



UNIVERSIDAD NACIONAL DE CÓRDOBA

FACULTAD DE LENGUAS

**MAESTRÍA EN INGLÉS CON ORIENTACIÓN EN
LINGÜÍSTICA APLICADA**

**ZOOMING IN ON CONCEPTIONS AND IDEAS
ABOUT ENGLISH AND SPANISH IN AN
ETHNICALLY INDIGENOUS SCHOOL CONTEXT**

**TRABAJO DE TESIS PRESENTADO POR
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**CÓRDOBA,
OCTUBRE DE 2019**

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to all those who have supported me during the process of conducting my research and writing the final document. I especially thank my thesis advisor and mentor, Dra. Isolda E. Carranza, whose fruitful guidance, constant advice and giving spirit extensively contributed to this study. My thanks also go to the Secretary of Science and Technology (SECyT) who assisted this research financially. I would also like to express my gratitude to *amta* Paz Argentina Quiroga for sharing her knowledge with me and welcoming me in the community. Finally, to my friends and family who have supported me unconditionally through the research process. Their gentle words, love and patience motivated me to work harder.

ABSTRACT

Drawing on linguistic anthropology and the related research traditions of interactional sociolinguistics and discourse analysis, this study aims on the one hand, at unveiling and questioning the ideas about English, Spanish and the ancestral language that can be inferred from the practices in pluriethnic classrooms in San Juan, Argentina and on the other hand, at establishing relationships between those ideas and the classroom dynamics. The speech events observed are the English lesson and the Spanish lesson in a rural secondary school in San Juan where students of Warpe descent attend classes. The methodological approach includes ethnographic fieldwork in English and in Spanish lessons, interviews with teachers, students and parents, and content analysis of the documents that contain the legislative framework for aboriginal education in Argentina. The results reveal that, through their teaching practices, the teachers make available ideas about English, Spanish and the ancestral language to the students. Moreover, the findings also suggest that the students' ideas about English condition the students' expectations about the English lesson as a speech event, its objective, their role and the teachers' role as participants in the event. Additionally, the ideas they have about Spanish seem to have an effect on their behaviour in class. Another finding is the fact that there is a relationship between the students' ideas about their ancestral language and Spanish and, on the other hand, between their degree of affiliation to the Warpe community and their ideas about these languages.

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

1.1. The research problem

The last decades have witnessed a constant increase in the conceptualization of English as a lingua franca (Mauranen, 2003; Jenkins, 2006), as the language of globalization (Nunan, 2001) and of international communication (Warschauer, 2000). As a consequence of these transformations, English has become the foreign language most frequently taught at schools in Argentina and, thus, a great number of studies about the teaching of English in the country have been conducted. However, not many studies have focused on the social, cultural and symbolic meanings that the students, the teachers and the institutions attribute to English (Cots Caimon, 2006). Irvine (2012) suggests that linguistic ideologies are conceptualizations about languages, language users and discursive practices that are loaded with moral and political interests and which are moulded in a cultural setting. Wortham (2008) posits that linguistic ideologies are useful to account for how the school contributes to situating the students in certain social sectors and construing identities. Certain linguistic ideologies that circulate hegemonically in educational settings are materialized into, for example, the decision-making about what languages to teach at schools, how to teach them and conceptualize them. They can also become apparent in the ways the teachers, parents and students refer to communication, human language and certain languages and in how they argue about them. In addition, the teaching-learning process is also affected by the ideas about languages since, as Nussbaum and Tusón (1996) suggest, the teaching-learning process is constructed through the use of the language because the language is an instrument of transmission, representation and construction of the knowledge and part of the object of assessment. That is, what has been learnt is demonstrated through the use of language. At the same time, the authors regard it as an instrument to express individual and collective identities in the classroom. Following this line of thought, it is of paramount importance to examine the ideas about languages that exist in educational institutions to gain a deeper understanding into the characteristics of how the actual teaching-learning processes are taking place in the classrooms.

In addition, as Argentina is home to a diverse sociocultural society, many researchers have focused on the implementation and functioning of the Educación Intercultural Bilingüe (EIB) programme at schools that present a high proportion of students from

indigenous families. Nonetheless, few studies have explored the relationship between English as the most popular foreign language at schools, the sociocultural diversity of the country and the promotion of certain linguistic ideologies in the educational setting. Another aspect of linguistic ideologies which has not been explored in depth in Argentina is the effect they might have on the conceptions about the language lessons and on the interaction occurring in the classroom. Therefore, this study aims at revealing and questioning through their analysis the ideas about English, Spanish and the ancestral language that can be inferred in pluriethnic classrooms in San Juan, Argentina and at establishing relationships between those ideas and the classroom dynamics. In order to achieve these aims, I will carry out a qualitative analysis of English and Spanish lesson observations, of school breaks, of interviews with teachers, students and parents, and of the official documents about the EIB programme. For the case studied, three intact groups of students were observed, each belonging to fourth, fifth and sixth year of Manuel Belgrano school¹, located in Divisadero. Many of the students who attend this school are members of the Warpe community of the area.

1.2. Theoretical approach

This research is informed by the disciplinary perspectives of linguistic anthropology, discourse analysis and interactional sociolinguistics. From each of these perspectives, different concepts and analytical tools have been taken. From linguistic anthropology, defined by Duranti (2000/1997) as the study of language as a cultural resource and of speech as a cultural practice, the concept of ‘linguistic ideologies’ is used. Linguistic ideologies have been defined by cognivist (van Dijk, 1998b), language planning and language policy (Ricento, 2002; Pennycook, 2000; Canagarajah, 1999; Phillipson, 1996) perspectives. Nonetheless, linguistic anthropologists offer a quintessentially social view of linguistic ideologies. Silverstein (1979) proposed a definition of linguistic ideologies as “any sets of beliefs about language articulated by the users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use” (p.193). Later, Irvine (1989) offered a more sociocultural view of “language ideology” and defined it as “the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests” (p. 255). In 1998, Woolard defined “language ideologies” as sets of

¹ The name of the school and the participants in this research have been replaced by pseudonyms.

beliefs and ideas about the structure and use of a language that a community has and that influence social relationships.

Another definition of linguistic ideologies which is quite encompassing is Kroskrity's (2010). The author views them as "beliefs, feelings, and conceptions about language structure and use which often index the political economic interest of individual speakers, ethnic and other interest group, and nation states" (p.1). This formulation takes into account different dimensions of linguistic ideologies such as the socio-political interests of certain groups; the multiplicity of ideologies related to the multiplicity of social divisions, which index identity characteristics; the different degrees of ideological consciousness that are manifested in discourse and in the linguistic practices; and the beliefs about languages that each speaker has based on their sociocultural experience.

In this line of thought centred on the "social group", linguistic ideologies are understood as ideas about the roles of language in social experiences that contribute to the expression of the group. In this study, I adopt this perspective and prioritize it since, as Hamel (2013) states, it is not possible to consider language policies without taking into account how identities, differentiation processes and power structures are built through the use of language. However, the object of study of this research is not linguistic ideologies, but ideas about languages, since this is my first approach to this sociocultural and institutional context. Therefore, the aim is to unveil some of the ideas that teachers, parents and students have about the languages in question and not the complete sets of ideas they have and the relationships between them.

Another concept which is related to linguistic ideologies and comes from the field of applied linguistics is 'language attitudes'. Sarnoff (1970, p. 279) defines attitudes as "dispositions to react favourably or unfavourably to a class of objects". In the case of language attitudes, everything that is related to language is the object that provokes a favourable or an unfavourable reaction. According to Hyrkstedt and Kalaja (2003) attitudes are made up of feelings towards objects, conceptions about them and tendencies to react in a particular way towards them. In my research, the object of study is not language attitudes since the focus is not on the speakers' reactions or on their feelings towards languages, but on the way they envisage languages and their speakers.

In addition, the concept of 'beliefs' that emerged in the field of applied linguistics is also related to this study. Cabaroglu and Roberts (2000) suggest that beliefs are "a set of conceptual representations which signify to its holder a reality or given state of affairs of sufficient validity, truth or trustworthiness to warrant reliance upon it as a guide to

personal thought and action” (p. 388). However, the focus of the studies that have applied this concept has usually been about the effects that beliefs about languages have on the language learning process. Conversely, the focus of this study is on the convergences and divergences of ideas among different social groups and on what these ideas reveal about the educational and the socio-political context.

In line with current studies on linguistic anthropology, I draw upon the conceptualization of a person’s “identity” as a “quintessentially social phenomenon” (Buckholtz & Hall, 2004, p. 377). That is, identities are constructed largely through social interactions. According to Blommaert (2005), the who and what a person is almost always involves semiotic processes of representation and it depends on context, situations and personal objectives. Additionally, Blommaert also coincides with Buckholtz and Hall (2004) since he emphasizes that identity categories need to be enacted and performed to be socially significant. Therefore, following these authors, I consider identity a matter of enactment through different semiotic practices, including the ones that take place when carrying out interactions.

Moreover, informed in interactional sociolinguistics, in this study, the English lesson and the Spanish lesson are considered different speech events, and following Hymes’ (1972) perspective, a speech event is understood as an event where speech is the main component. In other words, the point of departure is the premise that the comprehension of the form and content of the verbal interaction in speech events implies the understanding of the social activity in which it occurs. The linguistic component, simultaneously, plays a role in the constitution of the event as a social event. Moreover, inside the speech events, different frames (Goffman, 1986/1974) are considered. ‘Frame’ is a concept taken from the field of sociology by interactional sociolinguists and it is here understood as the conditions under which the social actors perceive the organization of experiences. That is, the social actors understand and, at the same time, define the organizational principles that govern the social events. Following Goffman (1981), the concepts of ‘participation framework’ and ‘participation status’ provide the background to analyse the interactions within speech events considering that “when a word is spoken, all those who happen to be in perceptual range of the event will have some sort of participation status relative to it” (Goffman, 1981, p. 3).

Another concept which is widely used in interactional sociolinguistics is ‘community of practice’ (Lave and Wenger, 1991). According to Lave and Wenger (1991), for a community to be a community of practice, it requires the combination of three crucial

elements: domain, community and practice. By using the term community, they refer to the fact “that members have different interests, make diverse contributions to activity, and hold varied viewpoints” (p.97). This does not necessarily mean co-presence but “it does imply participation in an activity system about which participants share understandings concerning what they are doing and what that means in their lives and for their communities” (p.98). The concept of ‘practice’ comes from work by the sociologist Bourdieu (1990/1980), who suggests that ‘practice’ is a habitual way of doing something that derives from the combination of a permanent internalization of the social order (*habitus*) and a structured social space (*field*). Practice is, according to Wenger (1998), the “source of coherence of a community”, expressed through three characteristics: joint enterprise, mutual engagement, and shared repertoire (p. 72). The third essential element of the concept ‘community of practice’ is ‘domain’, which is an issue or a topic about which people care. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992) also define ‘community of practice’ taking into account the same elements as Lave and Wenger (1991), since they consider it to be

“an aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in some common endeavour. Ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, values, power relations - in short, practices - emerge in the course of their joint activity around that endeavour” (p. 96).

The authors also suggest a community of practice is different from a community because the former is defined simultaneously by the members and by the practices in which these members engage. That is why, in my study, the school personnel, together with the teachers and the students, make up a community of practice. However, I also constantly mention the ‘Warpe community of Cienagueta’ following Tönnies’ (1979) definition of ‘community’, that is, an organic natural kind of social group whose members are bound together by a sense of belonging that emerges out of the whole range of human activities.

In the field of discourse analysis, Rymes (2008) advocates the idea that “discourse is language in use” (p.12) and the benefit of studying classroom discourse lies in the understanding of the communication differences between social groups. Carranza (2015) points out that one of the advantages of observing talk among the students and of giving discourse analytical treatment to data in a range of communicative situations in schools

is the possibility of unveiling constraints on who is prone to attempt to collaborate or resist and what counts as meaningful mobilization of communicative resources. This, in turn, reveals how the institutional order is reproduced.

In order to examine the interactional sequences produced in the classroom setting, I resort to theories of the interactional dynamics that habitually occur in classroom contexts (Lemke, 1990). In general terms, studies of classroom interaction suggest that teachers usually adopt the triadic dialogue (initiation-response-follow up pattern) identified by Lemke (1990) in order to control the interaction. To analyze the students' orientation to the ongoing joint activity, I draw upon the concept of 'preference organization' to account for "alternative but non-equivalent" courses of action "that are routinely implemented in ways that reflect an institutionalized ranking of choices" available to participants (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984, p. 53). Given a sequence of turns at talk, a 'preferred response' is the choice that the first pair-part expects. On the other hand, a 'dispreferred response' is a second pair-part that is regarded as less expected than an alternative course of action (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984, p. 53). Dispreferred activities are usually associated with features of utterance design such as delaying devices, and they are linguistically signaled by lexical and syntactic choices (Pomerantz, 1984).

1.3. State of the art

Among the studies that are relevant to the present research thesis is the one carried out by Rampton (2006) since it shows different ways in which discourses assist the social actors' goals. He analyses ethnographic data from an urban school and proves that, through accent imitation and play in class, students align with different mainstream values and social stratification. Similarly, Rymes (2008), who analyses ethnographies carried out in the United States, argues that, in many cases, when carrying out discourse analysis in the classroom, researchers tend to overlook the analysis of the speech event in relation to the interactional context (the sequential or other patterns of talk within an interaction that affect what can and cannot be said and how it is interpreted in the classroom interaction) and the social context. Thus, a tool, which allows the visibilization of social processes is disregarded.

Rymes and Anderson's work (2004), which is based on an ethnography in classrooms in the United States, is also relevant to this study. In that research, the authors concluded that the way in which the teachers manage the languages inside the school context can

result in the recognition of a language as valuable or in its invisibilization. In line with this work is Heller's study (2006/1996) on French language high schools in Canada, since it shows how the state's contradictory goals affect a minority-language school that has to accept diversity, but, at the same time, homogenize the population.

