list of languages) which answers the sub-question 2.3.

Without substantial changes in power relations in Chile, it is not possible to increase the visibility and revalorise minoritised languages and 'folk' multilingualism'; and an increase of the presence of resistant discourses in the media could lead to a more a critical examination and understanding of languages, multilingualism and language-related issues.

To conclude this summary of findings, I would like to stress the implicit, subtle, common-sense and taken-for-granted nature of representations of languages and multilingualism in the corpus of Chilean online news. As noted in 2.3.1, ideology is most powerful when it is embedded in texts in presuppositions, implicatures and other discursive moves, which impede a critical examination of what is not said. Many articles in the corpus only discussed languages and multilingualism in passing. For this reason, the analyses presented in the findings chapters often dealt with what is not said (for example, implicit understanding of multilingualism as speaking a language 'other than English' presented in 7.3). Although overall no 'shockingly' negative or positive representations of languages were identified in the Chilean online news, the dataset gave evidence of many explicit ways to ideologically frame languages: absences of names of languages in news reposting, extensive use of deixis without naming the corresponding social group, presupposing a common ground with the readers on understandings of 'bilingual education'. Such implicitness also lies in decisions in terms of language choice and how much coverage is given to each particular language; these are as important as is their metalinguistic representation. Finally, although language debates in Chile are not prominent, nor are they currently key social concerns, the dataset is a good demonstration of implicitness of language ideologies when they are widely accepted and well-established in society.

8.4 Contributions of the thesis

Essentially, this thesis is an exploratory study that presented descriptive and analytical findings that contribute to the fields of sociolinguistics and Latin American studies to the study of language ideology more specifically.

Firstly, the findings around representations of languages and multilingualism in Chile fill in the research gap outlined in 1.1 by looking at the issue of representations holistically and with a large dataset. While various researchers focus on specific

languages of Chile (e.g. Darío Rojas's work (2012, 2013, 2014; 2016) on language ideologies of Spanish and Mapudungun from a historical linguistics perspective, Lagos Fernández's work (2010, 2012) on minoritisation of Mapudungun), by looking at online news data, this thesis attempted to systemically and holistically look at multilingual Chile as a whole and explain ideologies of different languages as pieces of a larger puzzle.

However, putting the differences in the history of the minoritised peoples in Chile aside, this study demonstrates, there are shared patterns in how minoritised languages and their speakers are constructed discursively in the news. Despite the tokenistic discourses of valorisations of cultural and linguistic diversity, the indigenous peoples and their languages are never labelled as 'Chilean' while at the same time, only in resistant discourses discussion of self-determination appear. Recognition of linguistic diversity in the nation-state in dominant discourses would legitimise the claims for self-determination, for instance, for the Mapuche, who have used Mapudungun in their fight for autonomy. On the other hand, because many minoritised peoples of Chile are trans-border, often the news report on them as foreign to the country: no difference is made between 'our' Quechua and Aimara and 'theirs' (Bolivian and Peruvian).

Secondly, the findings of this study are generalisable and replicable for countries with similar socio-political contexts. Indeed, the ways in which the Chilean media construct social boundaries through the talk about language can have parallels with how it is done in other post-colonial contexts, especially in Latin America where nation-states share some history and languages. On the other hand, the findings presented in this thesis fit with broader global trends in language use in other post-colonial contexts.

Thirdly, this study has shown that language debates are not only important for linguists; the representations of value of languages, their ranking, to a great extent corresponds to the valorisations of cultures. When the media talk about languages as rich or poor, abstract or complex, beautiful or ugly, they construe the hierarchy of cultures. In doing so, they do not contribute to solving the problems of social stratification and racism in post-colonial societies. The verbal battles in news stories have a lot more on stake than just language: for some, the victory in linguistic

debates may mean greater autonomy, recognition or political power within a nation-state, for others, it may mean improved social mobility or economic prosperity.

However, most importantly, the linguistic debate on the media is an opportunity to challenge status-quo. New media outlets are essential in this; having greater financial independence and flexibility in their practices than the traditional media outlets, they represent an arena where less influential actors can gain a voice to present an alternative take on language. Indeed, the dataset in this study shows how the discourses have evolved over time. Nevertheless, the subtleties and absences of negative representations of minoritised languages presented in this thesis help to maintain not only the linguistic but also the political and social status quo in Chile.

All these issues are relevant to social sciences more broadly and critical awareness of language in media discourse are essential to understand issues across social disciplines. As this study demonstrated on the example of news talk about languages, media data is extremely useful for critical investigation of power distribution in a society.

The findings demonstrate how bottom-up discourses and initiatives cannot overcome in salience the top-down dominant discourses of authoritative institutions like CONADI and RAE: the representations of Chilean Spanish are a good example of this (see 6.2.2). Almost all articles in the corpus attempted to demystify ideas of the inappropriateness of Chilean Spanish and create a more positive image of it. Chilean Spanish is, of course, the dominant variety in the country, and according to nationalist ideologies of language, the national language is a source of 'pride' for its nationals. However, against the recent rise of nationalist sentiments in Chile, only now an attempt to change the negative representations of it was made, and news media provide the space for the new discourses of pride. In addition, new media can become a space outside the state control where not only alternative takes on the understanding of language can find place but also where minoritised languages can be used for communication of news. Online news help raise awareness of emerging domains of use of minoritised languages, such as social media platforms, music and literature. It is then instrumental in reclaiming these for smaller languages but also clearly has potential to become one such domain despite the dominant linguistic practices.

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News stories analysed in this thesis are a reflection and enaction of language policy: the findings of these study show that language policy is a 'verb' (Cassels Johnson, 2013) or a process of constant moulding of discourses. This implication is important for the study of LP in contexts similar to Chile, where language policy as concrete state legislation (Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997) is limited. Media representations in this dataset serve as a reflection of how languages are used as tools of communication, as markers of identity and as commodities. For instance, the status of Spanish in Chile is not explicit, and the media did not construe it as official either. The common sensed status of Spanish is embedded in discourses thanks to presuppositions, which seems to be a tendency among other dominant languages in former colonies (e.g. status of English in Canada in Vessey's studies (2013, 2016)).

Examining representations of languages across the axes of communication, pride and profit served as a useful approach for looking at conceptualisations of languages. This also allowed to make comparisons of representations of different languages and account for similarities and differences in representation both quantitatively and qualitatively.

Although this thesis took the data from new media which are often positively evaluated in academic research as a new space for promotion of linguistic diversity and a new domain of use for minoritised languages (Bell, 2011; Kelly-Holmes and Milani, 2011; Kelly-Holmes, 2012; Androutsopoulos, 2013; Kelly-Holmes and Pietikäinen, 2013), this study has not found indications of such positive effects in online newspapers. This has to do with the nature of online news. Although minoritised languages of Chile get coverage in online newspapers, their share is still minuscule in comparison to dominant languages because online media aim to reach out to large audiences. The modality of the presentation of the news is similar to that of print newspapers. In this sense, the findings here do not differ from Kelly-Holmes's (2012) argument that even in new digital media dominant practices within western cultural tradition prevail.

The study also employed a novel methodological approach to the data to study representations of multiple languages in a large dataset with CL and CDA steps of analysis (see 4.6 for details). No studies to date focused on representations of more than two languages with the use of this methodology (see Vessey (2013) for cross-linguistic CL and DA analysis of language ideologies of French and English in

Canada; Jaworska and Themistocleous (2018) for CL and DA study of representations of multilingualism in the British press).

The thesis also contributes to the field of CL in the Spanish language. Only a few studies so far used CL+CDA approach to Spanish language data (Bolívar, 2009; Santaemilia and Maruenda, 2014; Parodi, Julio and Vásquez-Rocca, 2016). This thesis looked at a wide range of themes that emerged in the relation of language (for instance, education, film industry, revitalisation of languages and health benefits of multilingualism to name a few) and showed the vast possibilities that CL has in facilitating discourse analysis of data in Spanish. Marchi & Taylor (2018) note that due to the dominance of English in academic research, many languages are under-represented in corpora and discourse research and Spanish, despite its dominance in Chile and beyond, has also been understudied as well as media data in the Spanish language.

However, the methodological synergy of CL and CDA was not always straightforward: because of the critical approach to data, interpretation of quantitatively derived findings always required contextualisation with qualitative findings and literature. Methodologically, this study has demonstrated that CL tools can only be used as facilitators of CDA. As discussed in section 4.8, the interpretation of quantitative findings on their own is almost impossible and need to be supported by digging deeper into discursive constructions and cross-checking these with additional literature and the specific context in which texts were produced.

8.5 Implications of the findings

This study aimed to uncover and analyse what languages and multilingualism mean in Chile as constructed in online news reporting. The close analyses of media discourse summarised in the previous sections helped denaturalise the representations of languages; they provided a normative critique to the linguistic status quo in Chile and its ideological underpinnings that are produced and reproduced in the news reporting.

The vast array of descriptive and analytical findings in relations to dominant and minoritised languages of Chile raise awareness of the possible effects of media representations on the dynamics of language use in Chilean society (e.g. language

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loss and minoritisation, foreign language acquisition, etc.). They also demonstrate how the media construe understandings of the nature of language and multilingual practices and in doing so, may affect speakers' understandings and perceptions of their own linguistic practices. This is because secondary sources shape much of what we know about languages and multilingualism, and media is one of the prominent channels in the information society (Kelly-Holmes and Pietikäinen, 2013).

Finally, the media provided an insightful source of data for this study and has potential to increase the visibility of language issues in the country, including the minoritisation of indigenous languages and socio-political dynamics that trigger them. Language is not isolated from other socio-political issues that the country is facing: excluding language from the debate, we cannot understand poverty, inequality and conflict that the state is so concerned to eradicate. After all, the history of language is the history of all social phenomena, and languages are the main media of reproduction of the social history that are also moulded by its evolution.

8.6 Limitations of the study and recommendations for future work

Although this study represents a valuable contribution to knowledge about representations of languages and multilingualism in Chile, its limitations must be acknowledged and considered for future research of the topic.

The first limitation lies in generalisability of the results presented here. Although a large dataset was used here, the findings cannot be extrapolated on all media in Chile because, in CL and CDA studies, a corpus is only representative of itself. Even though the sampling criteria ensured inclusion of relevant national online newspapers into the corpus, numerous other Chilean news websites (for example, the considerably popular national websites *LÚN* and *Cooperativa*) were excluded from the dataset to make the sample more manageable.

Another important limitation of the study is lack of information about the news websites such as ownership, financial dependency and political inclination: being able to identify these would give more clarity at the motivations behind the representations that emerged. Most studies tend to link the representations and ideologies they find and the political inclinations of media outlets that they analyse. This study was not able to identify such direct agency but did manage to demonstrate

that regardless of political inclination, the media as a nation-state institution propagate mostly dominant language ideologies.

In addition, this investigation took a synchronic approach (as outlined in 4.5.3) to the data and considered the dataset a snapshot of representations in recent news reporting in Chile. A diachronic approach would help identify the change in discursive representations of languages over time. For instance, research into representations of multilingualism in Britain (Jaworska and Themistocleous, 2017) showed a shift to more negative representations of multilingualism when media discourses about immigration gained salience in newspapers. Then, a diachronic study could allow identifying other news topics (including immigration) that affect representations of languages and multilingualism in Chile, especially considering the political tensions between the indigenous peoples and the states in Latin America.

As noted in sections 1.3 and 3.2, social media of newspapers and especially the comments sections represent a valuable site of data for future research into language ideologies and attitudes towards languages and multilingualism in contemporary Chile. Because from media representations we cannot judge what perceptions and attitudes towards languages and multilingualism people have, further research could gain more insight on this by means, a sociolinguistic survey, like in Jaworska and Themistocleous's study (2017).

Another limitation of this study lies in the lack of voice of minoritised peoples of Chile in the corpus because only online news of national coverage and in Spanish were included into the dataset. To take the example of the Mapuche, there is a vast array of newspapers, radio channels and internet resources created by the Mapuche in Mapudungun and Spanish with a different scope and audience (Gutiérrez Ríos, 2014). However, due to the researcher's inability to analyse reporting in minoritised languages of Chile, the inclusion of these media into the dataset was not possible. Comparing these media with the findings of this study would be an invaluable addition to knowledge in the field of language ideologies and the study of languages of Chile.

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Appendices

Appendix 1. Names of indigenous peoples and languages of Chile

The alternative spellings and names were gathered from multiple sources (Grebe, 1998; FUNPROEIB Andes and UNICEF, 2009; UNESCO, 2015; Ethnologue, 2019). These spellings were employed for internet searches in data collection to gather relevant news articles that may refer to languages in different ways.