1.3.1. Beliefs about language learning

Beliefs about language learning have been an interest of researchers in the fields of applied linguistics and language acquisition for some decades. Traditionally, the prime data-collection instrument used for investigating beliefs about language learning has been the 34-item Likert-scale Beliefs About Language Learning Inventory (BALLI) (Horwitz, 1985) which has been widely applied in different contexts and cultures to research on students' and teachers' beliefs. One of the studies where this instrument was used is in Diab's (2006) which explored the beliefs of students of English and French in Lebanon. The findings of this study indicate that learning a foreign language is related to the political and socio-cultural context where it is learnt. By contrast, other researchers opt for a contextual approach to the study of beliefs about learning. One of these researchers is Barcelos (2000), who investigated the relationship between teachers' and students' language learning beliefs through participant observation. She found a mismatch between beliefs among two teachers and two students and similar beliefs between one teacher and one student. In Argentina, the English teachers' beliefs about the teaching and learning process of the foreign language have been studied through analysing quantitative and qualitative data gathered in the city of Río Cuarto (Valsecchi, Sacchi, Salcedo, Baldocchi & Rocchia, 2016). The authors found that the teachers have beliefs that favour the inclusion of contents related to culture and the integration of technology as a tool for teaching. They also revealed that the teachers recognise the social dimension of writing as an activity. However, in the present study the focus is not on beliefs about the learning of a foreign language only, but on the ideas and beliefs the participants' have about their native language, their heritage language and English as a foreign language. Also, the aim is to discover the relationships among ideas and beliefs about languages and what those relationships reveal about the socio-historic context that surrounds the participants.

1.3.2. The Spanish language in classroom ethnographies

In an ethnographic study in schools that had two-way immersion bilingual programmes, Carranza (1995, 2013) distinguishes two different frames for the students' conversational activity: the official frame "doing school" and the unofficial frame, which is related to non-academic and non-school talk. One of her findings is the fact that the students' choice of Spanish or English signals the current frame. Another finding is that the analysis of the speech event "lesson" as well as other speech events in the courtyard and library reveals ways in which aspects of the context outside school are translated into practices performed by the social actors inside school.

Also in an ethnographic study of classrooms, Alcalá (2007) attempts to define what is understood as good behaviour on the part of the students in Madrid by analysing shared routines. The author concludes that through assessing behaviour inside the classroom, the teachers act as gatekeepers of academic success and, therefore, of social success. Similarly, Alcalá (2010) states that the appraising criteria the teachers use when evaluating the students' behaviour are not negotiated with the latter and give rise to what the author calls categorization processes. These processes influence the psycho-social construction of good/bad behaviour categories and good/bad student categories.

Martín Rojo (2010) also carried out ethnographic research in classrooms in Madrid and she argues that the teachers' views of education and their expectations of their students lead them to manage the class in a particular manner. She shows that teachers' expectations about students and students' achievements are directly related.

1.3.3. Ethnically diverse classrooms

Regarding research on classrooms with aboriginal ethnic presence, Shulist (2017) examined the consequences of the linguistic programmes at schools, the political and ideological formulations about languages, aboriginal identity and territory, in São Gabriel da Cachoeira, Amazonas. To achieve this aim, she analysed two different sociolinguistic situations, but discovered that in both situations the ideological barriers about the languages affect the teaching of the languages. The author observed during fieldwork in a school that both the number of hours dedicated to the teaching of the aboriginal language and the ways of teaching it, are influenced by the dominant ideology, which does not recognize the value of indigenous languages in a modern city. She concludes that the

ideological structures and the social policies of the place limit the opportunities for the indigenous language to be taught in the city.

In a Peruvian university, Zavala and Córdova (2010) conducted an ethnographic study focused on the implementation of the HATUN ÑAN programme, which consists in offering levelling and academic reinforcement courses to members of historically discriminated against group. The aim of the programme is to increase the possibilities of the members of those groups of youngsters entering university and graduating from higher education. In this research, the authors discovered that racism is intertwined with geographical, educational and cultural issues. They claim that the colonial imprint has been maintained even after the political division between colonies and metropolises, and that the university is one of the institutions that reproduces and updates this imprint through its projects and representations. Later, Zavala (2019) suggested that there are some disparities between the discourse of EIB in Peru and the choices a community of Quechua speaking youths are making in order to revitalize the language. The author also points out that this community of Quechua speaking youngsters is encouraging more people to learn and use the language by using it in urban everyday life. They are also positioning the language within other social struggles.

1.3.4. Argentine indigenous students

In Argentina, many researchers have focused on classes with aboriginal students. Among the antecedents directly connected with the present one is the study by Unamuno (2012), who carried out an ethnography in an educational institution in Chaco, where aboriginal teachers are trained in order to discover the role of languages in the social processes of the population. Her work shows that the different languages play a crucial role in the processes of social struggle. It also demonstrates that the conceptions about bilingualism, the assessments of linguistic competence and the linguistic practices at school differ significantly from the conceptions that are expressed in the official discourses about the EIB programme.

Additionally, Hecht (2014) analysed the schooling of the Qom community in Chaco and in Buenos Aires, and she suggests that the educational setting eventually becomes a favourable context for ethnic and racial discrimination. The author suggests that the EIB programme contributes in that way, to an increase in socio-educational inequalities.

Furthermore, Andreani and Hecht (2012) explored the linguistic ideologies present in the socialization processes of bilingual children in Cardon Esquina, Santiago del Estero. Their results show that the school is a strong factor in the prohibition of speaking Quichua, which leads to the language being spoken only in the home environment. Even in that environment, its use is limited since it is believed that bad results will be obtained at school if Quichua is spoken. Therefore, the ancestral language is restricted to being spoken “secretly”.

Likewise, Acuña (2010) describes some situations of linguistic conflict that take place at schools and reflects upon the relationship between the different languages and their use in the school environment. The author concludes that the assessment made by the State of the linguistic situations that exist in areas of language contact seems to be misaligned with the opinions and expectations of the locals and language users. Her findings also suggest that the assessment made by the State of the linguistic situations also differs significantly from the assessment made by the teachers.

As regards studies in relation to the Warpe ethnic group, Escolar (2007) studies how Warpe identification emerged in Cuyo, and the author discusses the general cultural and political conditions that have enabled the preservation of that identity. His ethnographic work demonstrates that cultural practices, phenotypic and mythic traits, territorialities and territorial rituals constitute a construct of Warpe identity reference. He also states that this construct is in the basis of various behaviours among the Warpe actors that range from full affiliation to the indigenous character to the complete negation of it.

As for studies related to the schooling of Warpe people, Salazar Peñaloza (2014) reviews how the educational policies in relation to aboriginal peoples have been implemented by the State. Then, he compares those policies to the indigenous educational practices recognized by the Warpe communities. He concludes that, although the State has achieved a legal framework that grants the aboriginal peoples the rights they deserved, in actual practice, those rights are not guaranteed. He also suggests that the implementation of the EIB programme seems fictional, in some cases, and is an issue which actually needs more research.

These studies prove that the school setting and the classroom itself are contexts where many different ideas about languages and behaviour exist and come into contact with each other. Therefore, it is worth analysing classroom interaction since its analysis can reveal different situations and processes that take place in the classroom context and are naturalized or unnoticed. Moreover, the analysis of classroom interaction can be

particularly significant in pluriethnic classrooms in Argentina since they are becoming more and more common, rather than a rarity. In addition, there are still numerous aboriginal communities that have not been the focus of research projects; therefore, they constitute rich contexts that allow for the possibility of looking into the ideas that are present there and how these ideas relate to each other.

1.4. Objectives and hypotheses

The hypotheses that underlie this study are three. Firstly, taking into account the impact that the educational system has on the promotion of linguistic ideologies, it is expected that differences exist between the conceptions and ideas about the languages that the group of students and parents have and that the group of teachers hold. Secondly, considering that the students and their parents have faced different experiences in life, it is estimated that dissimilarities exist between the ideas the parents and students hold about the languages in question. Thirdly, in view that, in many cases, there is little coincidence between official discourse about the EIB programme and educational practices, it is expected that the educators' practices do not concur with what the legislation on aboriginal education states.

The general objectives of this research study are the following: first, the study attempts to foster an enhanced understanding of the students' and parents' ideas about English, Spanish and the ancestral language. Second, the study expects to reveal the ideas that are promoted in the educational setting about those languages, with a view to contribute to improving the pedagogical offer by providing the educators with the findings about the relationships between the ideas about the languages.

From a linguistic anthropological perspective, the specific objectives of this research include the identification of the conceptions about English, Spanish and indigenous languages and their users that are voiced in the legislation on aboriginal education. Also, the study aims at detecting the ideas about English, Spanish and the ancestral language that the teachers in Manuel Belgrano school, the students and some of their parents have. Another objective is to reveal convergences and divergences among the conceptions and ideas about the language under consideration that the different participants of the educational encounter (educators, parents and students) have.

1.5. Methodological approach

The methodological design underlying this research is an ethnographic case study. Heller (2006/1996) states that the importance of ethnographic research in education derives from its capacity to explore concerns and local situations in depth in order to disentangle processes and tendencies. In line with this contention, Rampton (2006) posits that classrooms, languages and discourse are significant sites as indicators and participants in social struggle, reproduction and change. Moreover, in relation to ethnographic research, Carranza (2013) proposes a perspective to study communicative practices, which she calls “ethnographic orientation”, and which consists in combining ontological remarks about the subjects and discourse and a type of comprehension based on a specific context, which, in turn, has epistemological consequences. As a result, this study aims at comprehending the individual and the micro-context in relation to the macro-sociohistorical context. To fulfil this objective, I have conducted a qualitative analysis of English and Spanish lessons in a school in San Juan that is attended by students of indigenous peoples descent.

One of the techniques for gathering the data was participant observation where the researcher interacts with others according to the way events and situations unfold naturally. Schensul, Schensul and LeCompte (1999) claim that participant observation allows the researcher to delve into how aspects in a situation are prioritized and organized by the participants, what they consider important in terms of politeness, leadership, politics, social interactions and taboos and which the cultural parameters at play are. DeWalt and DeWalt (2011) state that close contact with the locals is fundamental for establishing a good rapport and, in that way, obtaining reliable data. They also state that participation without observation does not constitute ethnographic research. Consequently, they suggest using certain observation strategies such as attending to the physical order of spaces and objects, the organization of the participants in the place and the verbal and non-verbal communication among the participants. For the study of school practices in particular, Lahire (2008) argues that the most adequate methodological tool is the prolonged observation of lessons since it allows the researcher to understand the real modes of socialization at school and to relativize the frequency of appearance of certain situations.

In this study, classroom observations were complemented with the audiovisual recording of English and Spanish lessons. The audiovisual recording was carried out with

a camcorder on some occasions and, on others, with two camcorders or with a camcorder and a voice recorder placed close to the groups of students depending on how the dynamics of the lesson was constructed. Once the observations and recordings of the lessons were completed, I transcribed the audio-visual recordings and compared and complemented them with the field notes on the lessons.

Another technique that was used in the data gathering process was the semi-structured interview applying a protocol (Griffee, 2012) (Appendixes A, B and C). The protocols were designed after three months of lesson observation, i.e. their design was guided by comments or behaviours that I deemed salient during the lessons or which needed explanation. The interviews were recorded. Some questions by the interviewee were general and asked in response to answers. The interviews had an initial number of 25 questions that varied depending on whether the informant provided the information before I produced a question or not. These questions were grouped in four categories. In one section, the questions examine the subjects' opinions about the English language. In another section, the questions explore the relationship between the school community and the context outside the school. Another section aims at retrieving the subjects' opinions about the Warpe languages. Finally, another section, digs into the subjects' opinions about the Spanish language and Spanish as a subject at school. Many of the questions were open ended so as to encourage the subjects to talk. Cameron (2001) suggests that:

The answers people produce to questions about their experiences, habits, affiliations opinions and preferences are not just designed to convey relevant factual information, but also very often to address what the respondent rightly or wrongly believes to be the intentions and preconceptions behind the question (p. 148).

Taking into account Cameron's considerations, by using the interview as a data gathering technique, I attempted to gain indirect access to the ideas the research subjects have about the languages, their uses and users and also about the relationships between languages.

In addition, with the purpose of breaking the ice and generating a comfortable atmosphere, I asked with curiosity: "Entonces, tu nombre es... y ¿cuántos años tenés?... y ¿en qué año estás?...¿qué año hiciste el año pasado?... ¿Tenés hermanos y hermanas?... ¿cuántos?...¿trabajan?...y tus papás ¿trabajan?, ¿en qué?". These questions varied depending on the subject interviewed. In the case of parents, I asked whether they worked, where, whether they had more children, how old they were and what they were called. In

addition, in order to manage a ‘controlled empathy’ (Merlinsky, 2006), I memorized the protocols in advance so that I would not read during the interviews and contribute to the fluidity of the interaction.

The interviews were transcribed and complemented with the notes I took. The notation of the transcripts of the interviews and the lessons is based on Cameron (2001) and it is frequent in *Ethnography of Communication*. The transcription conventions are the following:

- . falling tone
- , rising tone
- : lengthened syllable
- :: more prolonged syllable
- self-interruption
- Ø omission of the phoneme /s/
- [overlap
- () unclear
- (()) researcher’s comment
- (..) intra-turn micro-pause
- (. . .) intra-turn pause or silence between turns
- (. . . .) prolonged pause or silence
- CAPS increased loudness
- [...] incomplete turn

After several viewings of the videos and readings of the transcripts of the lessons and the interviews, I searched for relevant interactional sequences considering some categories proposed by Fairclough (1989) and van Dijk (1995), such as lexical choices, propositions (actors, social roles, actions and agency, connectors, discourse markers), implications, and explicit references to communication, to languages and their users, and to ways of pronouncing, speaking and writing. Then, for the discursive practices, the situational and the intertextual context were taken into account, i.e. the activity and the topic at stake and their purpose, the participants and the relationships among them. Also, the conventions for using English in the classroom were also examined. Lastly, for the social practices dimension, I considered which language was used in different contexts and activities and explicit or implicit appraisals of a language, its users, styles, traditions,

prescriptions of use and prohibitions. After finding some tendencies in the transcripts, I compared them with and related them to what I had observed during the lessons and the breaks, i.e. the observation of predisposition, attitudes, gestures and body movements when hearing, talking about and working on or about a particular language.

In addition, the technique of qualitative content analysis was also used to examine the national regulations that serve as an official framework for the establishment of the EIB programme. Such regulations were examined taking into account propositions and explicit attributions to languages, their value, the speakers of those languages, and references to the cultures and ethnicities that embrace them. Once this stage was completed, I compared these data with the data obtained from the analysis of the observations and interviews. Finally, I interpreted these findings drawing on contextual information and relevant literature.

1.5.1. Constitution of the corpus

The observations were carried out in three intact groups that belonged to fourth, fifth and sixth year each. The students in fourth and fifth year share the same English teacher, Sonia, and the same Spanish teacher, Carina. The sixth year students do not have Spanish lessons and they have English lessons with another teacher, Ángela. During the 2017 academic year, twelve English lessons were observed that made up a total of 36 school hours and four Spanish lessons were observed, making up a total of 16 school hours. That is, the data under analysis is made up of a subcorpus that consists in the transcripts of videos that make a total of 52 school hours. This subcorpus is complemented with the field notes on each of those lessons.

The transcripts of the interviews constitute another subcorpus. The transcripts of eight interviews in total were analysed: three students' interviews, three parents' interviews and the English and Spanish teachers' interviews.

Finally, the third subcorpus comprises the official regulations about the EIB. The regulations analysed in this study are the National Law on Education 26.206 and the resolution No. 119/10 passed by Consejo Federal de Educación.

1.5.2. Selection of the case study

The selection of the area and the school under analysis is justified on the following grounds. First of all, the area where the school is and all its neighbouring towns have traditionally been inhabited by the Warpe people. However, it is not a place that is usually associated with the Warpe people. Moreover, the population in this area has a greater purchasing power than the population of other areas where there are Warpe communities mainly owing to the mining production in the area. Most of the inhabitants have diverse timetables; therefore, the community's ceremonies are not always crowded. The presence of the mining companies also affects the population because it attracts many foreigners to the area. This results in a population which exhibits the characteristics of a rural population, but which has been highly affected by globalization. The combination of all these characteristics makes the area a rich context where varied ideas about languages coexist.

For the selection of the educational institution, I conducted different field trips to the area. I was accompanied by an *amta* (a spiritual leader of the Warpe people) in order to establish contact with the inhabitants of the area and members of the Warpe community there. During those field trips, I found out what school most youngsters of the community attended. Then, I visited the school that was the most adequate for the study according to what I had discussed with the members of the community. I asked the school principal for permission to carry out the observations there and she asked the teachers, students and parents for permission. Once I obtained the authorization, I started the observations in the classrooms.

Another aspect that turns this school into an interesting field in which to conduct research is that it displays similar characteristics to those found among the population of the area. First of all, this school does not offer an Educación Intercultural Bilingüe (EIB) programme and it works following an urban programming although it is located in a rural area. That is, on the one hand, it discloses features of an urban school and, on the other, of a rural school. Some of the characteristics of rural schools that can be observed in this context are that the students tend to be taciturn and observant and they come from families that tend not to be permeable to external influence. They also live in communities that are distant from the urban centres. In addition, all the different school years display great age heterogeneity, i.e. the students range between 12 and 20 years old. In other words, although the classes do not resemble those in rural schools since there is no fusion of

different school levels, they share similarities because of the age variety. Besides, many students have done primary school and the first years of secondary school in rural schools, and thus, the classes present different levels of knowledge. However, the number of students per classroom is high (15 to 20 students) compared with classrooms in rural schools.

The combination of all these aspects of the area and the school together with a great number of Warpe inhabitants -although not many recognize their ancestral origins openly- were the reasons for choosing this school for the case study.

1.5.2.1. The historical and the institutional context

For many decades, Argentina, and Latin America in general, have been the target of linguistic and ethnic homogenizing policies. Focusing on aboriginal education policies, Hecht (2007) pinpoints two main periods in the history of Argentina. The first period encompasses the homogenizing policies at play in the XIX and XX centuries. During this period, most policies aimed at building a homogenous (in terms of language and race) nation - state having Europe as the ideal to follow. The second period, from the XX century onwards, involves what the author calls focalized policies since they were centred on the demands of certain individual groups. According to Hecht (2007), the passing of the Education National Law 26.206 belongs to this period. Within the framework of this law, the EIB programme is incorporated as one of the eight educational programmes of the National Educational System.

In San Juan, the Warpe people has been striving to achieve full recognition from the provincial government and the full implementation of the EIB programme. However, although San Juan adheres to the National Law, for the time being, there is no real endorsement law that guarantees the implementation of adaptation reforms to apply the programme in the Province. Therefore, the participation of the State in the implementation of the EIB programme in the Province has not been frequent.

Between the years 2010 and 2012, after a lot of effort from the communities, a state project to implement the EIB programme was put into effect. It consisted in including “intercultural tutors” in the schools. That is, the project aimed at having a member of the community who was supposed to work in parallel with the teachers and who would serve as a nexus between the contents imposed by the system and indigenous knowledge. This project implied some progress on the issue of the implementation of the EIB in San Juan

since the communities started to be part of the educational system and the teachers, who did not know their students' realities outside school, gained some insight into the school context. However, the authority in charge of the Programme resigned and the whole project was delayed again. In addition, even when this project seemed a major progress in indigenous education, the members of the communities were earning very low wages, which did not allow them to make a living. This situation worsened after the resignation of the person who was responsible for the Programme, since some schools stopped implementing the project and, in the schools where it was implemented, the intercultural tutors were not profiting financially, but were still working as a way of collaborating with the community.

The case of the school in this study is different since this school was never part of the project because the Warpe community of the area has not been recognised as a legal entity yet. Therefore, it is not taken into account when implementing indigenous projects endorsed by the State.

Additionally, since 2016, the EIB Programme in San Juan has not been implemented. The only project in relation to indigenous education which has functioned since it was put into effect is Programa Universitario de Asuntos Indígenas (PUAI). However, it only includes the university educational level.

1.5.2.2. The Warpe people in San Juan

Not long ago, the Warpe people from the Cuyo region was considered extinct by historians, archeologists and other scholars. However, according to Escolar (2005), since the 90's onwards in Mendoza and San Juan, a group of artists, artisans, teachers and other intellectuals started an active fight for the recognition of their ethnic identity and rights. At the end of the same decade, the core of the fight for the recognition of the Warpe identity and rights was transferred from the urban middle class to the rural working class of the arid plain.

The Warpe people is distributed in different provinces of the Cuyo region in Argentina. One of those provinces is San Juan, which is home to 22 Warpe communities, only 5 of which have been recognised as legal entities. A key activist for the Warpe people is Paz Argentina Quiroga because of her tireless work and commitment to the recognition and assertion of the Warpe people. She is an *amta* (spiritual guide) of the Warpe people and is known as the pioneer in the struggle for the recognition of the Warpe identity.

Therefore, all the Warpe communities in Argentina recognize her authority and continually ask her for advice when making decisions with respect to the communities.

One of the main characteristics of the Warpe people is the role of women in the community since they are all matriarchal communities; therefore, women play a key role in the transmission of knowledge. The elders in the communities also have a special role as they take part in the decision-making processes.

As far as the ancestral language is concerned, the literature on Warpe languages is not conclusive. The first documents of the Warpe languages date back to 1607 when Luis de Valdia, a Jesuit missionary, made an Allentiac-Spanish vocabulary list. Some researchers such as Adelaar (2004) suggest there are two different Warpe languages: Allentiac and Millcayac. Other researchers such as Michieli (1990) posit Allentiac and Millcayac are different dialects of the same language. According to the leaders of some Warpe communities, they are dialects of the same language. Therefore, in this research, as the focus is not on this discussion, the syntagmas “ancestral language”, “Warpe language” and “heritage language” are used indistinctively.

1.5.2.3. The Warpe community in the school area

The school area is in the South Central region of the province of San Juan, Argentina (80 kms. to the south of the capital of San Juan). This area belongs to Sarmiento department and it has different districts. The Warpe community of the area does not have legal status as other communities do. Although it is known as the Warpe Community of Cienaguita, its members are distributed among different districts because they inhabited all the area before the Spanish settlers established divisions. These districts are adjacent to one another at a distance of 10 kilometres away from each other, and they present different degrees of urbanization. The closer they are to the capital of the department (Media Agua) - which, in turn, is 50 kms. away from the capital of San Juan – the more urbanization they display. However, all the towns mentioned here are rural in nature and their different degrees of urbanization vary between having a bar or a health post and neither of these. Although the members of the community are distributed across different towns, there is a concentration of people who recognize themselves as Warpe in Cienaguita, which is located 30 km from Media Agua. As these towns are situated on the foothills of the Andes range, they are at the heart of the mining industry and are home to the most prolific limestone quarries in the country. Therefore, the life of the locals tends

to be governed by mining since it is the main source of work in the area. That is, most of the inhabitants work in the lime plants, which work 24 hours a day, seven days a week.

Cieneguita has 438 inhabitants (INDEC, 2010), according to the last official census, and most of its population works at different limestone quarries. The other towns have a similar number of inhabitants except for Los Berrros, which has around 3.000 inhabitants. However, the number of inhabitants provided by the INDEC is not accurate according to the locals, since many of them reported not having been censused, mainly in the smaller towns.

The locals in all of these towns are friendly and ready to help anybody. They are people who do not talk much, particularly to strangers. During the time spent in the community, I was able to observe that the locals tend to be taciturn and observant. They usually take their time to do things calmly and quietly. The youngsters show a lot of respect for adults and do not tend to question decisions at home. The third person singular form *usted* tends to be widely used among the locals, mainly by adolescents when addressing adults, even their parents. Another characteristic that defines the locals is how much they care for what other people may say or think.

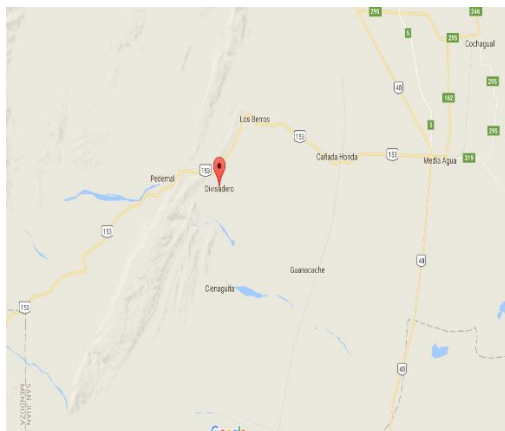
Cienaguita does not provide complete secondary education; it only has a primary school which offers the first three years of secondary school. The school in Cienaguita is organized according to the rural teaching methodology, which consists in having the same subject all throughout the day, so that teachers can go only once a week to the school. In addition, many different levels are grouped together, that is, they are mixed-ability classes, because there are not enough students. As a result, most parents who want their children to go to secondary school send them to the school in Divisadero or in Los Berros.

As regards the Warpe community in particular, the main leader is the eldest man in the community, but because of his age and health, he does not usually leave his house. Therefore, Iris, the community's health agent, fulfills most of the leader's functions, such as helping the children get the scholarships for indigenous people, organizing the ceremonies and giving advice. However, she often ask the leader for advice before making important decisions. In addition, the youngsters in the community also participate actively in the organization of the ceremonies, even more than their parents, since the adults, as has been mentioned before, usually do variable shifts at the limestone quarries. Therefore, on many occasions, they are not able to attend the ceremonies or collaborate in the organization.

Concerning the Warpe variety that the inhabitants of the area know to some extent, most researchers coincide on the fact that Allentiac was spoken by the Warpe inhabitants of the current province of San Juan and Millcayac by the inhabitants of lands that now belong to the province of Mendoza. As a result, due to the fact that these towns belong to the province of San Juan, it can be believed that Allentiac is the variety with which the inhabitants of the area are acquainted. However, that is an issue which needs further research because these towns limit with Mendoza and San Luis and because they were a unified territory before.



Map 1 Location of the research field in relation to the capital of the province



Map 2 Location of Divisadero in relation to Pedernal, Cienaguita and Los Berros.



Image 1 Route 153, the main road that leads to Divisadero. Here, the presence of lime in the air can be seen.

1.5.2.4. The school

The school Manuel Belgrano is located in Divisadero, 10 kilometers away from Cienaguita to one side and 10 kms. away from Los Berros to the other side. As stated earlier, it applies urban methodology, i.e. students have different subjects, and therefore, different teachers all throughout the school day.

The school receives students from Divisadero, Cienaguita, Los Berros, Pedernal (8.5 kms from Divisadero in the direction of the foothills) and, only some students from Retamito (20 kms from Divisadero in the direction of the foothills). To reach the school, coming from the city of San Juan or Los Berros, the teachers and the students have to cross a river. Since very little rain falls in the region, cars can usually cross the river. However, when it rains, a swollen river may make it impossible for the teachers and some students to reach school.