PEOPLE	OTHER NAMES	LANGUAGE
Aimara	Aimara, Aimará	Aymara, aimara
Atacameños	Kunza, Likanantai, Lican Antai, lipe, ulipe	Kunza, Likanantai, Atacameño
Collas	Kollas	Quechua
Diaguitas	N/A	Cacán, kakán
Huilliche	Williche	Huiiliche, Williche
Kawashkar	Alacalouf, Alacaluf, Alacalufe, Alaculoof, Alaculuf, Alakaluf, Alikaluf, Alikhoolip, Alikuluf, Alilkoolif, Alokolup, Alooculoof, Alookooloop, Alucaluf, Alukoeluf, Alukulup, Halakwulup, Kaweskar, Kawesqar, Qawasqar	Kawashkar, Kawashqar
Mapuches	Mapunche, araucanos	Mapudungun, Mapuzungun, mapudungu, mapunzungun, araucano(a), chedungun, tsedungun
Quechuas	Quichuas, kichwas	Quechua, Quichua, Quichwa, Kichwa
Rapa Nui	Pascuense	Rapa Nui, Vananga Rapa Nui, lengua/idioma pascuense, vaná a rapa nui
Yaganes[117]	Tekenika, yámanas, Yaghan, yahgan, yappú	Yámana, yagán, yagan

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[117] This is the name they call themselves it applies to both the people and the language (Guerra Eissmann, 1990)

Appendix 2. **Languages of Chile by their vitality and numbers of speakers**

This table presents UNESCO data (2015) and Ethnologue (2019)

Language	Vitality(UNESCO, 2015)	No. of speakers in Chile (Ethnologue, 2019)
Aimara	Vulnerable	19000
Atacameño	Extinct	0
Huilliche	Critically endangered	2000
Kawashkar	Critically endangered	12
Mapuche	Severely endangered	250000
Rapa Nui	Severely endangered	2500
Yagan	Critically endangered	1
Quechua	Vulnerable	1000

Appendix 3. Most frequent lexical words in the corpus and sub-corpora by absolute frequency

WHOLE CORPUS	ADN Radio	Ahoranoticias	Biobio	El Ciudadano	El Dinamo	El Mostrador	Emol	La Tercera	Terra	Soychile
3513629	77201	16485	69330	1043050	412360	270782	560249	244971	789979	29222
Años (10603)	Años (337)	Idioma (95)	Lengua/s (110 más 616)	Chile (2545)	País (1460)	Chile (848)	Lengua (1486)	Lengua (1307)	Lengua (2200)	Siempre (67)
Lengua (9389)	Lengua (287)	Chile (79)	Mapuche (229)	Mapuche (2286)	Chile (960)	Año/s (254 más 534)	Lenguaje (1274)	Idioma (854)	Español (2078)	Día (65)
Chile (7010)	Español/a (271, 143 más 128)	Lengua (74)	Idioma (176)	Años (1622)	Año/s (392 más 716)	Septiembre (400)	Años (1202)	Inglés (706)	Años (1964)	Bien (59)
Idioma (6151)	Chile (230)	Inglés (65)	Cultura (145)	Lengua (1434)	Mundo (481)	País (358)	Español (863)	Español (651)	Idioma (1339)	Años (56)
País (5562)	Inglés (157)	País (36)	Educación (142)	Estado (1310)	Parte (438)	Mundo (357)	Hoy (809)	Años (558)	Mundo (1253)	Vida (52)
Español (4663)	Sociedad (150)	Español (35)	CONADI (136)	Tiene (1245)	Inglés (436)	Parte (310)	Dijo (799)	Chile (515)	País (1224)	Nada (48)
Mundo (4503)	País (149)	Video (35)	Chile (130)	Pueblos (1235)	Hoy (394)	Nacional (279)	Idioma (763)	Mundo (455)	Hoy (1124)	Sólo (48)
Persona (4227)	Idioma (132)	Mundo (33)	Mapudungún (130)	Mundo (1183)	Vez (390)	Cultura (268)	País (727)	País (428)	Chile (1012)	Nunca (43)
Tiene (4143)	Nacional (113)	Chino (28)	Nacional (120)	Parte (1145)	Vida (379)	Lengua (259)	Chile (706)	Hoy (364)	Dijo (983)	Cada (41)
Inglés (3730)	Mundo (108)	Aprender (24)	Inglés (112)	País (1069)	Nacional (373)	Vida (259)	Inglés (700)	Cultura (336)	Inglés (969)	Tiempo (41)
		Año (24)		Personas (1003)		Historia (257)				Menos (40)
										Libre (39)

The second row and numbers in the brackets show the raw frequency of each word in the corpus and in the sub-corpora.

Appendix 4.   Themes in representations of languages (languages frequent enough in the corpus to return collocates)

Spanish	English	Mapudungun	Rapa Nui	Aimara	Quechua	Likan antai
Education (mother tongue and L2) Languages Social actors Countries/ regions/ cities Nationalities Linguistic terms, issues and institutions Communication Evaluation Economy Language vitality and endangerment Novelties Products Internet Media Literature Chilean variety International outlook	Education (L2) Languages Social actors Countries/ regions/ cities Nationalities Linguistic terms, issues and institutions Communication Evaluation Economy Products Internet Media Literature Status issues	Education Languages Social actors Countries/ regions/ cities Linguistic terms, issues and institutions Communication Evaluation Products Institutions Language vitality and endangerment Revitalisation Status issues	Education Social actors Products Countries/ regions/ cities	Education Languages Social actors Countries/ regions/ cities Nationalities Communication Evaluation Language vitality and endangerment Literature Nature	Social actors Languages Countries/ regions/ cities Nationalities Communication Evaluation Products Internet Nature	Languages Countries/ regions/ cities Institutions Products

Appendix 5.   Summary of steps and tools of CL and CDA procedure

Techniques of analysis	Steps	Aim	RQs
CL - Wordlist (Baker 2006)	1. Identify most frequent lexical words in the corpus and in subcorpora– top 30	- to prove the corpus is representative of the researched topic - To identify what themes emerge in the media in relation to language and which are under-represented	N/A
	2. Group them into semantic categories		
	3. Identify the most salient groups		
CL - Frequency counts for languages	1. calculate frequencies for each language and language-related issue	- to see which languages are discussed more/less in the corpus and check whether all the languages are present in the corpus to be able to carry out comparison	RQ 1.1, 2.1
CL – Collocation for difference and similarity in representation (Baker, 2006; Taylor 2013)	1. derive collocates for each language and language-related terms (bilingualism, multilingualism and others)	to see how each language is represented	RQ 1.2, 1.3, 2.2, 2.3, 2.4
	2. group collocates into semantic categories (checking the concordance lines)	to see what languages are present/absent in what themes	
	3. identify similar collocates	to identify similarities in representation	
	4. identify different collocates	to identify differences in representation	

	5. examine concordance lines within themes for different languages	To corroborate the previous quantitative findings and see how collocates are used in context	
Concordance lines – close reading for CDA	1. examine concordance lines of collocates of languages that are not frequent enough to return collocates	To see whether any themes link to intrinsic or instrumental value of languages	All subquestions of RQ1 and RQ2
	2. examine full text if more context is needed		
CDA	1. downsampling - select texts with most references to language per million words	To further explore representations of languages and multilingualism within educational theme and others	All subquestions of RQ1 and RQ2
	2. analyse the texts with CDA techniques		

Appendix 6. **EFE (2016) 'Alfredo Matus, Director de la Academia Chilena de la Lengua: no hay lengua con mapa tan detallado como el español',** *El Mostrador,* **22 September 2016.**

Alfredo Matus, Director de la Academia Chilena de la Lengua: no hay lengua con mapa tan detallado como el español

Así afirmó ayer el director de la Academia Chilena de la Lengua, Alfredo Matus, al referirse a la nueva "Gramática", que se presentará oficialmente el próximo jueves en Madrid.

"La gran característica de la lengua española es la unidad dentro de la diversidad; esta 'Gramática' atiende a esa diversidad, que es prestigiosa, que no se trata de una mera diversidad local", manifestó en declaraciones a Efe.

La "Nueva Gramática de la Lengua Española", que se presentará oficialmente el 10 de diciembre en Madrid, es el fruto de once años de trabajo de las veintidós academias de la Lengua Española y refleja por primera vez el español que une a los cuatrocientos millones de hispanohablantes y también lo que los diferencia.

El lanzamiento de esta obra "es realmente una gran noticia para los países que hablamos español, una noticia de primer orden para la cultura y la lengua española, que es la tercera o la cuarta del mundo", destacó Matus.

El director de la Academia Chilena de la Lengua será el anfitrión del V Congreso Internacional de la Lengua Española, que se celebrará en la ciudad de Valparaíso a comienzos del próximo mes de marzo y que tendrá en la nueva "Gramática" una de sus principales novedades.

Este trabajo "es uno de los códigos fundamentales, constituye un marco de referencia para nuestros comportamientos lingüísticos e idiomáticos, y para la enseñanza del español como lengua materna", subrayó.

La antigua, indicó, era una "Gramática" hecha "desde la calle de Felipe IV número 4 de Madrid", donde está la sede de la Real Academia Española, mientras que a esta otra "se la puede definir como la primera auténticamente panhispánica".

"Ahora todos los problemas idiomáticos son enfocados desde todo el mundo hispánico, ésa es su importancia", añadió.

Para Alfredo Matus, "no hay ninguna duda de que la nueva 'Gramática' va a poner a la lengua española a la altura de las grandes lenguas del mundo".

"La lengua española en este minuto tiene un código gramatical de primera magnitud. En verdad no existe otra lengua en el mundo en este momento que disponga de una descripción hecha con tanto respeto a todas sus variedades como el español", enfatizó.

"El español es una lengua estandarizada, que desde hace siglos merece un cultivo planificado", explicó el lingüista.

Según Matus, "No existe otra lengua en el mundo en este momento que disponga de un verdadero mapa -como se ha definido a la nueva 'Gramática'- como la lengua española, tomando en cuenta además todas sus variedades".

"La Real Academia Española y las academias americanas estamos empeñadas en trabajar por la unidad del idioma, lo que significa asegurar la normalización de sus usos en los grandes códigos, como esta nueva 'Gramática'", concluyó.

http://www.elmostrador.cl/cultura/2009/12/08/alfredo-matus-director-de-la-academia-chilena-de-la-lengua-no-hay-lengua-con-mapa-tan-detallado-como-el-espanol/

Appendix 7.   Agencia UPI (2011) 'Estudio del British Council: Sólo 2% de los chilenos domina el idioma inglés', *ADN Radio,* 26 October 2011.

| Sociedad | Radio ADN 91.7

Estudio del British Council: Sólo 2% de los chilenos domina el idioma inglés

De acuerdo a una publicación hecha por el British Council, el 98% de la población chilena no domina el idioma inglés cifra que deja a nuestro país por debajo de otros como Bolivia (4%), Perú (4%), Ecuador (4%), Venezuela (4%) y Colombia (3%).

Un estudio del British Council, organismo público del gobierno británico encargado de medir el impacto cultural del Reino Unido en el extranjero, arrojó que el 98% de la población chilena no domina el idioma inglés, cifra que deja a nuestro país por debajo de otros como Bolivia (4%), Perú (4%), Ecuador (4%), Venezuela (4%) y Colombia (3%).

Ante esta preocupante cifra, Pedro Flores, gerente general de EF en Chile, empresa sueca con más de 40 años de experiencia en programas idiomáticos, enfatiza que la mejor forma de aprender inglés es en un país donde éste sea el idioma nativo, ya que un mes en el extranjero equivale a un año estudiándolo en Chile.

El ejecutivo también recalca la importancia de dominar la legua anglosajona cuando se ingresa al mundo laboral, ya que se tiene una ventaja comparativa, en relación con los demás postulantes, y se puede aspirar a una renta 30% más alta que un profesional que no domina un segundo idioma.

Según cifras del Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo (BID), actualmente una de cada cuatro ofertas profesionales de empleo, en Chile, exigen el dominio del inglés y las proyecciones para el 2020 estiman que tres de cada cuatro vacantes laborales exigirán al profesional ser bilingüe.

http://www.adnradio.cl/noticias/sociedad/estudio-del-british-council-solo-2-de-los-chilenos-domina-el-idioma-ingles/20111026/nota/1568593.aspx

| Emol.com

Santiago: lunes, 25 de octubre de 2010 10:56

Casi el 80% de los profesionales en Chile tiene un nivel deficiente de inglés

La encuesta sostiene que el 91% de los chilenos considera dicho idioma esencial en su desarrollo profesional, debido a las mejores oportunidades laborales que se presentan.

SANTIAGO.- Casi un 80% de los profesionales chilenos tienen un nivel deficiente en el idioma inglés, según una encuesta efectuada por Trabajando.com y viajes Falabella a más de 7 mil jóvenes entre 25 y 35 años. La muestra incluyó a las regiones Metropolitana, Tarapacá, Coquimbo, Valparaíso, Biobío y Araucanía arrojó realidades similares para cada localidad, mostrando a nivel nacional que el 78% de los encuestados reconoce tener un nivel de inglés medio-bajo. En tanto, el 55% de los jóvenes señaló que no es capaz de mantener una conversación fluida en el idioma anglosajón, cifra que en la realidad debiera ser un 25% mayor si se considera que sólo 1 de cada 5 profesionales que reconoce manejar un nivel medio de inglés, efectivamente lo tiene.

"En el caso de los que señalan tener un inglés alto ocurre algo similar, sólo 2 de cada 5 lo dominan fluido hablado y escrito", agregó Álvaro Vargas, Gerente General de Trabajando Chile. Asimismo, los resultados de la encuesta también reflejaron el alto interés de los jóvenes por aprender inglés. Mientras el 91% de la muestra asume que este idioma es relevante para su desarrollo profesional, el 90% cree que la mejor manera de aprenderlo es a través de cursos en el extranjero.