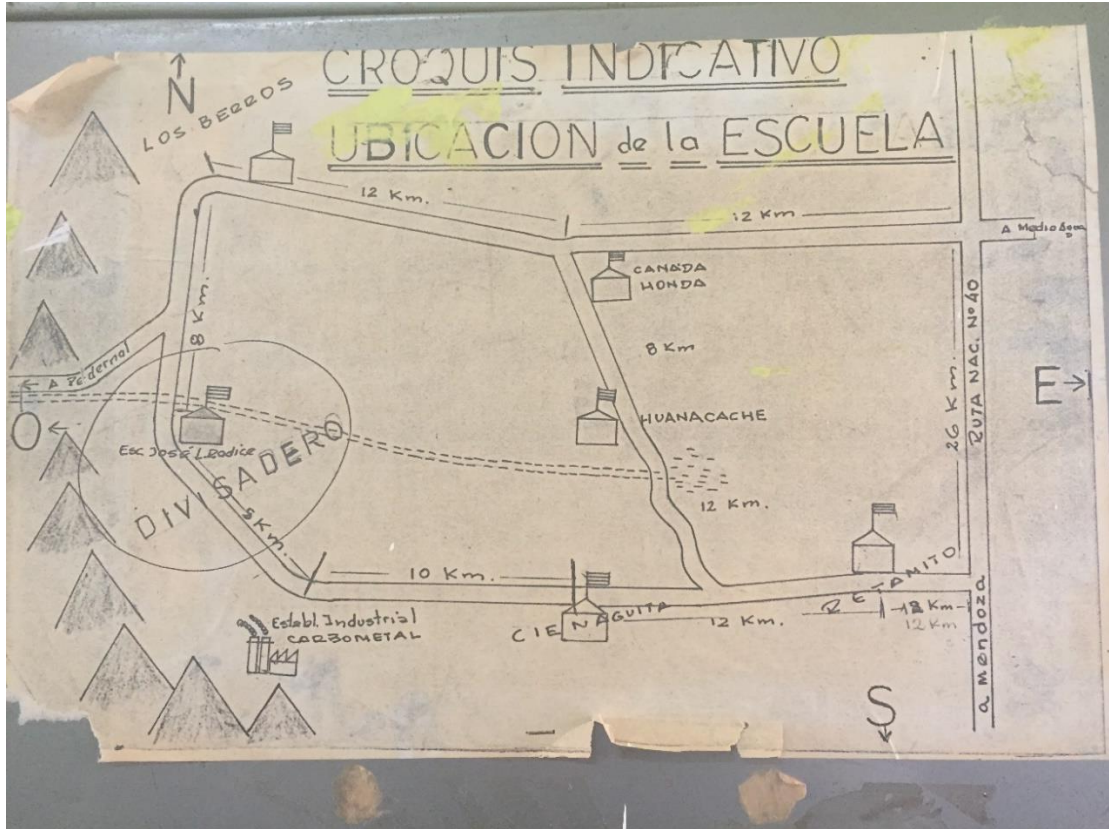


Image 2 Sketch of the place where the school is located. It is taped to a wall in the school's kitchen.



Image 3 School facade where the students wait for the bus to go back home. The school is the most modern building in the area.

The school has seven classrooms, a small library with a few books, a hall where the students play and where formalities such as raising the flag every morning are carried out. It also has a kitchen that works as a teacher's room as well, and two offices: one for the principal and her secretary and one for the tutor.

When I started the observations in the school, the students used to only have breakfast there since this school is included among the schools that receive 'copa de leche', a state program which consists in providing non-perishable food to schools where students from lower social classes attend. However, by the end of the year, the students started receiving lunch too. Therefore, as they have to have lunch before the school time is over and as it is not possible for all the students to eat together at the same time because there is not enough space for everybody in the kitchen, different classes eat at different times. As a consequence, the teacher who is in charge of the class at that moment eats together with the students. Additionally, the school principal, and the school personnel in general, usually have lunch there as well, therefore I also had lunch there sometimes.

There are two women, Lili and María (mother and daughter) who have varying roles from doorkeepers, nurses, and cleaning personnel to cooks, and they are in charge of preparing breakfast and lunch for the students and teachers.



Image 4 Teachers' room, kitchen, and students' and teachers' dining room

Most teachers are from the capital of San Juan, so they have hired a private van service which picks them up from different strategic points in the city and drives them to a school in Los Berros, and, then, to Divisadero, where everybody hops off. The van driver waits for the school day to be over so that he can drive the teachers back home. Sometimes, he drives teachers from one school to the other during the morning or drinks mate in the teachers' room.

School starts at 8 am and finishes at 12.50 pm. However, this timetable is rarely followed since it is very common for students to arrive late, as they have missed the bus. Some other students, the ones that come from Pedernal, sometimes arrive late because the van that drives them to school is running late. They are driven in a van provided by the town's mayor because there are no bus services that coincide with the school timetable. Until two years ago, there was no bus service for the students to come back to Cienaguita at the time school finished. Therefore, to come back home, they had to wait three hours for the bus to arrive, ask truck drivers who worked in the limestone quarries to give them a ride and, then, walk 3 km; or walk all the way home. Nowadays, the bus system has added a bus, which goes past the schools at the time it finishes. However, there are no extra buses, so if teachers do not go to school or the students miss the bus, they have to stay at school until the next bus arrives. In the area, there are no coffee bars, shops or any place to wait apart from houses, which are few and far between in this area.

The teachers tend to be at school on time, but they leave earlier (and let the students leave earlier) because they take the van back home at around 12.40 pm. In addition, it is quite usual for teachers not to give lessons for different reasons: strikes, sick leaves, training workshops, assignments to attend to paperwork, among others. Therefore, most of the time, there are students coming in and out of school because they have some free hours and they wait there at school, go to a neighbour's or to the river and come back later. The year of the observations was special because there were many teacher training days set up by the Ministry of Education, so many school days were missed.



Image 5 Schoolyard

1.5.3. Selection of the research subjects

Although I carried out various interviews with different social actors of the educational encounter in order to gain a more holistic understanding of the context, I only selected some of those interviews to discuss here. The students interviewed were selected because of their salient behaviour in class or their representativeness in relation to different degrees of affiliation to the Warpe community that could be detected during the observations. The group of parents interviewed was also selected taking into account the different degrees of affiliation to the community. The teachers interviewed were the ones that were in charge of the English and Spanish classes. However, I was not able to interview Ángela, one of the English teachers. At school, she always arrived just on time for class, so there was no time before the lessons, and when the lessons finished, she left in a hurry to go to the other school in Los Berros. I also asked her for an interview outside school, and she always accepted when I asked her and, but some minutes before the time we had arranged to meet, she cancelled the meeting.

1.5.3.1. The group of students

One of the subgroups of research participants is made up by students from the fourth, fifth and sixth years of the Manuel Belgrano secondary school. The students in fourth, fifth and sixth years in this school are between 14 and 20 years old. The fourth year class had 17 students, fifth year had 11 students and sixth year only has 4 female students and no male students. The three groups have English lessons 3 school hours a week and fourth and fifth year have Spanish lessons 6 school hours a week. However, during the school year 2017, they did not have Spanish lessons until June because the teacher, who had been in charge of the Spanish lessons in fourth and fifth year, retired and the call for another teacher to fill that job vacancy was not made until June. When it was opened, a new teacher was employed, but resigned the following month because she received another job offer. Again, the students did not have Spanish lessons for some weeks until another call was made to fill the position in September. It was in that call that Carina got the position of Spanish teacher for fourth and fifth year. Therefore, the students started having Spanish lessons properly almost at the end of the school year.

Fourth, fifth and sixth year were the courses selected to observe students on the basis of the assumption that their familiarity with the English language increases the possibilities that they may possess consolidated ideas about the language and its uses or utility in different fields in our country and in the world. In addition, during the teenage years, new ideas which are part of a worldview arise, therefore, it is possible for a social science researcher to delve into the contents of those perspectives.

The students in these groups come from different towns in the area. In the case of the students from Divisadero, Cienaguita and Pedernal, they come to this school because it represents, geographically speaking, the closest option available for them to finish secondary school. The situation for the students from Los Berros is different, since they have secondary schools in their town; however, most of them have repeated school years there and, as the school in Los Berros has high enrolment rates, they do not accept these students anymore. These two groups of students are clearly differentiated at school. During my time carrying out observations there talking to the students and the teachers during the breaks, I witness different verbal games, jokes and different behaviours among the students which allowed me to infer that there is stratification inside the school among the students. This stratification has its origins in the place of residence of the students.

The students who come from Los Berros, even when they are at school because of not being accepted in other schools, enjoy certain prestige because of being closer to urban culture, in other words, because of coming from a town which has achieved a greater degree of urbanization. The students who come from the side of the river, which is completely rural in nature and where there is a concentration of indigenous people, do not enjoy as much prestige as the others and are talked about as “indigenous” and “peasants”. However, inside this group of students, stratification can also be seen. It seems the closer to urbanization they can identify themselves, the more prestige they enjoy and the further into the mountains they come from, the less status they have. This stratification can be inferred not only from the way they talk about each other, but also from their behaviour. The students from Los Berros are more outgoing and talk more than the ones from the more rural area. They also display different ways of dressing. The closer to the mountains they are, the less they wear clothes which follow the current fashion. Moreover, another characteristic that distinguishes these two big groups in the classroom is the type of school programme they had in their previous schools, i.e. the students from Los Berros and Divisadero attended schools with urban schedules and the rest of the students, with rural schedules. In other words, when the students from Los Berros and Divisadero start secondary school, they are already used to having different subjects in one day and to being with students of the same level. However, the students from the more rural towns are used to being in multi-level classrooms and to having only one subject a day. Therefore, it is harder for the students who come from the more rural zones to become acquainted with the urban programme the school in Divisadero offers.

Additionally, most students do not meet after school because they live far from each other and they do not have buses to go from one place to the other. Many students work on the limestone quarries after school and others just stay at home watching TV or go for walks to the salt flats and the river to look for archaeological vestiges from the Warpe communities that inhabited the area before the Spanish colonizers arrived.

Concerning the students who are active members of the Warpe community in particular, they do not mention their Warpe identity at school; on the contrary, they tend to hide it. However, inside this group, I was able to observe that there are more central and more peripheral members in the community with different degrees of affiliation.

Considering all these characteristics, I selected the interviews of three students for this study (1 female and 2 males). One of the students is Ismael, who is Iris’s son. He is a 16-year-old student who tends to have good marks at school and is held in high esteem by

the teachers and school personnel. He is not a very talkative boy, but his participation in the lessons observed was noticeable. In addition, he comes from a family with a high degree of affiliation to the Warpe community and he is a central member of it. He collaborates in every ceremony and has contact with other Warpe communities who inhabit other parts of the province. That is, he has the characteristics of the prototypical boy from the area closer to the mountains, but he has a lot of contact with Warpe people from other parts of San Juan.

Another student interviewed was Ana, a 15-year-old student who is the granddaughter of the community's leader. However, although her grandfather is the leader, she and her family do not seem to be deeply involved with the community. Moreover, she is a good student at school and she dates somebody from the other side of the river. This girl displays some features of physical appearance, patterns of demeanour, dress codes or practices normally associated with a rural background and some typically found in urban areas.

Finally, Gonzalo was interviewed. He is a 14-year-old student who is very quiet in class. He participates and collaborates in the organization of all the ceremonies of the community. He does not often have contact with other people outside the area. Indeed, he does not often go to the other side of the river, which is more urbanized.

1.5.3.2. The group of parents

As stated earlier, each member of the group of parents shows different degrees of affiliation to the community. Additionally, although most men in the families work in the limestone quarries, many women stay at home doing housework. In the afternoons, they usually meet their neighbours and drink mate outside their homes. One of the mothers whose daily routine fits this pattern is Lucía. She is the mother of one of the girls from fifth year, Amira. Although she is not an active member of the community and does not attend the ceremonies, she recognizes her indigenous identity.

Another mother interviewed was Ana's mother, Silvia. She is part of the cleaning personnel in the limestone quarries and her husband also works there as a maintenance operator. Therefore, they do variable shifts. Although they are members of the Warpe community, they do not always collaborate with the organization of the ceremonies or attend them because they are working at that time. Because of her job, Silvia has different ideas from the ones other women in the community have. That is, Silvia does not have

the usual routine the other women have because of her timetable and she has contact with people from the city of San Juan and with foreigners who visit the limestone quarries.

The other mother interviewed was Iris, the local Warpe community's health agent and Ismael's mother. In general, she is in charge of taking the medicines to the members of the community or making sure that they are allowed to use their own medicines with herbs or fruits in the health post, among other duties. She is a central member to the community who is in charge of organizing the ceremonies and who is always catering for the needs of the community members. Therefore, most members of the community resort to Iris when they need something. She was my first contact with a member of the Warpe community in Cienaguita. Then, Iris introduced me to the other families in the community and they were eager to collaborate with my research because she asked them to do so and she organized the meetings. She is also in close contact with the members of other communities and her husband is a very introverted man who has shamanic knowledge because his father was a shaman.

1.5.3.3. The group of educational workers

Almost all the teachers come from the city of San Juan to the school, except for one who lives in Cienaguita. During my time carrying out the observations in the school, I interviewed many teachers to better understand the relationships between ideas. In this way, I became aware that most of the teachers do not know that they have students who have aboriginal origins and who participate actively in the Warpe community. In addition, the teachers that know do not seem to be interested in promoting the discussion of topics like aboriginal identity at school.

In addition, another topic that is common among the teachers is how much the students have changed during the last few years. They complain about their behaviour nowadays because in the past they were more submissive and it was a pleasure to work in the school, but now there are not too many differences with urban schools, where the students are more rebellious, the teachers say. According to them, the students are more disobedient and rebellious nowadays in comparison to how they used to be in the past.

The interviews of the teachers that were taken into account for this study are the ones with Sonia, the English teacher, and with Carina, the Spanish teacher. Sonia has been working in the school for 20 years and she is in charge of the English lessons in all the years of the secondary school except for the sixth year. Carina has been working in the

school for 19 years, but in different school years and subjects. At the beginning of the year, when I carried out the observations at school, she was in charge only of the Spanish lesson in first and second year and of the geography lessons in fifth year. However, as stated before, she did not fill the position of Spanish teacher in fourth and fifth year until September of the school year 2017. When she got the job, she started teaching that same day, but without knowing what the syllabus of the subject was.

1.6. Organization of the document

Having reviewed the state of the art and the theoretical and methodological framework adopted here, I can proceed to announce the organization of this document. Chapter II centres on the English teachers and the ideas about English, Spanish and the heritage language that are made available to the students through their teaching practices. In Chapter III, I analyse excerpts of the lessons and the interviews with the students and parents and discuss the ideas about Spanish, English and the ancestral language that are explicit or implicit in those excerpts. Then, I reveal some discrepancies between the ideas students and parents have about languages and the implementation of the legislation on aboriginal education. Chapter IV focuses on a salient student, Ismael, and his mother, Iris. Here, I consider the relationship between the degree of affiliation to the Warpe community and the ideas about languages. In chapter V, I draw general conclusions on the basis of the ideas detected throughout the different groups and relate them to the socio-cultural context. Then, I discuss some of the implications of the type of methodology employed and I reflect on some of the ethical implications of the present research study. Finally, I identify potential areas of interest for future research.

CHAPTER II: THE ENGLISH TEACHERS

As Mangual Figueroa and Baquedano-López (2017) observe, practices within and across school and community settings reflect ideological positionings derived from the social structure. Following this line of thought, the teachers' practices reflect their ideological positionings with respect to languages and their users and, thus, influence their behaviour in class. According to Mangual Figueroa and Baquedano-López, (2017) ideology circulates not only through ideas, but it is also embodied in actions, literacy practices, and body language. In this light, analysing these aspects of the teachers' behaviour provides us with an insight into the ideas that are made available to the students in the English lessons. To disclose these ideas, this chapter focuses on the English teachers who work at the school in Divisadero: Sonia and Ángela. To carry out the analysis of the lessons observations at the interactional level, the concept of 'frame' (Goffman, 1986/1974) is used to describe a frame which is at stake during Sonia's lesson and which does not match the typical expectations for the speech event taking place. At the macro-level of analysis, the concept of 'practice' (Bourdieu, 1990/1980) is used to account for the teachers' habitual ways of acting, talking about languages and using the languages, managing the lesson time and the students' behaviour in class.

Section 2.1 is centred on one of the English teachers, Sonia, and her teaching practices. Section 2.1.1 deals with Sonia's apparent knowledge of the English language, sections 2.1.2 and 2.1.3 are centred on the uses she makes of English and Spanish during her lessons. In section 2.1.4 a salient frame that is at stake during her lessons is discussed. Section 2.1.5 tackles the assumptions that seem to underlie Sonia's teaching practices. Then, section 2.2 focusses on the sixth year teacher, Ángela. Inside this section, section 2.2.1 deals with the uses Ángela makes of the English language during her lessons; section 2.2.2 focuses on the different references to English Ángela makes; section 2.2.3 analyses the activities that take place during the English lesson; and section 2.2.4 discusses Ángela's responses to the school principal's directives. Section 2.2.5 is centred on the assumptions that seem to underlie Ángela's teaching practices. Then, section 2.3 covers the discordances between the legislation on aboriginal education and the teachers' actual practices. Then, section 2.4 deals with the ideas that are made available to the students through these teachers' practices. Finally, section 2.5 provides a synthesis of the chapter.

2.1. Sonia

As stated in the introductory chapter, Sonia is the English teacher from first to fifth year in this secondary school. In Sonia's interview, she claimed to have completed her studies as an English teacher, first, at a tertiary education level institute and, after that, at the National University of La Rioja. However, I was not able to corroborate the information she provided since, according to the registers of the National University of La Rioja, this institution did not begin to offer degrees for English teachers until 2014.

2.1.1. Knowledge of English

A noticeable feature of Sonia's lessons is how rarely she resorts to English in her lessons and the fact that, in general, when she produces utterances in English, she does not tend to produce complete sentences. The first time she produced a longer utterance in a lesson was when she wrote down the date and repeated it:

(01) Sonia: Mhm mh:: miren ustedes. Today nineteen, nineteen day of April, yes? ((writing on the board))

Maira: Yes

Sonia: Today nineteen day of April? (. . .) no se han acordado

As is evident, the utterances in Sonia's first and third turns contain several mistakes. Instead of the ordinal number "nineteenth" for the date, Sonia uses the cardinal "nineteen". Likewise, she incorrectly uses "day" premodified by "nineteen". Finally, her omission of the verb "to be" is also ungrammatical.

In other lessons, the little recourse to English by the teacher was also a distinctive feature and, when she used English, in most cases, she only used certain lexical items or formulaic expressions to express particular instructions. The following utterances were produced by the same teacher in a different lesson:

(02) Sonia: Ready? Put in your workbook the dates. Ready? (..) Ready? Work in English (..) come on (. . .)

Girls, work in English.

(03) Sonia: Bueno, terminenlo en la casa. Today the twenty first day of April. A ver, (..) ¿están en recreo?

Once more, ungrammaticality in English is what stands out in these turns by the teacher. The utterance “Put in your workbook the dates”, in excerpt (02), does not display the appropriate English verb, nor does it present a transitive verb pattern. That is, the expected collocation in this case would be the verb “to write down” instead of “to put” and the appropriate pattern for the transitive verb would be placing the direct object after the verb. In the case of “today the twenty first day of April”, in excerpt (03), the main verb is missing as in excerpt (01). The teacher’s making mistakes in English and not attempting to correct them reveals that her knowledge of the language is deficient since those mistakes are elementary and they convey the idea that accuracy in English is not necessary. In addition, the teacher’s lack of care to correctly phrase instructions also reveals that English is not recognized as a tool for communication, but only as content to be taught at school.

During Sonia’s lessons in fifth year, this mismatch between her utterances and English grammar rules was also observed. The following turns were produced by Sonia when working on “Little Red Riding Hood”:

(04) Sonia: *See, antes del see abran un signo de admiración, see / beautiful flower, /fla/ /wer/, cierren signo*

(05) Sonia: *En una hoja y después lo copia. Flowers, punto de bajo /'rɪdɪŋhʊd/ baje donde está escrito /'rɪdɪŋhʊd/ ¿listo?*

(06) Sonia: */'θaŋks/'θaŋks/ con zeta, coma, abran signo de admiración, /gʊd'ɑ:dɪə, gʊd'ɑ:dɪə/, cierren signo, al lado, I will /'pɪksəm/, /'pɪksəm/ flowers*

In excerpts (04) and (06) the teacher asked the students to include an exclamation mark at the beginning of a sentence, which is not used in English. She also made many pronunciation mistakes in excerpts (05) and (06) when pronouncing diphthongs as monophthongs, when changing the stressed syllable of a word and when producing sounds that are not part of the English language system. The fact that the teacher made recurrent mistakes in English shows, in addition to her lack of knowledge of the language, her lack of interest in having a better level of English and in the students’ acquiring a good level of the foreign language. Although these are not impediments to the students’ learning the language, they do not favour learning either, and they reveal Sonia’s lack of commitment to the learning and teaching of the foreign language. Her awareness of her

low level of proficiency in English might be one of the reasons for using only a minimal number of English expressions when I was there.

Nonetheless, not only did she produced inaccuracies in her utterances, but she also explained lesson topics erroneously. The teacher produced the turn transcribed below when presenting the past continuous tense. On the blackboard, she had drawn three columns and, in the first one, she listed the simple past tense of the verb to be; in the second column, she listed the gerunds of different verbs and in the third column, she listed verbs in the simple past tense.

(07) Sonia: No puedo usar otra vez el verbo to be, porque ya lo tengo, ¿sí? No puedo usarlo en ninguna de las dos columnas porque en una estaría mal, pero en la otra, estaría-no tengo que usarlo. Eh.; Mary lived y ¿acá?

Here, the teacher clearly did not contemplate that English grammar accepts passive sentences with continuous tenses (conjugated “to be” + being + participle) like “they were being arrested”. Nevertheless, this is not the only case where she taught an English grammatical rule inaccurately. In the following example, she was explaining the past tense of the copula:

(08) Sonia: Y para todo el resto de los pronombres es were, ¿sí? (.) ¿Se acuerdan de los otros pronombres? I, los dos you, we y they, se usa were. ¿Por qué? Porque antes en presente era are, ¿sí? Eso es memoria

Again, knowing which form of the verb “to be” agrees with the personal pronoun “I” is basic knowledge of English and, yet, the teacher made mistakes when explaining this. The fact that she taught crucial topics inaccurately reveals that she has minimal knowledge of English, and provides cues to unveil some ideas underlying her behaviour. Having a good proficiency level in English appears not to be essential for Sonia. What seems to be important to her is teaching sets of rules that comply with the curricula even if this means disregarding the students’ needs and teaching content inaccurately. Moreover, a view of the English language as a set of rules instead of a view of English as a tool for communication can be deduced from her turns-at-talk. Thinking that a language is only a set of rules may be the basis for an implicit conception of English as unfit for communication.

Also, during one of the lessons in fifth year, Sonia stated her concern about the students’ reading skills in English:

(09) *Sonia: Como la abuela (... ..) Quiero que lean bien. ¿Listo? Y, ¿saben que van a traer para la clase que viene?*

Sonia stated she was interested in the students' learning to read properly, but she expressed herself using inappropriate pronunciation and syntactic structures, which actually makes the students learning process more difficult. This concern for the students' reading abilities was also overtly manifest in another turn:

(10) *Sonia: Y quienes son, por el momento – me ha gustado la representación de las casas y el bosque, está muy bueno, guárdenlo porque lo vamos a tener que volver a practicar, pero ya con toda la lectura, bien leído. Sientense en la casa a leer, es necesario, no pu (...) e (...) den le (...) er a (...) sí porque ni en castellano, ni en nuestro idioma hablamos así (... ..) leemos todos juntos, en el acto*

Despite the concern displayed by the teacher, the comparison between their skills in English and Spanish lacks logic. It is more reasonable to expect the students to read better in their native language than in English. However, her turn discloses lack of knowledge of how languages are learnt and the conception of English as a language that is easier to learn than Spanish. All these elements provide cues to unveil some ideas underlying what the teacher said. Teaching English accurately so that the students learn English correctly seems not to constitute a concern for Sonia.

2.1.2. Uses of English in the classroom

During Sonia's lessons, it was possible to observe that she uses English in few utterances, and when she does, she tends to produce short phrases as the following turns display:

(11) *Sonia: One, two, three*

(12) *Fernando: ¿En qué lo tenemos que traer?*

Sonia: In English

(13) *Sonia: Yes, sure, si no, ¿cómo lo voy a leer? (...)*

(14) *Sonia: (...) ¿Listo? A la cuenta de tres. [One,(... ..) listo::,(... ..) two,] y empezamos, three.*

(15) *Sonia: It's the time*

These examples show the use that the teacher makes of the English language during the lessons is quite limited taking into account that she is the only source of input the students have at school. Example (15) also serves as evidence of what was previously stated about Sonia's low level of proficiency in English since "it's the time" is not an expression used to say that the lesson is over. In other words, what is constant in Sonia's turns is code-switching where Spanish prevails, the absence of complete turns in English and the production of inaccuracies when using English. The limited use of English by the teacher was detected since the first lesson observed in fourth year, where she only used English three times. Two of those instances are the following:

(16) *Sonia: (...) Ya que son aproximadamente como 5 alumnos 6, de cada fila un grupo, otro grupo, otro grupo ¿sí? y van a tener que pensar in English, agregar algo, es cuarto año ¿sí? [...]*

(17) *Sonia: De la puerta para acá están en inglés así que a crear in English, ¿listo?*

The expression "in English" in both cases, appeared in commands and as part of the act of providing instructions during the speech event "lesson". This expression was frequently found in Sonia's turns and, taking into account the few occasions when English was used, its frequency points to the conception of English as the language for instructions, and as a result, for indicating distance. The use of English indexing distance and asymmetry can also be seen in the following excerpts:

(18) *Sonia: Y es que son poquitos ustedes. Stand up,*

(19) *Sonia: Come on, come on. Good morning. Sit down.*

Both of these turns were produced when the teacher came into the classroom and the students were talking. Once more, English was used in commands, and when greeting the students at the beginning of the lesson. However, the rest of the lesson continued mostly in Spanish with only some utterances in English. However, English was often used not only in commands, but also in reprimands. Sonia produced the following turn in one of the lessons in fourth year when a student came into the classroom ten minutes before the lesson finished:

(20) *Sonia: Good night! (..) ¿Avisó que ha llegado?*

Sonia saying “good night” when it was nine in the morning and the lesson had started at eight makes the expression sarcastic and, it constitutes a reproach. What is noticeable is the use of English instead of Spanish for reprimanding the student, when actually the whole lesson was being delivered in Spanish. English was employed when showing distance and superiority in this case. It is also interesting to notice that “good night” is used to express a farewell to somebody who goes to bed, not to greet someone, i.e. Sonia uses an inaccurate expression in this case. Nonetheless, the use of “good night” by Sonia was observed in many different lessons and classes whenever a student arrived late at class. English was the chosen language to tell the students off on many different occasions. The following turn was produced by the teacher when two students were misbehaving:

(21) *Sonia: Boys, silent (.. ..) Varones (.. ..) ¿varones?*

Her use of the foreign language to express disapproval of an action reveals that English is the language used when indicating distance and asymmetry. But, simultaneously, the alienating effect produced by the use of a foreign language indicates lack of commitment to the act being performed. As a result, the reprimand is mitigated because the language in which it was carried out is not perceived, by any of the social actors in this encounter, as having the capacity to express meanings completely.

Apart from the use of English indicating distance, what could be observed was that the teacher does not conceive of using English in the English lesson as the behaviour expected from herself or the students. As noted in the introductory chapter, during the time of the observation of the lessons, the National Ministry of Education declared mandatory that the staff of every Argentinian school attend teacher training sessions in which various issues such as the students’ reading comprehension problems were discussed. As a result of those sessions, the principal of the school decided to implement changes to solve those issues. One of the changes was that all the teachers had to work on different texts to develop the students’ reading comprehension abilities. Each week she gave the teachers the order to work on different topics that were not necessarily connected to their subjects at the beginning of their lessons for at least twenty minutes. One of those topics was moral

values, specifically, respect and solidarity. The following exchanges occurred when the students were complaining about having to do an activity about moral values:

(22) *Sonia: ¿Cómo lo muestran? Son valores, pero ¿cómo los muestran? No respetando a mi papá, a mi mamá, a mis profesores*

Amira: No nos interesa

María: No sé

Sonia: ¿Quieren trabajarlo en inglés? ((putting on an angry face))

Several students: no::

Sonia: Bueno, entonces, ((she moved her hand up and down twice and moved her head))

In excerpt (22), the teacher threaten her students to shift to English when they said they were not interested in the topic. This turn is interesting because it is paradoxical to threaten the students with having to use English in the English lesson. The fact that the teacher issued this threat unveils the idea that English is not the norm in the English lesson, and, due to the nature of threats, it reveals that Sonia regards the use of English in her lessons as a negative experience.