En tanto, el 69% de los jóvenes considera necesario permanecer 3 o más meses en un país de habla inglesa para poder manejar conversaciones en este idioma o al menos comprenderlo bien.

Acerca de las formas de aprender el idioma En cuanto a las formas en cómo los jóvenes están hoy aprendiendo inglés, la primera aproximación para saber lo básico

siempre es el colegio. En tanto, las casas de estudios superiores muchas veces incluyen el idioma como obligatorio, pero no es suficiente para un manejo fluido o profesional.

Una tendencia en sostenido crecimiento es el interés de los jóvenes por aprender el idioma en los países de habla inglesa. Así, cada vez son más los estudiantes y también profesionales que hacen un receso en sus estudios o usan sus vacaciones para viajar a estudiar inglés en países como Inglaterra, Estados Unidos, Canadá o Australia.

Según Viajes Falabella está tendencia se ha consolidado en los últimos dos años.

"El interés por viajar a aprender inglés por un periodo determinado se sostiene no sólo por el hecho de vivir el idioma las 24 horas del día, sino que por la experiencia de estar inmerso en una cultura distinta, conociendo personas en un periodo de descubrimiento permanente", señaló el Gerente Comercial de Viajes Falabella, Andrés Sainte Marie. Hoy viajar fuera de Chile a aprender inglés es mucho más accesible que en años anteriores "los viajes siempre incluyen todo lo que un estudiante pueda necesitar, desde seguros, hasta alojamiento y programas en institutos especializados, lo que hace de esta alternativa una tendencia en constante crecimiento", concluyó Sainte Marie.

http://www.emol.com/noticias/economia/2010/10/25/443394/casi-el-80-de-los-profesionales-en-chile-tiene-un-nivel-deficiente-de-ingles.html

Appendix 9. **Comunicado de Prensa (2011) 'Conadi impulsa rescate cultural para recuperar el kakan',** *Biobio Chile,* **2 October 2011. BioBioChile** *2 de octubre 2011*

Conadi impulsa rescate cultural para recuperar la lengua Kakan, idioma que se creía desaparecido

La Conadi ha emprendido recientemente la importante labor de implementar acciones orientadas a la planificación lingüística de la lengua Kakan, lengua originaria de los diaguitas que hasta hoy era considerada como una lengua muerta.

De la lengua Kakan se han podido encontrar algunos registros que permiten dar cuenta de su existencia y uso en un tiempo pasado de reciente data, aunque esta lengua se haya utilizado desde hace centenares de años y aún permanece en toponimias, genealogías, zoonimias y una serie limitada de variables de estudio utilizadas por los diaguitas de la Región de Atacama.

Atendiendo a la necesidad de recuperar la lengua que es parte esencial de la cultura, se han elaborado estudios tales como "Apellidos indígenas y no indígenas ocupados por la población diaguita de Huasco Alto", un estudio sociolingüístico de la lengua y un "Texto lexicográfico de la lengua Kakan" que será lanzado en el mes de noviembre.

Al respecto, Eleodoro Moscoso Esteban, Subdirector Nacional Norte de la Conadi, señaló que estas iniciativas han sido positivamente evaluadas por las comunidades diaguita pues su lengua ya se había dado por desaparecida. "Las comunidades diaguitas están muy interesados en que la Conadi apoye el rescate de su lengua, porque es uno de los aspectos más importantes de su cultura, por lo que estamos trabajando todos estos proyectos en conjunto entre la Conadi y los comuneros diaguitas".

En este mismo sentido, por estos días se realiza en Copiapó, Región de Atacama, el Encuentro Multicultural de Copayapu financiado por la Conadi, donde se expone la cultura de los pueblos coya, aymara, diaguita y mapuche, incluyendo su música, danza, gastronomía, artesanía y productos agrícolas.

Este encuentro se realiza en la plaza de armas de Copiapó -cuyo antiguo nombre era Copayapu, que significa Copa de Oro en la lengua Kakan de los diaguitas, donde se dedican cuatro días para mostrar la rica oferta cultural y gastronómica de nuestros pueblos originarios en más de 40 stand que son visitados asiduamente por locales y turistas.

http://rbb.cl/1hg1

Appendix 10. ADN Deportes (2010) 'Carmen Caffarel: "'El idioma español está en un momento dulce'"', *ADN Radio,* **26 February 2010.**

ADN Deportes

Valparaíso Chile 26/02/2010

Carmen Caffarel: "El idioma español está en un momento dulce"

La directora del Instituto Cervantes, organizador del V Congreso de la Lengua Española, que se realizará en Valparaíso, dijo en ADN Radio Chile, que el español ha pasado a ser un idioma comercial y es la segunda lengua del mundo, detrás del inglés.

La directora del Instituto Cervantes, Carmen Caffarel, destacó el auge que está adquiriendo el idioma español en el mundo, hecho que será analizado, entre muchas otras materias, en el V Congreso de la Lengua Española, que se realizará en Valparaíso entre el 2 y el 5 de marzo.

"El español está en un momento dulce. Somos más de 450 millones de personas los que lo hablamos; es el idioma oficial de 21 países; es la segunda lengua del mundo a nivel de comunicación internacional, detrás del inglés; somos la tercera lengua en Internet después del inglés y del chino", aseguró Caffarel en conversación con ADN Radio Chile, emisora oficial del próximo Congreso de la Lengua.

En este sentido, dijo que cada vez más en el mundo la gente se está acercando al idioma español, que "representa la tradición y la cultura", pero también implica tener más acceso al mercado laboral y mayores oportunidades de trabajos.

"El español es la lengua más estudiada y la gente se acerca porque es una lengua muy ligada a la tradición, a la cultura, pero también es una lengua de futuro, que abre posibilidades a quien la domina para acceder al mercado laboral y para mejorar el propio empleo", explicó la directora del Instituto Cervantes.

Caffarel ejemplificó el creciente auge del idioma afirmando que "en Estados Unidos quien sabe bien inglés y español cobra US$ 7.000 más al año".

"Hoy día el español ya se habla en organismo internacionales, ya es una lengua comercial. El hecho de que 21 países compartamos la lengua materna con un grado de comunicabilidad tan amplio nos da muchísima fuerza", puntualizó.

https://www.adnradio.cl/noticias/sociedad/carmen-caffarel-el-idioma-espanol-esta-en-un-momento-dulce/20100226/nota/959697.aspx

Appendix 11.   BBC Mundo (2016) 'BBC: ¿Es el monolingüismo el analfabetismo del siglo XXI?', *La Tercera,* 7 January 2016.

BBC: ¿Es el monolingüismo el analfabetismo del siglo XXI?

Tal como no saber leer y escribir determinaba el futuro profesional y social de una persona a principios del siglo XX, hoy no manejar más que el idioma materno impide desarrollarse tanto social como laboralmente.

LA TERCERA 07 de enero del 2016 / 15:08 Hrs

Cuando Gregg Roberts exponía ante la Sociedad Asiática de Lenguaje Chino en Boston, no pensó que su charla lo volvería una celebridad de su campo a nivel mundial.

Estaba presentando el programa de inmersión en idioma que lidera en el pequeño y conservador estado de Utah cuando pronunció la frase: "El monolingüismo es el analfabetismo del siglo XXI".

La audiencia lo aplaudió, los expertos tomaron notas y los no tan expertos comenzaron a ver la oración deambulando por redes sociales.

"Es de esas frases que simplemente dices y no piensas en su repercusión", le confiesa hoy Roberts a BBC Mundo.

Tal como no saber leer y escribir determinaba el futuro profesional y social de una persona a principios del siglo XX, hoy no manejar más que tu idioma materno es una barrera de entrada al mercado laboral insoslayable para cualquier joven, asegura Roberts.

"Por razones económicas, un segundo idioma se ha vuelto mucho más necesario, como una herramienta de trabajo", dice el experto.

INMERSO EN OTRO IDIOMA

Todo comenzó como un desafío influenciado por la comunidad hispana de EE.UU.: integrar el español a las aulas en los distritos de Davis y Granite. No como un

segundo idioma, sino en un plan que contemplara 50% del tiempo aprendiendo las materias curriculares en inglés y 50% en español.

El programa resultó un éxito y pronto se extendió. Se lanzó a nivel estatal en 2009, cuyo año académico contó con 1.400 estudiantes. En cinco años, el programa se había ampliado a 25.000 sólo en Utah, y otros estados como Delaware e Indiana comenzarán a aplicarlo.

Hoy contempla cinco idiomas: español, francés, chino, portugués y alemán. Y pronto podrían sumarse árabe y ruso.

INGLÉS PASADO DE MODA

El inglés es el tercer idioma con mayor cantidad de hablantes nativos en el planeta. Pero al sumarle quienes hablan inglés como segundo idioma, éste sube en la tabla al segundo más utilizado a nivel mundial, después del chino mandarín, con más de 800 millones de hablantes.

Pero según Roberts, los países de habla inglesa tienen una desventaja respecto de otros países, especialmente los en vías de desarrollo.

"Nosotros en EE.UU. y en algún grado en Inglaterra y otros lugares excolonias del imperio británico nos relajamos en sólo hablar inglés. Creemos que podemos sobrevivir en el mundo sólo hablando inglés".

Pero eso ya no es posible.

"El inglés era el lenguaje del siglo XX. Pero hacia donde se mueve el mundo, pronto el inglés no será más el idioma dominante", explica Roberts.

Y mientras antes lo entendamos, mejor.

"Los idiomas son una herramienta básica y necesaria para que los jóvenes del siglo XXI logren comunicarse con el mundo y puedan avanzar en sus carreras".

Algo que, según el experto, están asimilando mucho mejor los países en vías de desarrollo.

"Todas las redes actuales de las que disponemos son una fuerte increíble de información. La persona que no puede acceder a esa información ya sea porque es

analfabeta en redes (tecnología) o en lenguaje (idioma), está bloqueada", añade Isabel Margarita López, neuróloga infantil experta en lenguaje de la Clínica Las Condes, en Chile.

En un mundo cada vez más rápido, interconectado y global hablar un segundo idioma es el trampolín para un tercero, o incluso cuarto.

"Está comprobado que una vez que aprendes un segundo idioma, tu cerebro está preparado para aprender un tercero mucho más fácilmente", dice Roberts, quien prefiere hablar de "trilingüismo" antes que "bilingüismo".

¿A QUÉ EDAD COMENZAR?

El programa de Utah comienza en primer grado, con niños entre 5 y 6 años.

"Empezar el aprendizaje de un segundo idioma a edad temprana, como parte del sistema escolar, es muy eficiente en términos de costos y conduce a altos niveles de competencia", asegura Roberts.

Sin embargo, el proceso puede comenzar incluso antes.

El cerebro humano tiene una propensión genética y biológica a hablar y a adquirir lenguaje.

Y mientras el cerebro es "inmaduro", más facilidad tiene de asimilar distintos idiomas.

"Cuando los niños son pequeños son más sensible a todos los fonemas y en algún momento los pueden producir. Eso en el tiempo va disminuyendo, y esa capacidad se va estrechando", le explica López a BBC Mundo.

No sólo factores económicos influyen en el aprendizaje de un segundo idioma. También es importante la herencia cultural, asegura Roberts.

Los niños son capaces de aprender varios idiomas incluso simultáneamente si estos conllevan un vínculo afectivo de por medio.

Como, por ejemplo, en parejas multiculturales, donde ambos padres hablan distintos idiomas.

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"Demoran más en hablar, pero aprenden los idiomas de forma nativa", explica la neuróloga.

Y esa es una cualidad que por más que se estudie un idioma posteriormente, no se puede adquirir.

"Para hablar como nativo debes aprender a edad temprana", confirma la doctora. "Mientras más precoz, este se imprime y puedes hablarlo de una manera mucho más correcta y fluida".

Incluso si pasa mucho tiempo antes de volver a practicarlo, un idioma aprendido en la infancia queda en alguna parte. Sólo hay que rescatarlo, reentrenarlo y ponerlo en acción.

"De alguna manera es como andar en bicicleta. Si no lo haces por años y lo retomas probablemente te vas a caer un par de veces, pero luego andas", concluye López.

http://www2.latercera.com/noticia/bbc-es-el-monolinguismo-el-analfabetismo-del-siglo-xxi/

Hablar dos idiomas mejora la memoria y atención

Según una investigación española, aprender otro idioma entrena al cerebro. Esto, porque cuando una persona bilingüe reacciona ante un fenónemo ambas lenguas se activan por lo que el cerebro tiene que seleccionar la adecuada.

por La Tercera -

05/01/2011 - 17:40

Hablar dos idiomas no es solo beneficioso en la vida laboral, también traería efectos positivos a nivel cerebral. Según un estudio de la Universidad de Granada en España, aprender otro idioma mejora la capacidad de atención y la memoria.

El plantel español realizó experimentos a grupos de personas bilingües (que tengan fluidez y hablen continuamente el idioma). Los sujetos estudiados fueron sometidos a experimentos que midieron el tiempo de respuesta y la actividad cerebral. Los resultados mostraron que cuando la persona reaccionaba se activaban los dos idiomas simultáneamente, incluso en situaciones donde necesitaba solo uno, consignó ABC.