In addition, the fact that English is not the norm in the English lesson can also be seen in other utterances by Sonia. Excerpt (23) was produced at the beginning of the lesson:

(23) *Sonia: ¡Qué bonito! (. . . .) hello! (..) Stand up! (. . . .) Good morning*

English was used only to establish the “English lesson” frame. The students did not respond to the greeting or to the command “Stand up!” and the teacher did not show any sign of surprise about the lack of uptake. The teacher’s acceptance of the students’ behaviour confirms the lesson is carried out on a pretence frame where the students pretend to be learning and the teacher to be teaching and, in many cases, the use of English signals the establishment of this frame.

Moreover, excerpt (23) was not the only case where English was used to signal a change of frame. In the following excerpt, the teacher announced the homework for the following lesson using English:

(24) *Sonia: Practice number one, ready? Uno (. . .) presentar el siguiente práctico el día viernes veinteviernes (. . .)*

María: El siguiente práctico

Sonia: El día viernes 21 de abril

Renzo: ¿Viernes?

Sonia: 21 de abril. Dos

Valentina: Ay si el viernes, este viernes

Sonia: Realizar por escrito, coma, una descripción (..) del personaje

Renzo: ¿De qué?

Sonia: Del personaje asignado

Amira: ¿Cómo?

Sonia: Una descripción del personaje asignado

Fernando: Listo

Sonia: Punto aparte. Tres (.. ..) elaborarlo (.. ..) por escrito, vamos a aprovechar y vamos a ver los pasados, en pasados

Valentina: Por escrito

Sonia: En pasados

Amira: ¿Cómo en pasado?

Sonia: Tiempo verbal en pasado, segunda columna del verbo. Punto a parte, cuatro

Tatiana: ¿Cómo?

Fernando: Profe, es mucho para el viernes

Sonia: Traerlo con carátula. Ustedes ya saben hacer las carátulas

In this excerpt, English signals the end of one activity and announces the beginning of another activity, the dictation of homework. Although the first utterance was in English, Sonia continued the dictation in Spanish even indicating punctuation marks in Spanish, something she never did in English during the lesson. The fact that English was used only to signal a change of frame together with the attention given to Spanish punctuation and the lack of attention given to English punctuation demonstrates the teacher assigns more value to Spanish than to English and English only serves the purpose of maintaining and ratifying the pretence frame.

At this point, it is possible to say that English was used when signalling changes of frame, when providing instructions, and, mainly, when indexing social distance. In other words, Sonia used a minimal amount of English, and, when she did, it often appeared as part of turns in which asymmetry is expressed between herself and the students. Moreover, the reduced use of English for communication reveals the teacher's conception of English as an object to be studied, but not as a language fit for communication. Awareness on the part of the teacher of value of learning English is completely absent during all the lessons observed.

2.1.3. Uses of Spanish in the classroom

As was stated in the previous section, the use of the foreign language in the English lesson is minimal and most of the lessons are usually carried out almost entirely in Spanish. Apparently, Sonia holds the idea that Spanish should be the norm in the English lesson. The following exchanges occurred when she announced she was going to carry out dictation. The students were not certain if it was going to be in English or in Spanish:

(25) *Tatiana: ¿Va a dictar en inglés?*

Sonia: Yes

Ismael: No:

Sonia: No, en castellano, chicos ((inclining her head, putting her hand up and rolling her eyes))

Several students: ah::

In this excerpt, English is not presented by the teacher as the expected language during the English lesson. Spanish is the norm for the teacher and for the students. The second turn produced by Sonia in excerpt (25), due to the gestures that accompanied it, indicated that her turn in the previous exchange was to be understood as a joke. This joke offers cues to unveil the role the teacher assigns to English and Spanish in the lesson. In this joke, the implicit assumption that the Spanish language is the norm in the English lesson is present.

In addition, in the lessons observed, Sonia made no comments about the spelling of English words. However, she focused on the spelling of Spanish. Sonia produced the following turns when she was carrying out dictation:

(26) *Sonia: Escriba veinte palabras y tradúzcalas, y tradÚZcalas, con zeta y acento, tradÚZcalas, tradÚZcalas*

((Somebody knocks on the door again, a student stands up, opens the door and talks to somebody, the rest of the students start making noises and the teacher talks))

Sonia: Listen, listen, listen (. . . .) van a escribir una palabra abajo de la otra en castellano, dos puntos, dos puntos

((the girl who was talking to somebody at the door comes in again and closes the door making a loud noise))

Sonia: ¿Cerró? ((to the girl who closed the door)). Dos puntos, en inglés, fonética y traducción, a ver si hay otra distinta a la que ustedes han buscado

By making explicit reference to spelling and punctuation in Spanish and no reference in this respect to English, more value is covertly given to Spanish than to English. The teacher used English in “listen, listen, listen” to resume the frame which had been disrupted by the knock on the door, even when the rest of the interaction was carried out in Spanish. Interestingly, the English language, in this case, functioned as an indicator of the “English lesson” frame, but its use is paradoxical in relation to the linguistic context which surrounded it. English was used to resume an activity which focused on Spanish.

Furthermore, in two of the lessons observed from fifth year, the main activity was reading aloud “Little Red Riding Hood” and writing the translation provided by Sonia next to the original text. When carrying out this activity, although the focus of the activity was practicing English pronunciation, Sonia used Spanish to assign the task to the students and chose the Spanish translation she had made of the text instead of the original English version to signal where they had left off the previous lesson. Once more, Spanish was chosen by the teacher as the norm in the English lesson, even when the focus of the activity was English pronunciation. This can also be exemplified with other turns produced by Sonia during the same activity:

(27) Sonia: (...) *O, abran signo de admiración, escriban la o, cierren signos, see, see, see, no /sɪ/, /si:/, see this beautiful flower, tiene signos de admiración, abran antes del see dos puntitos,*

(28) Sonia: *See, antes del see abran un signo de admiración, see this beautiful flower, /'fla/'wɛr/, cierren signo*

In these turns, Spanish was the language used by Sonia to explain English pronunciation. English did not appear during the lesson as a tool for communication, but as a topic to be dealt with in certain occasions. Thus, the assumption that English is simply an object of study, but not a language which can communicate meanings fully can be disclosed.

Moreover, during the lessons observed, allusions to the correct use of Spanish at school were made. In one of the lessons from fifth year, while the teacher was explaining the past tense, Renzo was bothering Valentina and she yelled at him:

(29) Valentina: *Dejate de joder ((to Renzo))*

Sonia: *Dejate de ¿cómo?*

Amira: *No, a él le dice*

Sonia: Dejate de ¿cómo?

María: Yo no he dicho

Sonia: Y ¿quién lo ha dicho? Esa voz

Valentina: Dejate de joder le he dicho, porque me está molestando

Renzo: No, mentira, la miré así y me dijo dejate de joder

Sonia: Y ¿dónde estamos?

Valentina: Y es que me está molestando

Renzo: Mentira, te miré, hice así

Valentina: Mentira

Sonia: Bueno, dejate de molestar

Renzo: No alcancé a mirarla

Fernando: ¿Qué, es mala palabra esa?

Sonia: ¿Cómo?

Fernando: ¿Es mala palabra?

Tatiana: No

Sonia: No, pero no la usamos dentro de los límites de la escuela, simplemente.

Fernando: Sí, está bien

Sonia: No sé si es mala palabra

Fernando: No, si por eso le preguntaba

Sonia: No se usa, ¿es mala palabra?

In this excerpt, it can be observed that the teacher did not reprimand the students' misbehaviour, but she did reprimand them for the Spanish lexical item used during the students' exchange. Despite the uncertainty expressed by the teacher about the word "joder", clear statements were made about not using it at school. In other words, the use of certain expressions at school seems to be a crucial norm, a norm, which is given a higher priority than paying attention in the English lesson, since the student who was disturbing the lesson was not reprimanded because of his behaviour. It is also essential to note the importance given to the proper use of Spanish and the lack of allusion to the use of English. English appears to be simply impractical content that is an obligatory component in the curriculum.

2.1.4. A pretence frame in the lesson

What could also be observed during Sonia's lessons was that most of her lessons were carried out under a pretence frame where the teacher pretends to be teaching and the students to be learning. During the first lessons observed, Sonia assigned the students the

task of talking about the moral values respect and solidarity. In one of those lessons, when the teacher started giving instructions about working on values, what prevailed in her turns-at-talk were allusions to boredom. This can be seen in some of her utterances:

(30) *Sonia: (...) Eh, pero quiero que, ehm (...) expresen los valores de una forma que no sea aburrido, que a mí - ustedes van a tenerme que contar a mí, qué han hecho el día viernes ¿sí? Que no diga ay chicos yo ya estoy cansada porque he pensado toda la semana en valores y llegar ahora al viernes y seguir, no, así que*

(31) *Sonia: Cómo van a hacer ustedes para no aburrirse y para que yo tampoco lo haga ¿sí? Para contarme de estos valores (...)*

(32) *Sonia: (...) A ver ustedes como grupo, y no están diciendo el respeto significa, eh:, se dice eh no, otra cosa para que yo no me aburra, para que ustedes no se aburran a ver cómo lo hacen. Tienen 20 minutos (...)*

(33) *Sonia: Miren, ¿cómo podían trabajar para que no sea una definición teórica? (...) Para que no sea tan aburrido*

The numerous mentions to writing something which is not boring demonstrated the teacher's awareness of the unappealing character of the activity. At the same time, they presented the aim of the activity as not to get bored, instead of to work on values. Furthermore, in one of Sonia's turns, while she was explaining the task, she made reference to doing something different:

(34) *Sonia: [...] Pero tienen que contarnos de una forma diferente esos dos valores, ¿sí? Que no sea muy aburrido*

In the phrase “*de una forma diferente*”, the implicit assumption that they usually work on boring activities can be detected, and, again, not getting bored appears to be the target of the activity. This can also be seen in other turns produced by the teacher. After she had provided the instructions of the task, she started walking around the classroom controlling what the students were doing:

(35) *Sonia: Pero ¿están hablando?*

Zamira: ¿Qué quiere que hablemos?

Sonia: Algo de los valores, el tiempo vuela.

In extract (35), the second turn produced by the teacher reveals the vagueness of the task and the real focus of the activity. From this turn, it can be inferred that the activity was not centred on reflecting on values, but on pretending to be working and on not getting bored. This deduction is validated by the following extract:

(36) *Valentina: ¿Cómo hay que hacer?*

Sonia: Como ustedes quieran para no aburrirse

Fernando: Pero ¿cualquiera así le podemos mandar?

Sonia: Mhm ((nodding))

The teacher, once more, mentioned not getting bored, but this time, introduced by the preposition “*para*” indicating purpose, i.e. not getting bored was explicitly stated as the objective of the activity. Apparently, her answer to Valentina’s question disconcerted the students and Fernando, by using the expression “*mandar cualquiera*” (which usually means “to talk nonsense” among adolescents in the area), pointed out his puzzlement and implied the inappropriateness of the task, i.e., the fact that they would be pretending to be working. By ratifying Fernando’s interpretation, the teacher agreed to his inquire about being able to pretend to be working.

Additionally, in one of the lessons observed in fourth year, as the principal had given the order to discuss an important Argentinian historical figure, the students had been given the task to search for information about the painter Benito Quinquela Martín, so the first twenty minutes of the lesson were devoted to talking about the painter and his work. Only two students had searched for information and the rest (14 students) explained that they did not do so because they did not know where to look for information, they did not have internet connection in the area or they had not had classes, so they could not go to the library. Despite their responses, the teacher went on asking about the painter and many students made faces at each other, laughed or yawned and stretched their legs often. These gestures were evident, as if addressed to the teacher. The following exchanges occurred when Sonia was asking the students about the painter:

(37) *Sonia: ¿A qué edad lo abandonó la madre?*

Ismael: a los cuarenta años ((laughing))

Sonia: no, cuando era chico, a ver ¿a qué edad?

(38) *Sonia: Bien, dibuja puertos y ¿cuáles son los puertos?*

Ismael: Estación de trenes

Sonia: ¿Una estación de tren es un puerto?

(39) *Sonia: Y los barcos se encuentran en...*

Ismael: En la tierra ((rolling his eyes))

Martín: En el agua

Sonia: En la tierra, en el agua, ¿o sea que acá en el río vamos a encontrar un barco?

The questions Sonia asked in extracts (37), (38) and (39) appeal to basic world-knowledge, instead of being strictly related to the painter. In other words, they were questions all the students would have been able to answer, even without having read about the painter. The nature of the questions she asked and the fact that she acted as if she was working with all the students when only two students were prepared to answer her questions, confirm that a pretence frame was in force, a frame in which the students are expected to act as if they were learning and collaborating with the task.

Moreover, the students defied the teacher on different occasions, mainly when the focus of the activity was not the learning of English. It is also interesting to highlight that the teacher did not discipline or reprimand the students. The following exchange took place at the beginning of the lesson, when all the students are supposed to leave their mobile phones in a box on the teacher's desk:

(40) *Gustavo: Solo por hoy porque no hay wi fi, lo voy a dejar ((leaving his mobile in the box on the teacher's desk))*

Sonia: Bueno

Sonia responds to Gustavo's defiant comment by consenting. That is, in Gustavo's turn the presupposition that the other days he does not leave his mobile phone in the box because he uses it during the lesson can be recovered and the teacher accepts the presupposition by agreeing. This response contributes to the idea that the whole lesson is carried out under a pretence frame where the teacher is only interested in making the lesson look as if everything functioned as expected.

Furthermore, in fifth year, after a whole lesson in which the students read and performed "Little Red Riding Hood" unexpectedly, Sonia gave the students the task to write a description in the past tense. This task was surprising since description is a

discursive mode which is typically related to the simple present tense in most textbooks and the past tense had not been dealt with during the lesson:

(41) Sonia: [...] realizar por escrito, coma, una descripción (..) del personaje

Renzo: ¿De qué?

Sonia: Del personaje asignado

Amira: ¿Cómo?