Una situación, según los expertos, que puede transformarse en una ventaje y dificultad.

Según los investigadores, cuando la persona es sometida a una prueba, por ejemplo, se activan mecanismo de atención que incluye a la parte prefrontal del cerebro. Ante esto, el cerebro pasa por un proceso de selección apartando al otro idioma fuera de contexto.

Con esto, los investigadores concluyeron que aprender un idioma sería un entrenamiento cerebral que ayudaría a mejorar la memoria y la capacidad de atención, explicó el medio.

http://www2.latercera.com/noticia/hablar-dos-idiomas-mejora-la-memoria-y-atencion/

Appendix 13.   Agencia UPI (2013) 'Mineduc certifica a educadores en programa del Sector de Lengua y Cultura Mapuche', *Emol,* 30 December 2013.

Mineduc certifica a educadores en programa del Sector de Lengua y Cultura Mapuche

Treinta personas fueron capacitadas para trabajar en establecimientos con alta población indígena.

SANTIAGO.- Treinta educadores y educadoras tradicionales y docentes que imparten el Sector de Lengua Indígena en establecimientos focalizados por el Programa de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe del ministerio de Educación de Los Ríos, finalizaron su proceso de capacitación, tanto en los programas de estudio del Sector de Lengua Indígena de 4° año Básico de Mapuzungun, como en Lengua y Cultura Mapuche. El seremi de Educación, Carlos Crot, hizo entrega de las certificaciones a quienes participaron de esta iniciativa. Estas capacitaciones están enmarcadas dentro del proceso de formación de educadores(as) tradicionales, quienes implementan el Sector de Lengua Indígena en establecimientos con alta población indígena. Este sector de aprendizaje comenzó a funcionar el año 2009, con la aprobación del Decreto Supremo N° 280 del ministerio de Educación.El decreto señala la incorporación obligatoria del Sector de Lengua Indígena, en las lenguas de Rapa Nui, Aymara, Quechua y Mapuzungun, en establecimientos donde haya un porcentaje igual o mayor al 50% de estudiantes de ascendencia indígena, y a contar de este año, de un 20%, según consignaron desde la seremi de Educación Los Ríos.

UPI

http://www.emol.com/noticias/nacional/2013/12/29/637173/mineduc-certifica-a-educadores-en-programa-del-sector-de-lengua-y-cultura-mapuche.html

Appendix 14.   Agencia UPI (2011) 'Ministro Lavín anuncia que estudiantes Rapa Nui tendrán clases en su lengua originaria', *Biobio Chile,* **21 February 2011.**

Ministro Lavín anuncia que estudiantes Rapa Nui tendrán clases en su lengua originaria

Publicado por Agencia UPI 21 de febrero 2011

Durante su visita a Rapa Nui, el ministro de Educación Joaquín Lavín visitó el colegio Lorenzo Baeza Vega, lugar donde firmó un convenio que va a permitir que los estudiantes del establecimiento tengan todas sus clases en su lengua de origen.

Según explicó el secretario de Estado, este programa denominado de "Inmersión en Lengua Rapa Nui", que comienza a partir de 2011, permitirá que los estudiantes de 1° a 4° básico y algunos de prebásica, tengan todas sus clases en lengua Rapa Nui, a cargo de docentes oriundos de la Isla. Sin embargo, las asignaturas de lenguaje y matemática se mezclarán con el idioma español, para así no perder contenidos que son evaluados en la prueba Simce.

Los demás estudiantes del establecimiento tendrán todas sus clases en español, pero incorporado a su plan de estudios el sector de Lengua Indígena Rapa Nui con cuatro horas semanales, también a cargo de profesores tradicionales de la Isla.

"Lo que queremos con esto, es rescatar la lengua y las costumbres del pueblo Rapa Nui, que no se pierdan. Es una muy buena noticia para toda la gente de la Isla", dijo el secretario de Estado.

Por otro lado, Lavín visitó la aldea educativa de la Isla, donde estudiantes de enseñanza media técnico profesional se especializan en dos importantes áreas de desarrollo Rapa Nui: turismo y sector agropecuario.

Esto ha sido potenciado por el Ministerio de Educación, el que ha entregado financiamiento para la compra de materiales fundamentales en estos dos ámbitos como computadores, cámaras de video y foto y maquinaria agropecuaria.

http://rbb.cl/5iii

Appendix 15.   Marta Úbeda (2014) 'Universidad de Chile impartirá el primer curso de lengua mapuche para profesores', *El Ciudadano*, **16 December 2014.**

Universidad de Chile impartirá el primer curso de lengua mapuche para profesores

Héctor Mariano será el encargado de realizar el primer curso de lengua mapuche para docentes. El profesor busca con este curso mostrar y difundir la rica multiculturalidad que posee el país.

Diciembre 16, 2014

#Chile, #, #Pueblos

Durante las Jornadas de Actualización de Profesores 2015, el profesor de lengua mapuche de la Facultad de Filosofía y Humanidades, Héctor Mariano, impartirá el primer curso para docentes sobre lengua mapuche denominado 'Conocimiento de la Lengua y Diversidad del Pueblo Mapuche'.

Para el profesor Mariano, abrir y descubrir la cultura mapuche tanto a los estudiantes como a los profesores es una necesidad académica y un desafío para las nuevas generaciones. "Reflexionar en torno a la lengua y la cultura mapuche es marcar la identidad de un país y recuperar la lengua como patrimonio mismo de todos nosotros", dice Mariano.

El objetivo de este curso de lengua mapuche que se impartirá durante los cursos de verano de la Universidad de Chile es, según su impulsor, "recuperar la noción multicultural del país que tenemos". Héctor Mariano defiende la importancia de comenzar a trabajar con los profesores para que conozcan la lengua mapuche y así luego tengan las herramientas necesarias para trasmitirle esta parte tan importante de la cultura chilena a los estudiantes.

El curso, cuyo plazo para inscripciones ya ha sido abierto, hará una revisión de aspectos iniciales del mapudungún, desarrollo de conversaciones básicas en lengua mapuche, vocabulario y expresiones. Además, el curso también abordará algunos elementos de la cultura mapuche relacionados con la alimentación y la convivencia con la naturaleza.

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"El que todavía gran parte de los chilenos no conozca la cultura del país del que venimos es lo que le ha quitado valor y riqueza a nuestras enseñanzas", declara Héctor Mariano defendiendo la importancia y utilidad del curso que impartirá este verano en la Universidad de Chile.

Marta Úbeda

https://www.elciudadano.cl/pueblos/universidad-de-chile-impartira-el-primer-curso-de-lengua-mapuche-para-profesores/12/16/

Appendix 16.   Communicative comptenece in Spanish, English and Mapudungun: concordance lines with collocate *hablar*

el secuestro del derecho a hablar Mapuzugun y exigimos la salida del

como pueblo, hablar nuestra idioma -el mapudungun-, tener nuestra propia

, que no tengan miedo a hablar el mapuzungun porque si nuestra gente

empecemos a hablar y pensar en mapudungun. Por eso, poner este tema

: "Un profesor puede hablar bien mapudungún, pero ¿tiene tugun ?

si yo puedo o no puedo hablar mapudungún? No estamos en el

si yo puedo o no puedo hablar mapudungún? No estamos en el

aseguró no hablar ni entender el mapudungun, mientras que esta cifra

Ante el secuestro del derecho a hablar Mapuzugun Informamos a la opinión

pewenche y ragkülche, solo oyó hablar mapuzugun. Incluso anotó una estrofa,

pública que el derecho a hablar Mapuzugun ha sido secuestrado por el

asegura no entender ni hablar el mapudungún. Especialistas aseguran

(impartición formativa de la lengua mapudungun, 'el hablar de la tierra').

y era profesora, le enseñó a hablar mapudungún desde los seis años e

pewenche y rankülche, solo oyó hablar mapuzugun". DESDE LAS BASES

y manifestar que se puede hablar mapuzugun de manera recurrente, al

Bush, al que le pidió debería hablar en inglés, y no en español mientras

de los chilenos al momento de hablar en inglés y usarlo en nuestro lenguaje

que los inmigrantes "deben hablar en inglés". Trump también fue

consigan fluidez al hablar y/o escribir en inglés. Todo esto puede concretarse

durante los atracos, en vez de hablar en inglés. TERRA Auth (PPD): 'Es

una norma en la Policía de hablar sólo en inglés "para permitir la debida

de su habilidad para hablar bien en inglés- no le da importancia.

. Pero debería dar ejemplo y hablar en inglés mientras esté en Estados

. Pero debería dar ejemplo y hablar en inglés mientras esté en Estados

, en vez de "dar ejemplo y hablar en inglés mientras esté en Estados

que hayas dicho. Tienes que hablar en inglés', me respondió".Sucede que

hablar español o que exija hablar sólo en inglés.La oficial Jessenia Guzmán,

en que se gradúan prefieren hablar en inglés", dice Morse."La gente

en formato conferencia. Hablar en inglés cuando la lengua es otra fue

, puede hablar notablemente bien en inglés. Cuando le pregunté cómo lo

dicta que los empleados deben hablar en inglés con los clientes y con otros

viva en EE.UU. que aprenda a hablar en inglés. A quienes estén

viva en EE.UU. que aprenda a hablar en inglés. A quienes estén

es mejor que comience hablar en castellano, porque los

israelí ha comenzado a "hablar" en castellano para llegar directamente

a nadie se obligó nunca hablar en castellano: fueron los pueblos más

. Joan Laporta se negó a hablar en castellano e hizo caso omiso a la

¡Mala onda! Mourinho se niega hablar en castellano durante una conferencia

¡Mala onda! Mourinho se niega hablar en castellano durante una conferencia

quiere líos con Congreso debe hablar en "castellano" Diputado Iván Flores

quiere líos con Congreso debe hablar en "castellano" Archivo | Pablo Ovalle |

o en catalán ya que evitó hablar en castellano a los periodistas de AFP,

accedió a hablar un poco en idioma español y aunque gran parte de

. Lanzan manual para hablar bien el idioma español La Academia

Lanzan manual para hablar bien el idioma español La Academia

hay una asignatura pendiente para el idioma español es la de hablar el

, ya que, subrayó, "hablar así del idioma español en Estados Unidos es

. .Lanzan manual para hablar bien el idioma español | Cultura | LA

de Defensa de Israel) a hablar en español". Una forma de expresar

que lo sea. No pasa nada por hablar en español", subraya. En definitiva,

automáticamente te empieza a hablar en español, sólo porque eres latina.

precandidato, Jeb Bush, por hablar en español. Sobre los dos candidatos

llegó un papel en el que podía hablar en español. Se trataba de "Traffic", con

, no hay ninguna posibilidad de hablar en español. Porque claro uno dice NY

, para trabajar y vivir, necesitan "hablar en español". "Pero a mí nadie me

Trump critica a Jeb Bush por hablar en español Mundo Donald Trump le

El Ejército israelí comienza a hablar en español Mundo El Ejército israelí

estudiantes a hablar, leer y escribir en español. "Estoy muy orgulloso por

que la telenovela llevará subtítulos en español: "es importante hablar en

supuestamente se les prohibía hablar en español entre ellos. La política

de nuevo esta semana por hablar en español en un evento público en

porcentaje de latinos que dice hablar en español en su casa no ha dejado

estamos oyendo hablar en árabe, en español, en hindi, en portugués y

Trump a su rival Jeb Bush por hablar en español durante su campaña

Jagger sorprendió al público al hablar en español durante todo el concierto.

colegas fuera sancionada por hablar en español con una compañera de

reconoce que lo han retado por "hablar en español como chileno" VIDEO | The

vez sufrió discriminación por hablar en español, como le ocurrió en una

por tanto yo te voy a hablar solamente en español", agrega. Ciertamente, hay

cuando pudo aprender a hablar en español Adela Ramírez pudo dar su

a los latinos a hablar a sus hijos en español."A algunos padres les han

a los latinos a hablar a sus hijos en español. "A algunos padres les han

Appendix 17.   Expanded concordance lines for the Yagan language

1   entrega de globos con poemas impresos a los transeúntes. La fiesta se traslada también el 10 de diciembre a la Plaza de Armas de Punta Arenas, donde habrá una presentación de números artísticos, un acto musical de jóvenes, lectura de poemas en lengua yagán, para culminar con una ronda de jardines infantiles y el lanzamiento de globos con versos de Gabriela Mistral (todo desde las 10.30 horas). Además, hasta el 13 estará disponible en el Museo Regional una exposición con fotografías inéditas, mue

2   ilias, vistieron pieles, siguieron la dieta fundamental yagana -compuesta por carne de lobos marinos y mariscos-, y escucharon de los mayores sus normas, leyendas y creencias. Especial interés reviste el dominio que estás mujeres demuestran de lengua yagán, un verdadero reservorio de las palabras, conceptos y forma de comunicación de los yaganes, también conocidos como yámanas. Finaliza el ciclo el miércoles 25 de octubre, con la participación de la investigadora Margarita Alvarado, quien analiz

3   tradicional de los pueblos del norte de Chile llamada "pawa", para desear el éxito de la actividad, y posteriormente, los ministros Lavín y Cruz-Coke entregaron un reconocimiento especial a la anciana Cristina Calderón, última hablante del pueblo Yagán y reconocida recientemente como "Tesoro Humano Vivo", quien vive n las cercanías de Puerto Williams donde habitaba su pueblo desde tiempos ancestrales. Finalmente, cabe señalar que las comunidades y asociaciones indígenas tienen plazo hasta el 14

4   as Indígenas de la Corporación Nacional de Desarrollo Indígena (CONADI). Entre las primeras figuran las lenguas Mapuche, Aymara y Rapa Nui. Las que se encuentran en peligro, por su reducido número de hablantes, son las lenguas Quechua, Kaweshqar y Yagán. Según Painemal, estadísticas oficiales señalan que en Chile existe un 20% de personas indígenas que "hablan o que entienden" su lengua. "De esta primera cifra lo que inferimos es que aquellos que entienden la lengua no necesariamente la hablan,

5   pueden ser reconocidas Serán reconocidas las mujeres indígenas que han realizado un aporte relevante en materia de educación, transmisión y revitalización

de las lenguas aún vigentes como son las de los pueblos mapuche, aymara, quechua, rapa nui, yagán y kawésqar. Asimismo, también serán reconocidas las mujeres pertenecientes a los pueblos que han perdido su lengua originaria, como son la comunidad afrodescendiente de Arica y Parinacota, y la de los pueblos atacameño, kolla, diaguita y chango.

6   Mujer en kawésqar ASÁT´AP es la traducción de "mujer" en lengua kawésqar, nombre escogido como una forma de visualizar una de las lenguas indígenas menos conocidas entre las 6 vigentes en el país, mapudungun, aymara, quechua, rapa nui, kawésqar y yagán. El reconocimiento apuntará a relevar a mujeres que se han destacado en un ámbito de las expresiones culturales de los pueblos indígenas, la que irá variando anualmente. La necesidad de relevar esta materia surge de la crisis de reproducción en l

7   os. Con el apoyo de su madre, ha editado dos discos de cantos y poesías en lenguas selk'nams, kaweskar, yagán y haush. En el verano del presente año, toma contacto con Cristina Calderón en Villa Ukika, descendiente emblemática el pueblo originario yagán, con quien comparte los conocimientos sobre uno de los lenguajes más complejos del mundo. Lugar: Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, Salón Blanco.Fecha: 17, 18, 24 y 25 de octubre.Horario: 17:45 a 18:45 hrs.Entrada: Liberada. El Mercurio Online marte

8   e joven autodidacta se ha interesado por el conocimiento del lenguaje y cantos de las etnias que habitaron el territorio austral, desde los 7 años. Con el apoyo de su madre, ha editado dos discos de cantos y poesías en lenguas selk'nams, kaweskar, yagán y haush. En el verano del presente año, toma contacto con Cristina Calderón en Villa Ukika, descendiente emblemática el pueblo originario yagán, con quien comparte los conocimientos sobre uno de los lenguajes más complejos del mundo. Lugar: Museo

9   n gran avance para detener la progresiva extinción de esas lenguas. Actualmente las lenguas "vivas" son las de los pueblos aimara, quechua, rapanui y mapuche, aunque su uso está en declinación. En peligro de extinción están las lenguas kawashkar y yagán, de los habitantes de la zona austral. Las definitivamente desaparecidas son kunza de los licán antay o atacameña, la

diaguita, el coya y la chupalla, del norte chileno, casos en los que quedan palabras y frases que están siendo recopiladas y agr

10   lan los nativos de Isla de Pascua.Painemal destacó que otras lenguas maternas chilenas, como la yagán y la keweshkar en la zona austral, son consideradas "en peligro inminente de extinción" o "moribundas".En Chile queda "sólo una persona que habla yagán y el Estado ni los sistemas educativos hacen nada para que esa persona pueda reproducir sus conocimientos a sus descendientes o familiares cercanos", denunció.El experto, de origen mapuche, reveló que "en 2000, un 20% de la población indígena hab

11   ollo Indígena (Conadi), existen lenguas vitales y en peligro de extinción. Entre las primeras figuran las lenguas mapuche, aimara y rapa nui. Las que se encuentran en peligro por su reducido número de hablantes son las lenguas quechua, kaweshkar y yagán. Según datos de la misma institución, en Chile existe un 20% de indígenas que "hablan o que entienden" su lengua. De esta cifra se infiere que los que entienden su lengua no necesariamente la hablan. En este último caso, el porcentaje se reduce d

12   12 en lenguaje de señas. .Distinguen a chilenos como 'Tesoros Humanos Vivos' | Nacional | LA TERCERA Distinguen a chilenos como "Tesoros Humanos Vivos" Entre los que recibieron el reconocimiento se encuentra Cristina Calderón, "la última hablante yagán" de Tierra del Fuego. por EFE - 10/12/2009 - 22:45 El Gobierno distinguió hoy a un grupo de chilenos como "Tesoros Humanos Vivos" con el patrocinio de Unesco, entre los que se encuentra Cristina Calderón, "la última hablante yagán", de Tierra del

13   última hablante yagán" de Tierra del Fuego. por EFE - 10/12/2009 - 22:45 El Gobierno distinguió hoy a un grupo de chilenos como "Tesoros Humanos Vivos" con el patrocinio de Unesco, entre los que se encuentra Cristina Calderón, "la última hablante yagán", de Tierra del Fuego. La distinción otorgada por el Consejo Nacional de la Cultura y las Artes, se enmarca en la Convención para la Salvaguardia del Patrimonio Cultural Inmaterial, adoptada por Unesco en 2003 y ratificada por 104 Estados, entre

14   e 6.000 años, y el "Baile Pescador Chino Nº10 de Coquimbo", agrupación tradicional de la festividad religiosa de Andacollo, en el norte de Chile. Según explicó

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la ministra Urrutia, Cristina Calderón, nacida en 1928, es la última testigo del pueblo yagán y la única hablante de su lengua originaria, depositaria del pensamiento y la forma de vida de estos antiguos habitantes del archipiélago fueguino. "Por ello resulta urgente el registro y transmisión de su habla como asimismo, su distinción impli

15   éstas portadoras de una particular tradición y cosmovisión, justificó la designación de dos exponentes de los pueblos originarios de la Patagonia austral, como son la pequeña comunidad Kawésqar y Cristina Calderón, últimos hablantes de kawésqar y yagán, respectivamente. El rescate y transmisión de estas lenguas será abordado por medio de acciones diseñadas en conjunto con la comunidad y ejecutadas con fondos adicionales que el Programa contempla para tal efecto en el caso de personas y/o comu

16   arios y se reconoce que tenemos nuestro propio sistema de formación y transmisión de conocimientos", dijo Marcial Colin Lincolao. En el marco del evento, también se realizó un reconocimiento especial a Cristina Calderón, última hablante del pueblo Yagán y reconocida como "Tesoro Humano Vivo", quien vive en las cercanías de Puerto Williams donde habitaba su pueblo en tiempos ancestrales. Para ser parte de este plan, las comunidades y asociaciones indígenas tienen plazo hasta el 14 de abril para p

Appendix 18.   Expanded concordance lines for the Kawashkar language

1   dora estará integrada por el director del CNCA o quien el designe, 3
representantes de organizaciones mapuche de la región y un integrante de la mesa
intersectorial de la mujer mapuche. Mujer en kawésqar ASÁT´AP es la traducción de
"mujer" en lengua kawésqar, nombre escogido como una forma de visualizar una de
las lenguas indígenas menos conocidas entre las 6 vigentes en el país,
mapudungun, aymara, quechua, rapa nui, kawésqar y yagán. El reconocimiento
apuntará a relevar a mujeres que se han de

2   r la historia", dijo la joven descendiente de una de las cuatro culturas
ancestrales del extremo sur de Chile. Ella quiere ser antropóloga y desde allí
contribuir al conocimiento de su etnia. Ayelén NeculpanAyelén Neculpan Ayelén
(18), que en lengua kawésqar, significa "estoy contenta", vive en Puerto Edén, en
Magallanes, en el extremo sur de Chile, y es miembro de la comunidad que agrupa a
las cerca de ocho familias descendientes de la etnia. "Yo me siento orgullosa de lo
que soy, uno siempre h

3   laciones interiores por parte de los personajes. En su época, estos aspectos
no tenían nada de arriesgado para el lector medianamente sagaz. .Grabaciones de
lengua kawésqar son donadas a Biblioteca Nacional | Artes | LA TERCERA
Grabaciones de lengua kawésqar son donadas a Biblioteca Nacional Un registro
sonoro a los últimos 7 hablantes fue recopilada por investigadores, la que será
entregada el próximo martes. 11/09/2009 - 14:46 La historia es conocida. Sólo siete
hablantes de la etnia kawésqar

4   Corporación Nacional de Desarrollo Indígena (Conadi) se encuentra
ejecutando un plan de recuperación integral que considera tres objetivos principales:
sustentabilidad y desarrollo; generación de conocimiento; y perpetuación de la
cultura y lengua kawashkar. Este plan que se llevará a cabo en la zona austral del
país, es un proceso único en Latinoamérica pues se trata de una necesidad
planteada desde la propia comunidad compuesta actualmente por 9 personas que
habitan en Puerto Edén, Provincia

5   mo aquel que perfeccionó una forma de escribir notable, con saltos en el
tiempo y cavilaciones interiores por parte de los personajes. En su época, estos

aspectos no tenían nada de arriesgado para el lector medianamente sagaz.
.Grabaciones de lengua kawésqar son donadas a Biblioteca Nacional | Artes | LA
TERCERA Grabaciones de lengua kawésqar son donadas a Biblioteca Nacional Un
registro sonoro a los últimos 7 hablantes fue recopilada por investigadores, la que
será entregada el próximo martes.

Appendix 19.   Expanded concordance lines for the Rapa Nui language

1   licando que en el ámbito de la docencia ha formado a varias generaciones de pascuenses en la lengua Rapa Nui, lo cual ha permitido mantener vivo el idioma. El subsecretario Ubilla sostuvo que los tema

2   servicio público en diferentes áreas y ha formado a varias generaciones de pascuenses en la lengua Rapa Nui". 06/09/2010 - (hace 6 años) La profesora y empresaria turística Carmen Cardinali, fue de

3   la Isla". La autoridad dijo en La Moneda que Cardinali ha dedicado su vida al servicio público en Rapa Nui en diferentes áreas, explicando que en el ámbito de la docencia ha formado a varias generacio

4   on, el ingeniero civil eléctrico detrás de la fabricación de este producto. Taote, que en el idioma rapa nui significa "médico", nació como una idea del radiólogo John MacKinnon, también el primer inv

5   el ministro de Salud en funciones, Jaime Burrows. El Aedes Aegipti, llamado "nao nao" en la lengua rapa nui, es también vector del zika y el chikunguña y se le considera endémico en la isla de los mo

6   e lenguas indígenas más australes del mundo Más de 150 niños recibirán educación intercultural en Rapa Nui Las lenguas indígenas se abren paso en Wikipedia Para preservar las lenguas indígenas el prog

7   comunes en temas culinarios están el Atún, la Sierra, el Bacalao, el Pez Volador o Hahave en lengua Rapa Nui, el Pez Soldado o Mata Huira, el Nanue Para, el Pici, el Pez Espada, la Vidriola, el Lengua

8   n en el continente. 15 nov 2013 07h00 actualizado a las 07h00 comentarios A pesar de que comer en Rapa Nui es caro, vale la pena. Un almuerzo, con aperitivo y postre puede salir más de 20 mil pesos po

9   mbién dirigen sus tradicionales bailes de 300 personas sobre el escenario, y deben hablar la lengua Rapa Nui, cantar, bailar, nadar y dominar todas las sutilezas del arte heredado de sus ancestros. La

10   itura rongo-rongo, cuyo significado se ha perdido. Son pasadas las 17 horas. Un aito (guerrero en Rapa Nui) sopla en una concha enorme. Un sonido pesado y grave se eleva por encima de Hanga Roa: la se

11   bre-pájaro. Antes del desfile los hombres acomodan las estatuas en carros. Las personas gritan en Rapa Nui o español, pero también se escuchan gritos en inglés, portugués y tahitiano, la lengua de sus

12   educación en Mapuzugun, Rapa Nui y Aymara. Más de 150 niños recibirán educación intercultural en Rapa Nui El acuerdo se realizó en las dependencias de la Junji, donde la directora regional de ésta, G

13   tuado a más de 3.600 kilómetros del continente americano. Seremi de Salud intensifica acciones en Rapa Nui por dengue Pese al dengue, Chile dice que "no hay razón" para no ir a Isla de Pascua Minsal l

14   manera", por lo que en los ejemplos anteriores lo apropiado habría sido "El álbum fue grabado en Rapa Nui y, en cierto modo, es...", "En cierta manera, es un problema, pero...". La Fundéu BBVA, que t

15   an esas expresiones de manera impropia, como en los siguientes ejemplos: "El álbum fue grabado en Rapa Nui y, de cierto modo, es un relato autobiográfico", "De cierta manera, es un problema, pero es t

16   o lengua rapa nui a 50 años de la incorporación de Isla de Pascua a Chile Presentan plan pro lengua rapa nui a 50 años de la incorporación de Isla de Pascua a Chile ANDER GILLENEA / AFP Publicado por