Sonia: Una descripción del personaje asignado

Fernando: Listo

Sonia: Punto a parte. Tres (.. ..) elaborarlo (.. ..) por escrito, vamos a aprovechar y vamos a ver los pasados, en pasados

The teacher's utterance “*vamos a aprovechar y vamos a ver los pasados, en pasados*” demonstrates that to work with the past tense was not a planned activity, but a decision taken at the moment of speaking. Before coming to the lesson, the principal had told the teachers that they needed to have marks for the students. Therefore, Sonia's behaviour can be explained as complying with what the principal had asked for, disregarding the students' learning the expected use of the English language. What was given priority in this situation was coming up with a task to have a mark for the students despite the lack of rationality in the task. In her behaviour, traces of the notion of English as an object whose parts are studied as separate compartments can be recovered, since there is complete disregard of the uses of the language in the task assigned to the students. Nonetheless, the following lesson, Sonia seemed surprised by the students saying they did not know the simple past tense:

(42) Amira: Y ¿cómo es el pasado, profesora? No lo entiendo yo

Sonia: ¿No se acuerdan cómo es el pasado?

Some students: No

((Most students are looking down))

Sonia: ¿Quién más no se acuerda cómo es el pasado?

((Most students put their hands up))

Tatiana: Ah, eso, yo tampoco sabía, por eso he dejado un espacio chiquito

Sonia: O sea que si no me dice una de ustedes, nadie más me dice

Sonia had assigned the task of writing a description of the characters they had to perform in “Little Red Riding Hood” only to start working on the past, as expressed in

extract (41), where she recognised that that was the first approach to the simple past tense, at least during that year. Thus, it cannot have been a surprise that the students did not remember or did not know the simple past tense. She indirectly blamed the students for not knowing something they had not been taught. Sonia's decision to evaluate the simple past tense just when she had been asked for marks for the students demonstrates her concern for projecting the image of a respectable teacher, even at the expense of the students' actual learning. Apparently, the fact that it was the end of the first trimester and the only content which had been taught from the curricula was "Little Red Riding Hood" hustled Sonia to evaluate a new topic even if it had not been taught before. This decision, together with the agreement with the students' proposal of pretending to be working and the lack of reprimand when the students openly expressed they were not working, confirms that the whole lesson is carried out under a pretence frame. That is, Sonia did not show any interest in the students learning English, but only in making the class look as if they were working and learning. Sonia's lack of engagement with her role as teacher uncovers traces of her disinterest in the students' learning the foreign language.

2.1.5. Underlying assumptions

The analysis carried out in the preceding sections of this chapter reveals that Sonia's teaching practices make available certain ideas about languages for the students. That is, Sonia's practices with respect to how she uses the languages during the lesson and how she manages the lesson uncover the assumptions she has about the languages and, therefore, the ideas that are transmitted to the students through her practices.

2.1.5.1. English as unfit for communication

From the numerous instances in which a pretence frame was established and ratified, in which Sonia pretended to be teaching and the students to be learning, it is possible to say that no concern for the students' actual learning of the language is shown by Sonia. On the contrary, what seems to be important to her is to comply with the principal's orders and to build an image for herself as a good teacher even when she knows the students are not really learning. This could not only be observed in her lessons, but also in the interview with her. When talking about the usefulness of English for the students, she explained why English was useful for the students of this school:

(43) *Sonia: Sí::, imprescindible, el idioma les abre la mente y, bueno, y aprenden un poco. Sí, es necesario. (...)* *Manejan tecnología los chicos también así que, también, obviamente, es necesario.*

In this turn, the utility of English is presented as based on its capacity to disclose different perspectives of life. The discourse marker “*bueno*” signals that “*aprenden un poco*” is a digression from the claim in the previous utterance. This discourse marker indicates the introduction of a self-repair, i.e. it signals that Sonia revises her own production for it to be accurate. In other words, the teacher is aware that English is necessary for the students, but also that they do not learn much. In addition, the need for the students to learn English is linked to technology. This relationship between English and technology sets aside the issue that the area where the school is and where the students live is known for its lime plants which are visited by members of the staff from other parts of the world who use English to communicate. The fact that she mentions the utility of learning English for the students but she did not carry out activities in class which promoted the learning and use of the language for communication exhibits her concern for building an image for herself as a good teacher who promotes the learning of English. Her answer reveals she is aware of what is expected from her as an English teacher and tries to live up to the expectations, although her teaching practices do not show in class what she stated in the interview.

In addition, Sonia’s behaviour in class suggests that one of the assumptions with which Sonia works in class consists in that there is a divorce between the foreign language and the concrete instances of meaningful and genuine communication that arises from the real need to coordinate different courses of action in class. Therefore, no attempts are made to tie up both elements applying the foreign language as a useful medium for communication in class. The assumed enormous distance between the foreign language and the expression of content chosen by the actors in the pedagogical encounter makes the occurrence of instances of use be restricted to instances in which the words involved are named or to ritualized instructions like commands. However, the meta-communication about grammatical structures is carried out in Spanish as the rest of the instances of genuine communication in the lesson. As a result, from the fact that she did not mention any link between the foreign language and communication and that she does not use English in class or stimulate the students’ using it reveals traces of the assumption of English as unfit to communicate meanings fully. This assumption is related, in turn, to

another assumption that seems to be influencing Sonia's behaviour: English as only an object of study, which is the issue of the following section.

2.1.5.2. English as an object of study

The fact that Sonia uses English only in a few utterances and, when she uses it, she tends to produce only short phrases exposes Sonia's ideas about English. Clearly, Sonia does not conceive of English as a medium for communication, but as an object of study. In addition, Sonia's frequent use of English to express disapproval of an action or commands reveals English is the language used when showing distance and asymmetry. But, at the same time, the alienating effect produced by the use of a foreign language, which is clearly perceived by all the participants as artificial and part of a *mise-en-scène*, indicates lack of commitment with respect to the act being performed. As a result, the reprimand is mitigated because the language in which it was carried out is not perceived - by any of the social actors in this encounter - as fit to express meanings fully. It is conceived as an object of study and not as a tool to express meanings. This assumption is confirmed by excerpt (22) where the teacher attempted to intimidate the students by telling them they would have to use English since it becomes clear that using English is not the behaviour expected from the students in the English lesson. In addition, as was stated before, in this excerpt, using English is not only unexpected, but also portrayed as a negative experience.

Furthermore, Sonia continuously asked the students to respond in English; however, most of her turns were either in Spanish or half in Spanish and half in English. There is a contradiction between the teacher's actions and what she requested from the students. This contradiction can also be one of the possible reasons why the students do not speak English. If the English teacher, who is the model to follow in the English lesson, does not speak a considerable amount of English, the students cannot be expected to speak more English than she does. Again, English appears as a set of rules to be used mechanically and not as a way to communicate.

Also, in the interview with Sonia, the conception of English as an object of study appeared:

(44) Sonia: *que es difícil, (.) que tienen que llevar un tiempo para estudiar,(.) más tiempo, que con cinco minutos de leerlo, no se les grabó, (..) hasta que encuentran- eso me lo dicen porque yo les pido- yo les*

enseño las técnicas de estudio. (..) Inglés tiene sus propias técnicas, entonces, eh les digo, díganme y ellos me van diciendo, “mire, yo estudié, repetí y no:, no se me grabó, qué puedo hacer”, y bueno, ahí les voy enseñando,(.) depende de las inquietudes de cada uno. Hay otros que me acerco y les pregunto cómo va, qué va haciendo, pero eso también es más tiempo, también. (.. ..),pero sí.

In the utterance “*Inglés tiene sus propias técnicas*”, we can infer the notion of English as an object of study which requires specific techniques in order to be learnt. In addition, although she does not specify some of these techniques, memorization appears in “*no se les grabó*”, “*yo estudié, repetí y no:, no se me grabó*”. Clearly, memorization is the main learning technique for Sonia, which shows her conception of the foreign language as only an object of study. Eventually, this idea is transmitted to the students, thus, discouraging the use of English to communicate meaningfully.

2.1.5.3. Spanish as the norm in the English lesson

The minimal use of English and the prevalence of Spanish over English in Sonia’s lessons allow for the inference that Spanish is the norm in the English lesson. This idea is transmitted to the students through three actions: by focusing on Spanish spelling and punctuation, but not on English spelling and punctuation, by using Spanish to communicate in the English lesson and to teach topics in English and by making allusions to the appropriate use of Spanish, but not to the use of English.

The fact that Spanish is the norm in the English lesson is consistent with the pretence frame under which the English lesson is carried out. Clearly, what Sonia gives priority to is not the students’ learning English, but making the students and the school staff believe that learning is taking place and that everything related to her lessons works perfectly well. This, in turn, explains the minimal use of English in the lessons since it seems to be only functional to establishing and ratifying a pretence frame where the teaching and learning of English are supposedly taking place. Therefore, the idea that Spanish is the norm in the English lesson is made available to the students, preventing the use of English in the English lesson, once more.

2.2. Ángela

As was noted in the preceding section, Ángela is the English teacher in sixth year, but many students had taken lessons with her in the last year of primary school because she teaches there. Then, they had not had classes with her until 2017, the year of the observations.

2.2.1. Use of English in the classroom

In comparison with Sonia's lessons, more use of the English language was observed in Ángela's lessons. During her lessons, she used English in many of her turns and she prompted the students to use English. The following exchanges took place during the first lesson, when Ángela asked the students to introduce themselves and provide information about their families in English:

(45) Ángela: I live in, ¿dónde vivis? ((to Gisella))

Gisella: Aquí

((The students laugh))

Ángela: I live in Divisadero

Gisella: I live in Divisadero. Ehm, my mother, eh, Lorena.

Ángela: IS Lorena.

Gisella: My brother is Nicolás.

Ángela: My brother's name,

Gisella: My brother's name Nicolás y Máximo.

Ángela: ¿Tiene 12?

Gisella: Mhm.

Ángela: How old are they? (..) How (.) old (.) are (.) they?

In these exchanges, it is clear that, although the students' level of proficiency in the language is not high, the teacher motivates the use of the foreign language. This dynamic took place during a whole school period and all the students had the possibility of talking. The teacher also took advantage of the students' production to elaborate further on some expressions or to explain grammatical features. The following turns were produced by Ángela when the students were introducing themselves and their friends:

(46) *Ángela: (...) Bien, chicos, esta es una presentación como para romper el hielo.(.) Algunas cositas para tener en cuenta,(.) los apostrofados, la familia, bueno, podemos decir my mum's name o my mother's name usando los posesivos, m.:, is o name's tal ¿sí? (...)*

(47) *Ángela: father's, el padre, pueden usar las dos, father o daddy, ambos con apóstrofe ¿por qué? Porque es del padre de otra persona ¿sí? Entonces, her father's name. Vamos a usar varias palabritas para que vamos recordando. Her father's name is:*

In these turns, Ángela explained how to use certain expressions and new grammatical features such as the cliticized form of the copula. The same type of activity accompanied by teacher explanations was used in all the lessons observed; that is, the students' participation and production were constantly encouraged and demanded. Clearly, Ángela's teaching practices are aimed at the students' using the language. However, although Ángela used English much more than Sonia during her lessons and she motivates the students to use the language, she also speaks more Spanish than English in her lessons. Nonetheless, no mistakes were observed in Ángela's turns when she used the language. She also spoke and read fluently in the foreign language. It became evident that Ángela's proficiency in English is higher than Sonia's.

2.2.2. References to English

A distinctive aspect of Ángela's lessons is the numerous explicit references she made to English, its uses, users and how it is learnt. Therefore, it is worth discussing some of these references since they unveil the ideas that are conveyed to the students. The following turn by Ángela was produced when she was explaining what the subject plan for the year was:

(48) *Ángela: [...] Todo hoy en día viene en inglés, (.) vean una latita de durazno al natural, de un lado está en castellano, del otro en inglés, ¿sí? Entonces, por ahí, tener presente esas cosas,(.) tomarnos el tiempo para ir recordando cosas que ustedes han visto cuando han visto las comidas y demás. (.) Hoy, yo tenía pensado, después de esto, y de esta presentación, y de que hablemos de la compañera, y demás, (.) que hablemos un poco de verbos ¿sí? (.) Que hablemos del por qué tantos presentes en inglés,(.) Dos han visto ustedes, el presente simple y el presente continuo ¿verdad?(..) Y ¿por qué dos? ¿Para qué me sirve a mí aprender esos tiempos de verbos? Cómo voy a formar esa oración o cómo la aprendí a formar, qué vocabulario necesito ¿sí? y demás. Estaba pensando en eso para hoy.*

As can be appreciated in the second utterance of this turn, Ángela gave the students a familiar example, the information provided in canned peach. By providing an example of the students' daily lives, Ángela established a relation between English and the students' everyday lives and, implicitly, explained the value of learning English in their immediate context. Moreover, in “*Que hablemos del por qué tantos presentes en inglés,(.) Dos han visto ustedes, el presente simple y el presente continuo ¿verdad?(..) Y ¿por qué dos? ¿Para qué me sirve a mí aprender esos tiempos de verbos? Cómo voy a formar esa oración o cómo la aprendí a formar, qué vocabulario necesito ¿sí? y demás*”, Ángela made allusion to the usefulness of specific elements of the language, i.e. to understanding the usefulness of tenses, their form and meaning. Thus, from these utterances, it is possible to infer the conception of learning English as a reflective process focused on understanding the possible uses of different linguistic elements. This conception implies, in turn, the idea that the English language is an instrument to be used, not only an object to be learnt without a purpose. That is, the view of English as a means for communication and for understanding the students' own reality can be recovered from Ángela's turns.