17   erritorio insular a Chile. En la oportunidad, Aldoney destacó que se aprobó el traspaso a la lengua rapa nui de todos los documentos públicos generados en el Gobierno Regional que tengan relación con

18   de las Lenguas Indígenas, de la Conadi, y Alfredo Tuki Pate, presidente de la Academia de la Lengua Rapa Nui. Después de abrir un espacio para las preguntas del público, la actividad finalizará con un

19   ublicado por Comunicado de Prensa La masiva fiesta denominada "Día de la Lengua" se desarrolló en Rapa Nui, con la presencia de niños y adultos, quienes mostraron sus danzas típicas, demostrando los f

20   mes con tus trámites". http://rbb.cl/2sxs 1 2 3 4 5 Registro Civil realiza matrominio bilingüe en Rapa Nui Registro Civil realiza matrominio bilingüe en Rapa Nui Registro Civil Publicado por Comunicad

21   istro Civil realiza matrominio bilingüe en Rapa Nui Registro Civil realiza matrominio bilingüe en Rapa Nui Registro Civil Publicado por Comunicado de Prensa En una ceremonia marcada por el entorno nat

22   apa Nui participan de acto para preservación de su lengua y costumbres ancestrales Celebración en Rapa Nui | Comunicado de Prensa Publicado por Comunicado de Prensa La masiva fiesta denominada "Día de

23   erentes. http://rbb.cl/5e8e 1 2 3 4 5 En más de un 50% aumentaron niños hablantes de su lengua en Rapa Nui En más de un 50% aumentaron niños hablantes de su lengua en Rapa Nui Niños Jardín Isla de Pas

24   os hablantes de su lengua en Rapa Nui En más de un 50% aumentaron niños hablantes de su lengua en Rapa Nui Niños Jardín Isla de Pascua | Junji Publicado por Comunicado de Prensa En más de un 50% aumen

25   ", asegura Blanca y explica que se comienza trabajando con las instrucciones, juegos y poesías en Rapa Nui. Según informó la propia Conadi, ya se pueden apreciar los primeros efectos de la educación i

26   ado por Loreto Paredes Niños de Isla de Pascua recibieron materiales para aprender a leer en idioma Rapa Nui, una iniciativa pionera del Plan Nacional de Fomento de la Lectura "Lee Chile Lee". Es por

27   mineduc.cl Según explicó el secretario de Estado, este programa denominado de "Inmersión en Lengua Rapa Nui", que comienza a partir de 2011, permitirá que los estudiantes de 1° a 4° básico y algunos

28   irá que los estudiantes de 1° a 4° básico y algunos de prebásica, tengan todas sus clases en lengua Rapa Nui, a cargo de docentes oriundos de la Isla. Sin embargo, las asignaturas de lenguaje y matemá

29   inas: 256 Dimensión: 15 x 23 Precio: $11.900 http://rbb.cl/8pdl 1 2 3 4 5 Presentan plan pro lengua rapa nui a 50 años de la incorporación de Isla de Pascua a Chile Presentan plan pro lengua rapa nui

30   o por Comunicado de Prensa En más de un 50% aumentó el número de niños y niñas que hablan la lengua Rapa Nui en la Isla de Pascua, gracias al programa desarrollado por la Corporación Nacional de Desar

31   qkeline Rapu, Directora de Educación de Isla de Pascua, destacó que esta iniciativa le da al idioma Rapa Nui el sitial que le corresponde. La alcaldesa de Isla de Pascua, Luz Zasso Paoa, también valor

32   es del Estado. http://rbb.cl/cxcz 1 2 3 4 5 DGMN difundió beneficios del Servicio Militar en lengua Rapa Nui para los isleños DGMN difundió beneficios del Servicio Militar en lengua Rapa Nui para los

33   Militar en lengua Rapa Nui para los isleños DGMN difundió beneficios del Servicio Militar en lengua Rapa Nui para los isleños www.dgmn.cl Publicado por Benjamín Ahumada La actividad, estuvo en coordin

34   I nuevo Index derechista para las palabras en idiomas extranjeros, o en mapudungun, en aymara, en rapa nui, etc.? ¿Y en coa? Si bien no he tenido participación alguna en las reuniones que don Sebastiá

35   rrollando en Isla de Pascua y tienen que ver con fortalecer la cultura, las tradiciones y la lengua Rapa Nui, generando además instancias de difusión para la comunidad". Durante la jornada, representa

36   sagrados; no tienen las facultades de autogobierno que les reconoció el tratado de 1888; la lengua rapa Nui se extingue en virtud de políticas educativas asimilacionistas y desfinanciadas; están sumi

37   ables para Isla de Pascua y la necesidad de desarrollar políticas para la preservación de la lengua Rapa Nui, entre otras materias. RAPA NUI DUPLICA HABITANTES DURANTE TAPATI Más de 3.000 turistas lle

38   iental o cultural en el mundo. Los Rapa Nui amenazan ser minoría en su propio territorio. La lengua Rapa Nui se extingue en virtud de políticas metropolitanas asimilacionistas. Nuestra cultura se exti

39   ho para mantener nuestro idioma. María Virginia Haoa Cardinali, integrante de la Academia de Lengua Rapa Nui del Pueblo Polinésico de Rapa Nui. 12.30-13.00: Música de los pueblos originarios de Chile-

40   dia cultural del pueblo tribal afrodescendiente de Arica y Parinacota; fortalecimiento de la lengua Rapa Nui, fomento y difusión de la artesanía tradicional regional de O´Higgins; fortalecimiento de

41   r, que apela a sus ancestros y cree en la reencarnación de las almas. Vivió algo más de un año en Rapa Nui (Isla de Pascua), donde grabó su segundo disco El orden de las cosas y donde sintió, dice, un

42   dia cultural del pueblo tribal afrodescendiente de Arica y Parinacota; fortalecimiento de la lengua Rapa Nui, fomento y difusión de la artesanía tradicional regional de O´Higgins; fortalecimiento de

43   da como Inti Raymi o Machaq Mara en los pueblos de origen quechua y aymara respectivamente, ya en Rapa Nui se conoce como Aringa Ora o Koro y ya para nuestra cultura mapuche, la más expandida por el t

44   irá que los estudiantes de 1° a 4° básico y algunos de prebásica, tengan todas sus clases en lengua Rapa Nui, a cargo de docentes oriundos de la Isla. Sin embargo, las asignaturas de lenguaje y matemá

45   onvenio que va a permitir que los estudiantes del establecimiento tengan todas sus clases en lengua Rapa Nui. Durante su visita a Isla de Pascua, el ministro de Educación Joaquín Lavín visitó el coleg

46   onvenio que va a permitir que los estudiantes del establecimiento tengan todas sus clases en lengua Rapa Nui. País 21 de febrero, 2011Autor: Andrea Medina Durante su visita a Isla de Pascua, el mini

47   a Rapa Nui. Según explicó el secretario de Estado, este programa denominado de "Inmersión en Lengua Rapa Nui", que comienza a partir de 2011, permitirá que los estudiantes de 1° a 4° básico y algunos

48   onvenio que va a permitir que los estudiantes del establecimiento tengan todas sus clases en lengua Rapa Nui. Según explicó el secretario de Estado, este programa denominado de "Inmersión en Lengua Ra

49   ve a la Isla está lleno de misterios. Muchos aseguran sentir una "energía misteriosa" al estar en Rapa Nui. Desde como se hacían y más importante se movían los Moais (algunos están a km de donde fuero

50   amiento de la interculturalidad bilingüe.Te dejamos el link con videos de lo que fue la marcha en Rapa Nui:http://yfrog.com/69op5z Conflicto estudiantil EducaciónIsla de PascuaRapa Nui Revisa las no

51   xplicó el responsable del proyecto, Kenneth Suslick. ANSA lunes, 17 de agosto de 2009 18:04 Lengua pascuense podría desaparecer en pocos años | Emol.com Santiago: Miércoles 05 de octubre del 2016 Emol

52   irá que los estudiantes de 1° a 4° básico y algunos de prebásica, tengan todas sus clases en lengua Rapa Nui. El titular de Educación sostuvo que estas clases estarán "a cargo de docentes oriundos de

53   recer en pocos años | Emol.com Santiago: Miércoles 05 de octubre del 2016 Emol Espectáculos Lengua pascuense podría desaparecer en pocos años Tras siete años de análisis del cambio demográfico, social

54   l 2016 Emol Nacional Anuncian programa para que escolares en Isla de Pascua tengan clases en lengua Rapa Nui Además, la ministra de Bienes Nacionales dio a conocer una propuesta a los pascuenses frent

55   e julio de 2001 8:28 Anuncian programa para que escolares en Isla de Pascua tengan clases en lengua Rapa Nui | Emol.com Santiago: Miércoles 05 de octubre del 2016 Emol Nacional Anuncian programa para

56   gua Rapa Nui. Según explicó el secretario de Estado, el programa denominado de "Inmersión en Lengua Rapa Nui", que comenzará este año, permitirá que los estudiantes de 1° a 4° básico y algunos de preb

57   onvenio que va a permitir que los estudiantes del establecimiento tengan todas sus clases en lengua Rapa Nui. Según explicó el secretario de Estado, el programa denominado de "Inmersión en Lengua Rapa

58   Indígena (Conadi), Jorge Retamal Rubio, pudo conocer en persona el programa de inmersión en lengua Rapa Nui que se practica en el colegio Lorenzo Baeza Vega. Para la directora del establecimiento, Ja

59   e la gente de la isla, respetando la cultura local e incorporando sus tradiciones además del idioma rapa nui", señaló Silva. Agregó que esto es parte del esfuerzo que se está haciendo para que el mate

60   nes y la lengua. "Papá, mamá, pídanle a los abuelos y abuelas de sus hijos que les hablen en lengua rapa nui, además de que le cuenten la historia de la isla", dice una de las primeras páginas de la g

61   ostumbres propias de esta cultura. por latercera.com - 18/01/2010 - 16:52 "Así nacen los niños en Rapa Nui", o "Pe nei te poreko hana o te ná poki 'i Rapa Nui", es el título de la Guía de Gestación y

62   ntos y canciones. Los párvulos del jardín intercultural Iluña Poreko Tañi Mapu de Macul cantan en rapa nui, aymará y mapudungun. LA EXPERIENCIA DE COLCHANE En el pueblo altiplánico de Colchane, el jar

63   ravés de la elaboración de textos sobre naturaleza, historia, poesía y cuentos infantiles en idioma Rapa Nui. Concejo Municipal de Arica postergó por segunda vez la votación para la mantención de área

64   Publicado por: Hans Gotterbarm Consejo de la Cultura reconoció a fundadora de la Academia de Lengua Rapa Nui como un Tesoro Humano Vivo | soychile.cl 1 Consejo de la Cultura reconoció a fundadora de l

65   Consejo Nacional de la ultura y Las Artes.Haoa es una de las fundadoras de la Academia de la Lengua Rapa Nui y con esta condecoración se ha transformado en el sexto Tesoro Humano nombrado por el conce

66   ro Humano Vivo | soychile.cl 1 Consejo de la Cultura reconoció a fundadora de la Academia de Lengua Rapa Nui como un Tesoro Humano Vivo 01.08.2012 El reconocimiento se le entregó principalmente por la

Appendix 20.   Expanded concordance lines for the Huilliche language

1   lengua 23.11.2014 Las clases se realizan en el Instituto Iprosec en la calle Los Carrera 436. El taller comieza este lunes en el Instituto Iprosec. Este lunes desde las 19 a las 22 horas se desarrollará el taller gratuito de enseñanza de la lengua huilliche que organiza la Asociación indígena Tremun Newen. Las clases se realizan en el Instituto Iprosec en la calle Los Carrera 436. Paralelamente la misma asociación invita a participar a un curso de cestería en el Centro Cultural, ubicado en Matt

2   o yo no te puedo decir qué es lo que dice", y es verdad, ahora porque me interesa el tema yo he aprendido a traducir lo que él me decía, y es algo que yo lo llevo con orgullo y que también lo defiendo con garras cuando alguien me dice "no, la lengua williche no existe, la lengua williche se perdió y aquí no hay nadie que la maneje". O sea, de lo poco que hay, tenemos que construir, y debemos seguir trabajando porque hay muchas personas que todavía hablan. Está, por ejemplo, la abuela Dolores Mil

3   apunta a rescatar el lenguaje nativo de una comunidad que cuenta con una alta población de descendencia indígena. Con un especial énfasis en el uso y rescate del vocabulario étnico se está dictando cada fin de semana en Puqueldón un curso de lengua huilliche ofrecido por el Programa de Desarrollo Territorial Indígena del municipio local.El taller que se focaliza en la localidad rural de Detif lleva dos jornadas las cuales se ofrecen cada sábado y donde se encuentran participando un total de 25 v

4   lo que dice", y es verdad, ahora porque me interesa el tema yo he aprendido a traducir lo que él me decía, y es algo que yo lo llevo con orgullo y que también lo defiendo con garras cuando alguien me dice "no, la lengua williche no existe, la lengua williche se perdió y aquí no hay nadie que la maneje". O sea, de lo poco que hay, tenemos que construir, y debemos seguir trabajando porque hay muchas personas que todavía hablan. Está, por ejemplo, la abuela Dolores Millalonco, que es una mujer que

5   una red de educadoras interculturales en la provincia de Osorno | soychile.cl 1 Cincuenta docentes y campesinas formaron una red de educadoras interculturales

en la provincia de Osorno 03.09.2014 Las mujeres enseñan en colegios y escuelas la lengua huilliche chezügun. Ellas traspasan a los niños entre primero y cuarto básico los conocimientos que aprendieron en sus familias y entorno. A través del trabajo en las aulas, las educadoras traspasan sus conocimientos y vivencias de la cultura indígena

6   drive con fotos de menores de carácter sexual.El hecho quedó al descubierto este viernes cuando una tía del establecimiento de la Junta Nacional de Jardines Infantiles (Junji) en el cual el profesor se desempeña como monitor intercultural de lengua huilliche, encontró las imágenes en el pendrive del F.J.C.V.Debido a que el hombre no supo manipular un equipo para reproducir su material, le pidió ayuda a la docente, quien al abrir el sistema de almacenamiento encontró las fotografías con contenido

7   n la cárcel de Osorno. Foto: La Segunda (archivo) OSORNO.- Un profesor de 50 años fue detenido por almacenar pornografía infantil y permanece recluido en la cárcel de Osorno. El docente de 50 años se desempeñaba como monitor intercultural de lengua huilliche en un recinto educacional perteneciente a la Junta Nacional de Jardines Infantiles (Junji). Según consigna el medio local SoyOsorno.cl, el hecho fue advertido por una profesora del establecimiento, quien lo estaba ayudando a cargar el materi

8   sico los conocimientos que aprendieron en sus familias y entorno. A través del trabajo en las aulas, las educadoras traspasan sus conocimientos y vivencias de la cultura indígena. Foto: David Muñoz. Cincuenta educadoras interculturales de la lengua huilliche chezügun conformaron la Red de Educadores Tradicionales de Lengua y Cultura Indígena de la provincia de Osorno.Ellas, a través del trabajo en las aulas, traspasan sus conocimientos y vivencias de la cultura indígena en las escuelas donde des

9   así había mucha gente hablante. Y después vienen los carabineros, instalan retenes por todos lados, para que la gente vaya obedeciendo lo que le decían. También por imposición de la escuela en Chiloé desaparece casi por completo lo que es la lengua williche. -¿Qué pasaba en las escuelas? -Cuando llegaba un niño que sabía su lengua y por casualidad la hablaba, dicen que le colocaban piedras en

las manos y lo castigaban para que según ellos extendiera la lengua, porque decían que tenían la lengua

10   y uno se puede dar cuenta que habiendo tantas organizaciones que dicen que son indígenas, deberíamos trabajar todas juntas, tener mucho más valor y mucho más poder. Recuadros: PÉRDIDA DE LA LENGUA -Cuéntenos acerca de cómo se fue perdiendo la lengua williche. -En las iglesias primero les hacían hablar en latín, por lo que casi la mayoría de la gente aprendió a hacer los rezos en ese idioma; aun así había mucha gente hablante. Y después vienen los carabineros, instalan retenes por todos lados, pa

11   ria en materia de turismo comunitario", lo cual generó un intercambio en el que se abordaron temas prácticos como el alojamiento, la gastronomía, el rescate cultural y los productos con identidad, entre otros. En esa línea, hubo mucho diálogo en chesüngun y mapudungún, utilizado por pehuenches de Alto Biobío y por mapuches de la Región de Los Ríos respectivamente. La actividad tomó mucha fuerza gracias a la presencia de una autoridad ancestral en la delegación: el lonco Genaro de la comunidad Fe

12   tre Inglaterra y Chile) generalmente programan sus vacaciones con un año de anticipación, entonces este tipo de publicaciones repercute a la hora de esa programación". Dictan curso de lengua huilliche en Lemuy | soychile.cl 1 Dictan curso de lengua huilliche en Lemuy 09.11.2014 El programa apunta a rescatar el lenguaje nativo de una comunidad que cuenta con una alta población de descendencia indígena. Con un especial énfasis en el uso y rescate del vocabulario étnico se está dictando cada fin de

13   por almacenamiento de pornografía infantil | Emol.com Santiago: Miércoles 05 de octubre del 2016 Emol Nacional Detienen a profesor por almacenamiento de pornografía infantil El docente de 50 años se desempeñaba como monitor intercultural de lengua huilliche en un recinto de la Junji y permanece recluido en la cárcel de Osorno. Foto: La Segunda (archivo) OSORNO.- Un profesor de 50 años fue detenido por almacenar pornografía infantil y permanece recluido en la cárcel de Osorno. El docente de 50 a

14   signó el sitio La Voz. Las inscripciones para estos cursos serán en la Dirección de Cultura de la Municipalidad de Valparaíso, en calle Esmeralda 1051.

http://rbb.cl/4zah 1 2 3 4 5 4 5 Orígenes Bid-Conadi implementó biblioteca para preservar lengua huilliche en Región de los Ríos Orígenes Bid-Conadi implementó biblioteca para preservar lengua huilliche en Región de los Ríos Comunicado de Prensa Publicado por Comunicado de Prensa Hace unos años, la comunidad indígena Nolguehue, ubicada en Río Bue

15   bien se trata de una especie protegida, se encuentra en peligro debido principalmente a amenazas como los incendios forestales, la extracción ilegal y la ganadería.Por otro lado, el territorio indígena de Mapu Lahual ("tierra de alerces" en lengua huilliche) se encuentra inmerso en un sitio prioritario para la conservación de la naturaleza a nivel mundial. Ubicado en la costa de la Provincia de Osorno, este lugar posee una impresionante riqueza biológica y también cultural, además de un extraor

16   hasta 3.600 años. Y si bien se trata de una especie protegida, se encuentra en peligro debido principalmente a amenazas como los incendios forestales, la extracción ilegal y la ganadería. El territorio de Mapu Lahual ("tierra de alerces" en lengua huilliche) se ubica en la costa de la Provincia de Osorno y encuentra inmerso en un sitio prioritario para la conservación de la naturaleza a nivel mundial. Cacicado de Riachuelo lanzó su segundo libro de salud intercultural | soychile.cl 1 Cacicado d

17   onal de la Lengua Materna proclamada por la Unesco.La charla busca promover la protección y preservación de todos los idiomas que emplean los pueblos del mundo y es organizada por la Comisión Voluntaria de Recuperación y Puesta en Valor de la Lengua Williche o Che Sungun, informó el coordinador Paulo Huirimilla, y pretende también crear una mayor conciencia acerca de las tradiciones culturales en nuestro país y promover la solidaridad basada en el entendimiento, la tolerancia y el diálogo.Elisa

18   a Municipalidad de Valparaíso, en calle Esmeralda 1051. http://rbb.cl/4zah 1 2 3 4 5 4 5 Orígenes Bid-Conadi implementó biblioteca para preservar lengua huilliche en Región de los Ríos Orígenes Bid-Conadi implementó biblioteca para preservar lengua huilliche en Región de los Ríos Comunicado de Prensa Publicado por Comunicado de Prensa Hace unos años, la comunidad indígena Nolguehue, ubicada en Río Bueno en la Región de los Ríos, inició un proyecto de taller para rescatar y preservar su lengua an

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Appendix 21.   Expanded concordance lines about Chilean Spanish

1   ebe pasar para que la incluyan?El director explica que la palabra en cuestión "está muy bien armada porque se pueden construir palabras terminadas en 'eza' para sustantivos abstractos. Como lingüista la celebro, pero de ahí a que eso pase al español de Chile, que sea un chilenismo, no. Por el momento no se observa que la palabra haya tenido triunfo, que se esté usando o que la gente la haya adoptado".Matus detalla que "cuando las academias tenemos la certeza de que esto ya está respaldado por el

2   ca la Fundación del Español Urgente (Fundéu BBVA), aunque todavía no tiene registro en el "Diccionario de lengua española", de la Real Academia Española, se trata de un vocablo recogido en varios diccionarios, como el "Diccionario de uso del español de Chile", de la Academia Chilena de la Lengua, y el "Diccionario de uso" de VOX. Por último, la Fundación del Español Urgente, que trabaja con el asesoramiento de la Real Academia Española, aclara que el verbo correspondiente es "alunizar" y que los

3   nicos, para ilustrar el léxico nacional. por EFE - 02/09/2010 - 20:18 Compartir ¿Qué significa "pichiruche"? ¿Qué quiere decir "pegarse el alcachofazo"? Las respuestas ("enclenque" y "caer en la cuenta") figuran en el Diccionario del uso del español de Chile, presentado hoy en Santiago.El diccionario, elaborado por la Academia Chilena de la Lengua y lanzado este jueves en un acto celebrado en la Biblioteca Nacional, contiene cerca de 9.500 citas textuales provenientes de la prensa, la literatura

4   , tanto a la chilena como a las demás academias. También le admito lo de mayor, pero solo por razones de edad, no por ningún otro tipo de privilegio o estatus. ¿Qué opina de los diccionarios de uso diferencial, como el Diccionario de uso del español de Chile? Las academias aspiramos siempre, al menos como ideal, a la elaboración y publicación de un diccionario común, de carácter panhispánico, cuyo léxico sirva indistintamente para cualquiera de los países hispanohablantes. Así, con este espíritu

5   es de la prensa, la literatura y los medios electrónicos nacionales. SANTIAGO.- ¿Qué significa "pichiruche"? ¿Qué quiere decir "pegarse el

alcachofazo"? Las respuestas ("enclenque" y "caer en la cuenta") figuran en el Diccionario del uso del español de Chile, presentado hoy en Santiago. El diccionario, elaborado por la Academia Chilena de la Lengua y lanzado este jueves en un acto celebrado en la Biblioteca Nacional, contiene cerca de 9.500 citas textuales provenientes de la prensa, la literatur

6   n sus vecinos (Argentina, Bolivia, Perú), pero también con Colombia, Puerto Rico, las Antillas, México y Centroamérica.El diccionario está concebido principalmente como una herramienta de consulta para comprender textos escritos y orales del español de Chile, como la prensa o las obras literarias, históricas y científicas fundamentales de la cultura de este país. .Descubren idioma hablado por apenas 1.000 personas en lugar remoto de la India | Tendencias | LA TERCERA Sociedad Ciencia&Tecnolog;ía

7   reada el 5 de junio de 1885 por un grupo de dieciocho fundadores encabezados por su primer director, José Victorino Lastarria. Mi principal deseo es que continúe trabajando como hasta ahora, con el mismo entusiasmo y dedicación, en favor del español de Chile y de la unidad de esta lengua que compartimos más de 500 millones de hispanohablantes en el mundo. Esa tarea común se ha plasmado en numerosas obras conjuntas de las 22 academias, la última de ellas la vigesimotercera edición del Diccionario

8   za Matus.Al ser un diccionario de uso no hace valoraciones prescriptivas acerca del léxico (del tipo "esta palabra está mal usada"), puesto que su cometido es reflejar el uso corriente, socialmente estabilizado, de las unidades léxicas en el español de Chile."Aquí no se pretende dar normas sobre el buen hablar", indica Matus."Para eso tenemos otros mecanismos y proyectos", como las notas idiomáticas que la Academia publica tres veces al año, el servicio de consultas idiomáticas y la conexión con

9   pronuncian igual que en español y escriben de la msima forma en los tres alfabetos. La Chsi bien se pronuncia igual que en español se escribe distinto en los alfabetos (C en Raguileo). Nota: . La Tr, d, Ng y Ll no son sonidos que existan en español de Chile, por lo que enlazaré un video más abajo para poder captar su pronunciación. Estos sonidos se escriben en Raguileo X, Z, G y J, y en Azümchefe:

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Tr, Z, G y J, respectivamente. Si bien la R, se pronuncia distinto en español, los tres alfabetos

10   lamos? (Darío Rojas) Constantemente escuchamos el lamento "qué mal hablamos los chilenos" y el ensalce a los peruanos por pronunciar correctamente el español. Este libro busca desmitificar esta frase y nos cuenta la historia de nuestro idioma español-chileno, sus orígenes y sus transformaciones. 6. Maze runner: correr o morir (James Dashner) Un adolescente despierta en un ascensor que lo lleva hacia una tierra nueva con desafíos hasta entonces desconocidos. A pesar de no recordar nada de su vida

11   a de ensayos. Cómo hablamos cuando hablamos: La atenuación en el castellano de Chile, es la primera publicación en Chile de su tesis. El segundo libro es reciente, Cómo hablamos cuando hablamos: Setecientos tres ejemplos de atenuación en el castellano de Chile. Ambos publicados por Ceibo Ediciones, en 2013. Según Juana Puga, para atenuar tomamos distancia de nuestra persona, del interlocutor y del mensaje que emitimos. En muchas ocasiones, la atenuación responde a la marcada estratificación soc

12   N y que ella denomina "la atenuación". El tema la apasionó tanto que escribió dos libros que nos desnudan de tal forma que debieran estar en la sección de pornografía y no en la de ensayos. Cómo hablamos cuando hablamos: La atenuación en el castellano de Chile, es la primera publicación en Chile de su tesis. El segundo libro es reciente, Cómo hablamos cuando hablamos: Setecientos tres ejemplos de atenuación en el castellano de Chile. Ambos publicados por Ceibo Ediciones, en 2013. Según Juana Pug

Appendix 22.   Concordance lines for lemma MONOLING*

1   de la lengua guaraní y la elaboración de un diccionario oficial de la lengua guaraní, que será monolingüe. Además de ello se está trabajando en una gramática de la lengua y un diccionario bilingüe gua

2   upos bilingües realizaron las pruebas de control ejecutivo de manera similar y superaron a los monolingües. Además, detectaron que el mejor rendimiento en las tareas de lenguaje fue alcanzado por los

3   upos bilingües realizaron las pruebas de control ejecutivo de manera similar y superaron a los monolingües. Además, detectaron que el mejor rendimiento en las tareas de lenguaje fue alcanzado por los

4   inir estrategias para avanzar en el cambio de la política lingüística del país para pasar del monolingüismo al plurilingüismo, y (3) avanzar en el reconocimiento de los saberes y de los valores de los

5   inir estrategias para avanzar en el cambio de la política lingüística del país para pasar del monolingüismo al plurilingüismo Los objetivos del Congreso son: (1) dialogar e intercambiar experiencias,

6   e te vas a caer un par de veces, pero luego andas", concluye López. Anuncios Comentarios Tags Monolingüismo analfabetismo siglo XXI leer escribir idiomas laboral desarrollo Facebook latercera.com BBC:

7   u equipo halló que los adultos mayores bilingües rendían mejor en los tests cognitivos que los monolingües, aun cuando no habían tenido un buen comportamiento en las pruebas de inteligencia décadas an

8   iones hallaron que los adultos mayores bilingües rendían mejor en los tests cognitivos que los monolingües, aún cuando no habían tenido un buen comportamiento en las pruebas de inteligencia décadas an

9   u equipo halló que los adultos mayores bilingües rendían mejor en los tests cognitivos que los monolingües, aún cuando no habían tenido un buen comportamiento en las pruebas de inteligencia décadas an

10   esafortunadamente el etnocentrismo anglosajón aun existe, aunque han perdido fuerza tanto el "monolinguismo" como el "monoculturalismo", dice Ambroggio, que menciona como ejemplo al candidato a la nom

12   e sus lenguas originarias así como respecto de los pueblos que las hablan. Su política pública monolingüe de castellanización ha visto equivocadamente al mapuzugun como un problema, como un sinónimo d

13   nas en México es "preocupante", alertaron hoy en París dos de sus autores, que criticaron el "monolingüismo" de ese país pero destacaron la fructífera "retroalimentación" que se da con el castellano.

14   enas mexicanos alertan en París del estado "preocupante" de sus lenguas Además criticaron el "monolingüismo" de ese país. por EFE - 14/03/2009 - 18:02 La situación de las lenguas indígenas en México

15   tudio, del Instituto de Investigación Rotman de Toronto, se basó en 211 pacientes, bilingües y monolingües, diagnosticados con Alzheimer. "Hemos averiguado que los pacientes bilingües fueron diagnosti

16   español a categoría de idioma extraño y ajeno, cuando, de hecho, Estados Unidos "no es un país monolingüe", dijo a Efe Phillip M. Carter, profesor de Lingüística e Inglés de la Universidad Internacion

17   io diferente para comprometerse neurológicamente con un lenguaje" en comparación con los bebés monolingües, dijo Adrián García-Sierra, autor del estudio. "Cuando el cerebro está expuesto a dos idiomas

19   BC: ¿Es el monolingüismo el analfabetismo del siglo XXI? | BBC Mundo | LA TERCERA BBC: ¿Es el monolingüismo el analfabetismo del siglo XXI? Tal como no saber leer y escribir determinaba el futuro prof

20   os Tags Inglés idioma oficial EEUU Donald Trump Jeb Bush Facebook latercera.com / BBC: ¿Es el monolingüismo el analfabetismo del siglo XXI? | BBC Mundo | LA TERCERA BBC: ¿Es el monolingüismo el analfa

21   Los investigadores compararon más de cien niños monolingües y bilingües de seis años de edad (monolingües en inglés, bilingües chino-inglés, bilingües francés-inglés y bilingües español-inglés) con t

22   rontal izquierdo, queda reflejada en las resonancias magnéticas a que se sometieron individuos monolingües en francés a los que se les hacía repetir secuencias que comprendían sílabas repetidas. Los c

23   estigadores canadienses estudiaron el rendimiento de más de cinco mil estudiantes, bilingües y monolingües, en escritura, lectura y matemáticas en su lengua materna. En sexto grado, los bilingües supe

24   ó en dicha ejecución la participación de numerosos niños y niñas indígenas "quienes pese a ser monolingües en castellano, hoy comienzan a aprender la lengua de sus padres y abuelos, quienes también pa

25   ntes podían asociar a cada uno con un determinado modo lingüístico: dos eran clasificados como monolingües en español, otros dos como monolingües vascos y el par restante como bilingües. En la segunda

26   Los investigadores compararon más de cien niños monolingües y bilingües de seis años de edad (monolingües en inglés, bilingües chino-inglés, bilingües francés-inglés y bilingües español-inglés) con t

27   rontal izquierdo, queda reflejada en las resonancias magnéticas a que se sometieron individuos monolingües en francés a los que se les hacían repetir secuencias que comprendían sílabas repetidas. Los

28   Francofonía, Abdu Diuf, criticó que, "por ser más práctico y por razones económicas", haya un monolingüismo en el día a día de las instituciones internacionales y resaltó que "está en juego el derecho

29   mostraron algunos errores en su pensamiento, pero los grupos tuvieron diferentes errores. Los monolingües eran más propensos a pensar que todo es innato, y los bilingües estaban más propensos a pensa

30   dad no solo de una manera, sino de muchas maneras distintas. Así que, para mí, el modo de vida monolingüe es el más triste, solitario y aburrido de ver el mundo. Hay tantas ventajas en aprender idioma

31   dad no solo de una manera, sino de muchas maneras distintas. Así que, para mí, el modo de vida monolingüe es el más triste, solitario y aburrido de ver el mundo. Hay tantas ventajas en aprender idioma

32   gro de extinción. La mayoría de éstas se concentran en países con la imagen de ser territorios monolingües. Es el caso de Chile, donde el idioma oficial -y por tanto la única lengua de enseñanza oblig

33   n idioma que lidera en el pequeño y conservador estado de Utah cuando pronunció la frase: "El monolingüismo es el analfabetismo del siglo XXI". La audiencia lo aplaudió, los expertos tomaron notas y l

34   as lenguas estuvieran en igualdad frente al español". "México tiene un gran problema" por su "monolingüismo", ironizó el autor mazateco, quien aseguró que durante la colonización se criticaba a los in

35   tad han hablado dos lenguas con regularidad durante la mayor parte de sus vidas y el resto son monolingües. Los pacientes bilingües tuvieron síntomas de Alzheimer y fueron diagnosticados entre cuatro

36   interlocutores en los bilingües presenta algunas características propias. "Cuando una persona monolingüe mira a un interlocutor activa información como su nombre o el momento en el que lo vio por últ

37   colegio puede alterar las creencias de los niños sobre el mundo. Contrario a los de sus pares monolingües, muchos niños que han sido expuestos a un segundo idioma después de los tres años de edad cre

38   xperto, es que los individuos bilingües suelen ejercitar sus cerebros en formas como sus pares monolingües no lo hacen y, por lo tanto, pueden retrasar la enfermedad."Sería realmente muy poderoso si p

39   xperto, es que los individuos bilingües suelen ejercitar sus cerebros en formas como sus pares monolingües no lo hacen y, por lo tanto, pueden retrasar la enfermedad. "Sería realmente muy poderoso si

40   xperto, es que los individuos bilingües suelen ejercitar sus cerebros en formas como sus pares monolingües no lo hacen y, por lo tanto, pueden retrasar la enfermedad. "Sería realmente muy poderoso si

41   tido por Trump, prosiguió Carter, "reactivan o reafirman la falsa idea de que EE.UU es un país monolingüe o que debe serlo, y que el inglés es el único idioma que predomina". De hecho, cualquier exame

42   d han hablado dos lenguas con regularidad durante la mayor parte de sus vidas y el resto son monolingües.Los pacientes bilingües tuvieron síntomas de Alzheimer y fueron diagnosticados entre cuatro y c

43   xisten grandes diferencias en el progreso cognnitivo y lingüístico de niños multilingües y los monolingües. Pero tal como afirma el investigador en la revista Science, hay ciertas áreas en las que cua

44   xisten grandes diferencias en el progreso cognnitivo y lingüístico de niños multilingües y los monolingües. Pero tal como afirma el investigador en la revista Science, hay ciertas áreas en las que cua

45   nas bilingües desarrollaron síntomas de la enfermedad cuatro años después que los individuos monolingües.Una posible explicación, dice el experto, es que los individuos bilingües suelen ejercitar sus

46   s-Heinlein, y su co-autora Bianca Garcia, examinaron un total de 48 niños de cinco a seis años monolingües, simultáneamente bilingües (aprenden dos idiomas a la vez) y bilingüe secuencial (aprendieron

47   amente bilingües por hablar sólo una lengua y ahora es la mayoría de los mexicanos los que son monolingües. Sin embargo, lejos de renunciar al castellano, Regino quien declaró "pensar también en españ

48   cionales en el mismo idioma. "Estos resultados sugieren que tanto los niños bilingües como los monolingües, son capaces de discriminar los dos idiomas, y que desde los primeros momentos de vida dispon

49   cionales en el mismo idioma. "Estos resultados sugieren que tanto los niños bilingües como los monolingües, son capaces de discriminar los dos idiomas, y que desde los primeros momentos de vida dispon

50   tos. Estudios previos de Kuhl mostraron que entre el octavo y el décimo mes de edad, los bebés monolingües son cada vez más capaces de distinguir los sonidos del habla de su lengua materna, mientras q

51   tos. Estudios previos de Kuhl mostraron que entre el octavo y el décimo mes de edad, los bebés monolingües son cada vez más capaces de distinguir los sonidos del habla de su lengua materna, mientras q

52   r abierto durante más tiempo antes de mostrar el estrechamiento de la percepción que los niños monolingües suelen mostrar al final del primer año de vida", explicó García-Sierra. EFE - Agencia EFE - .

53   r abierto durante más tiempo antes de mostrar el estrechamiento de la percepción que los niños monolingües suelen mostrar al final del primer año de vida," explicó García-Sierra. EFE martes, 30 de ago

54   rante este siglo. La mayoría de éstas se concentran en países con la imagen de ser territorios monolingües. Tal es el caso de Chile donde el idioma oficial -y por tanto la única lengua de enseñanza o

55   s. La mayoría de éstas se concentran en pocos países, algunos con la imagen de ser territorios monolingües. Tal es el caso de Chile, donde el idioma oficial –y por tanto la única lengua de enseñanza o

56   ten grandes diferencias en el progreso cognnitivo y lingüístico de niños multilingües y los monolingües.Pero tal como afirma el investigador en la revista Science, hay ciertas áreas en las que cuantos

57   í es como en la feria Tech Days 2012, el jefe de Microsoft Research, Rick Rashid, presentó el "Monolingual TTS", tecnología diseñada en los laboratorios de Microsoft en China que permite hacer precisa

58   sonas bilingües desarrollaron síntomas de la enfermedad cuatro años después que los individuos monolingües. Una posible explicación, dice el experto, es que los individuos bilingües suelen ejercitar s

59   sonas bilingües desarrollaron síntomas de la enfermedad cuatro años después que los individuos monolingües. Una posible explicación, dice el experto, es que los individuos bilingües suelen ejercitar s

60   eterminado modo lingüístico: dos eran clasificados como monolingües en español, otros dos como monolingües vascos y el par restante como bilingües. En la segunda parte, se mostraba la imagen de una de

61   jeres mapuche), impide el traspaso del idioma mapuche de madres a hijas a través de la escuela monolingüe, y ahora vienen a celebrar a la mujer mapuche …". Curinao atribuyó a un interés de "utilizar l

62   rimera generación. Consideró que en su país se mantuvo tras la colonización europea un modelo "monolingüe y monocultual" a lo largo de la segunda mitad del siglo XIX hasta la actualidad, en la que per

63   que desde la colonización del territorio mapuche por parte del Estado se impusieron políticas monolingües y discriminatorias hacia el Mapuzugun y sus hablantes. Así mismo, la organización reconoce la

64   la: "desde la colonización del territorio mapuche por parte del Estado se impusieron políticas monolingües y discriminatorias hacia el Mapuzugun y sus hablantes". Asimismo, la organización reconoce la

65   ectos puede tener crecer hablando dos idiomas. Los investigadores compararon más de cien niños monolingües y bilingües de seis años de edad (monolingües en inglés, bilingües chino-inglés, bilingües fr

66   que un pato criado por perros puede ladrar y correr, más que volar y decir "cuac-cuac". "Ambos monolingües y niños con un segundo idioma mostraron algunos errores en su pensamiento, pero los grupos tu

67   ectos puede tener crecer hablando dos idiomas. Los investigadores compararon más de cien niños monolingües y bilingües de seis años de edad (monolingües en inglés, bilingües chino-inglés, bilingües fr