Besides, Ángela constantly mentioned three skills to be developed in English as the following turn shows:

(49) *Ángela: La tecnología es buena, ¿sí? Hoy en día nos facilita un montón de cosas (..) nos da información al instante, cosa que es valiosa en los trabajos en el aula también, la tecnología bien usada.(..) Pero para poder usar esa tecnología tenemos que tener una base, una base gramatical, una base práctica también. (.) Los idiomas tienen estas dos, en realidad tienen más, este:, habilidades (.) más que dos, más que la gramática, más que traducir textos, ¿sí? (..) Escuchar, hablar y escribir. Las tres. Listening, speaking and writing. Listening, speaking and writing son las tres habilidades del idioma, ¿sí? (.) Y las tres tienen que desarrollarlas. Lo más divertido es hablar lo que pasa es que de [chiquititos*

In lines 4 to 7 of turn (49), grammar and translation were introduced as sub-skills of more encompassing abilities: listening, speaking and writing. In other words, the communicative function of the language was reinforced by the teacher. Thus, it can be said that Ángela encourages the students to envisage English as an encompassing instrument with a communicative function that needs to be developed through different forms of communication. It is also interesting to highlight that, at the beginning of this turn as in many others by Ángela, she made reference to what she thinks her students might need. These remarks, as stated by Patiño-Santos (2007), often contain what might be called knowledge for life. That is, Ángela seems to advocate the view that English is

necessary in the students' daily lives and that learning its grammar is necessary in their own social contexts.

Moreover, in the following turn produced by Ángela, the idea of learning through using the language is made explicit:

(50) *Ángela: Bueno, aprender jugando es, es más divertido. Y este año tiene dos partes, ¿sí? La parte de poder divertirnos y aprender a través de canciones, de juegos, de videos que vamos a ver este año (.) de películas que nos muestren un poco de su cultura, ¿sí? (.) De cómo, cómo es la cultura de ellos, qué diferencias hay con las nuestras, (.) de sus hábitos, de sus costumbres y a través de eso aprender el idioma.*

Learning the language was not presented as learning sets of rules, but as learning to communicate through doing, i.e. through using the language. Once more, the notion of English as a means for communication can be noticed in the teacher's turns. What is also relevant in this turn, is the relationship established between language and culture. Language was not introduced as an object detached from culture, but as part of it and as an expression of the perspective of the cultures it belongs to. In spite of this, in the expression "la cultura de ellos" in this turn, it is also possible to infer the idea that all English speakers are a homogenous group that share a single culture. Nonetheless, in the plural used in "qué diferencias hay con las nuestras", it is possible to recover the idea that the Spanish speakers have a variety of cultures.

This relationship between language and culture appeared in other turns by Ángela, as well. The following sequence took place when the teacher was explaining the reasons for expressing age with the copula verb to be.

(51) *Ángela: ¿Qué significaba years old?*

Samantha: ¿Era el cumpleaños no?

Gisella: lo vimos el año pasado

Virginia: si yo supiera

Ángela: Ellos tienen diferentes formas de expresar cosas, uno de ellas es esta, la edad, años de viejo, ¿sí? yo soy años de viejo.

Gisella: Ah, es old viejo

Ángela: Año es viejo, m.:, yo soy tantos años viejo, viejos dicen, según me contaba mi amiga londinense, nacemos y envejecemos, empezamos a envejecer, entonces de ahí viene ese years old. Yo soy tantos años viejo, mi tía es vieja, ideas son viejas, ¿sí? Entonces, los años los contamos sobre eso, ¿por qué en las tortas de cumpleaños no está la vela que representa el año que cumple esa persona?

Samantha: Porque esa persona es vieja.

Gisella: Porque no vaya a tener una torta ((drawing a big cake with her hands))

Ángela: Bueno, hay numeritos que reemplazan una buena cantidad, m:: (.) ¿por qué? (.) Porque solo se celebra el día del nacimiento, por eso se dice happy birthday, ¿sí? ¿Se acuerdan birth en los datos que ponen en la fichitas? (.) Birth, nacimiento, esa palabra significa nacimiento. Entonces, lo que uno celebra es el día en el que ha nacido, no la cantidad de años que tiene, ¿sí? Birthday es parte de la canción.

Awareness was raised not only of the syntactic construction used for expressing age in English, but also of the cultural view that such syntactic construction conveys. More information about cultural views in relation to birthdays was also provided by the teacher. In other words, in these turns as in example (50), it is possible to identify the idea that learning a language is learning a worldview, but, at the same time, it is possible to recover Ángela's conception of all the English speakers as a homogenous group.

Furthermore, in the following lesson, the fact that Ángela motivates the students to reflect upon the uses of linguistic elements was also observable. The following turns were produced by Ángela when asking the students about the simple present tense:

(52) *Ángela: A ver, vamos al principio,*

Samantha: ((To Gisella)) Yo y tu, cuando es he, she, [it

Ángela: [El presente simple, ¿para qué lo usamos? ¿Se acuerdan para qué me sirve a mí aprender ese tiempo de verbo?

Samantha: Porque ¿no era que he, she, it no se cambiaba del lugar en el que estaba y todos los otros se cambiaban o al revés?

Ángela: No

Gisella: No, porque estaban las oraciones afirmativas, después las negativas

Ángela: Sí, pero no es ese el-la situación. A ver, chicas, ¿para qué usaban ese tiempo de verbo?(..) ¿Para qué era útil en aquel momento en el que ustedes lo aprendieron? (..) ¿Qué puede expresar a través de él? (...)

Samantha: ¿Cuánto (..) personas puede haber? Porque puede ser él o ella

Ángela: Fíjense si escribimos algo ese día sobre el presente simple y sus usos

((The studentss look for it on their notebooks))

Ángela: Siempre preguntense esto para qué me sirve, qué puedo expresar yo a través de este tiempo verbal.

Gisella: Acá tenemos el presente simple y hablamos de /morgn/

Ángela: Sí, pero ¿no escribieron nada más?

Gisella: escribimos at [school

Samantha: [usted nos hizo del presente simple y nos dijo vamos a hacer un ejemplo de lo que hacemos todos los días a la mañana

Ángela: El presente simple tiene varios usos, uno de ellos que yo me acuerdo haberlo dicho,(.) era que lo usamos para hablar sobre rutinas, (.) sobre hábitos, (.) costumbres. ¿Se acuerdan? (..) Y ahí salió la

mañana, les dije, por ejemplo lo que hacemos durante el día, lo que forma parte de nuestras costumbres, de nuestros hábitos diarios o semanales (.) o usuales, o anuales, ¿sí? Aquellas cosas que repetimos diariamente, (.) ver un programa de televisión, el desayunar en la casa o no desayunar. Esos hábitos o costumbres pueden ser afirmativos o negativos, ¿sí? Positivos o negativos. Bien, de ahí, salió el tema de la mañana, la tarde, la noche, que yo les hice unos circulitos en el pizarrón (.)¿m.? Para que ordenemos nuestros momentos del día y que ustedes fueran diciéndome qué acciones reconocían en inglés de esos momentos del día, ¿vamos bien?

The view of English as a means for communication can be disclosed in Ángela's turns in this sequence. In Ángela's second turn, "*¿para qué lo usamos?*" reveals the assumption that the simple present tense is an instrument to be used with a certain purpose. Although all the questions in Ángela's fourth turn allow for the conception of language as an instrument to be inferred, the question "*¿Qué puede expresar a través de él?*" also reveals the notion of linguistic elements as devices whose final purpose is communication. Another conception that can be uncovered in these turns is that of English as an instrument that is useful to the students' everyday lives and realities. Furthermore, in Ángela's second turn, the repetition of the first person reference in the utterance "*¿Se acuerdan para qué me sirve a mí aprender ese tiempo de verbo?*" emphasizes the personal nature of the question and invites students to ask themselves why it is important to learn different tenses, thus, presenting linguistic elements as instruments to be used differently by each student. In Ángela's sixth turn of this sequence, this idea was taken one step further and the teacher provided the students with a piece of advice which related the idea of the learning of English as a reflective process in "*siempre preguntense*" to language as a means in "*para qué me sirve esto*". This relationship was strengthened by encouraging the students to apply the knowledge to their own realities and needs in "*qué puedo expresar yo a través de este tiempo verbal*". In Ángela's last turn of this sequence, the fact that she mentioned the uses of the simple present tense reveals, again, the assumption that the foreign language is a means for communication. In this same turn, she mentioned using the language to communicate the students' own routines. In other words, once again, the use of the foreign language to communicate activities from the students' own realities was stimulated.

Additionally, during one of the lessons, Ángela gave the students the task to read a text and do some reading comprehension activities. The text they read was about the Massacre of Glencoe and therefore, about Scottish clans, so Ángela triggered the talk about families and their traditions and related what they read to the students' own reality:

(53) *Ángela: [...] Miren,(.) hay-en algunas familias acá se conserva, no esta cuestión de la vestimenta porque es tradicional de allá, pero sí el respeto a los mayores, ¿sí? (.) Hay muchos lugares que todavía se tiene como la voz de mando la voz del abuelo, si es la persona mayor de la ca[sa]*

Gisella: [Que cómo te vas a poner esa pollera tan cortita, que qué va a decir la gente, [Que

Ángela: [¿Vieron la influencia que tienen los mayores?, ¿M:?

Entonces acá pasa todo eso

Gisella: mi mamá siempre me compra polleras largas para que [Salga

Ángela: [Bueno allá todo, las decisiones

[(The students laugh)]

Ángela: [Las decisiones se toman, bueno

esuchenme sino,

Luchi: Sí.

Ángela: Las decisiones, todas las decisiones pasan por la cabeza mayor de la familia que es siempre un hombre.

Luchi: Sí.

Ángela: Hay lugares en donde tienen una organización matriarcal que la mujer mayor es la que ordena, ¿sí? Pero en estos casos- en este lugar no. Le dicen las tierras altas de Escocia porque en realidad son montañosas, ¿sí? Bien, entonces, ¿qué ha pasado? ¿Qué pasó en el invierno del 92, de 1692?

This was the first attempt made by Ángela to establish a relationship between the traits of the culture being discussed in the text and features of the students' own culture. She drew a comparison between the reality depicted by the text and the students' own reality. At the same time, the teacher presented herself as knowing traits of the students' daily lives. She pointed out exactly what it is that these two cultures have in common (respect for the elderly) and what they do not have in common (identification by the tartan in each kilt). She also mentioned the patriarchal structure prevalent in these societies and the students recognised the similarities straight away since they also provided examples that matched the teacher's statement. By comparing the reality depicted by the text to the students' own realities, awareness of cultural diversity was raised through the learning of the language. However, this was not the only occasion when the teacher highlighted the relationship between the cultural traits depicted by the text and the students' own cultural knowledge. In the following sequence, this relationship can also be appreciated:

(54) *Ángela: A ver, chicos, ¿saben lo que es un clan?*

Luchi: No, más o menos

Ángela: *Hace poco vieron una película acá*

Virginia: *El clan*

Ángela: *Del clan Puccio, ¿se acuerdan?*

((The students nod))

Ángela: *Sí, el clan Puccio, ¿sí? De la familia esa,(.) no me acuerdo, se me hizo lío con los apellidos.(.) Bueno, los clanes,(.) eh, Escocia es un país dentro del Reino Unido que siempre tuvo un sistema bastante particular de vida, ¿sí? (.) De organización política, familiar y demás. Este::m, (.) siempre tuvo sus problemas también con el resto de los Reinos, (.) Inglaterra que es donde estaba la base política. (.) Ellos siempre tuvieron una base familiar patriarcal, ¿sí? Quiere decir que el padre de la familia- la habrán escuchado a esa palabra en alguna otra materia, (.) era el jefe de toda la familia. El anciano más- el hombre más anciano, entonces, todos conservan los apellidos de los antecesores, ¿sí? dicen que los anotan, (.) según un profesor que tuve yo en Londres cuando estudiaba que era escocés, que los inscriben todavía con los últimos siete apellidos.*

Gisella: *M::*

Ángela: *O sea que van, van, este::, de alguna manera rindiéndole homenaje al, a sus antecesores, ¿sí?*

((The students nod))

Ángela: *Pero, obviamente, que usan en la vida normal su apellido, su:, su:, como nosotros, como cualquier persona. Este::, el jefe de familia era ese,(.) se formaban clanes. Los clanes estaban formados por personas de la misma familia, eran familias, ¿sí? Y ¿vieron que ellos usan las polleras? (.) Tienen una vestimenta bastante particular. El tramado de la tela, los colores de la tela hacían referencia a esa familia, ¿sí? (.) Cuando ustedes veían el color o el tramado de la tela, como estaba dibujada ¿sí? decían es la familia tanto, ¿sí? (.) Como todos los Fernández con el mismo color de pantalón, supongamos, escocés tramado de tal manera, todos los Oviedo de tal color, todos los Díaz de tal color, todos los Pérez de tal color, ¿sí? Todos los Torres con tal color, entonces, ustedes ven el color y ya saben es Torres, es del clan Torres, ¿de acuerdo? ¿Sí?*

In Ángela's turns in this sequence, not only was a relationship between the reality depicted by the text and the reality known by students established, but also, awareness of cultural diversity was raised. The English lesson was not presented as limited to learning sets of language rules; on the contrary, it opened the floor for understanding English as an encompassing whole. Thus, it reflected the conception of language as tied to culture and as an expression of the latter.

Additionally, the relationship between English and the students' reality was further addressed by attempting to adapt the contents of the English lesson to the students' own needs. The following turn was produced by the teacher when discussing what they were going to do during the year:

(55) *Ángela: Bueno, vamos a charlar de lo que les interesaría estudiar, por qué, (.) y sobre eso vamos a traer textos que hablen sobre sus carreras, sus futuras carreras. ¿Tienen proyectos?*

In this turn, the teacher's interest in adapting the content of the English lesson to what might be useful for them in the future is clear. The teacher offered to look up information to prepare them for university. This concern expressed by the teacher shows she holds the idea that English is an asset for the students. It also reflects awareness of the students' realities and a desire for the students to have a greater range of possibilities, apart from the ones they already have.

2.2.3. Class activities

As stated before, the first lesson observed was focused mainly on the students' oral production of topics related to their personal lives. The teacher stated this objective at the beginning of the lesson:

(56) *Ángela: Bien, chicas, si bien nos hemos presentado el primer día en castellano, yo quisiera que se presente cada uno en inglés, que den todos los datos que recuerdan personales, que hablen de ustedes primero, quiénes son, cuántos años tienen, dónde nacieron, eh, su familia, cómo está compuesta su familia, ¿se animan? Lo que se acuerden, ¿sí?*

By asking the students to use English to talk about themselves from the beginning of the lesson onwards, Ángela brought the language closer to the students' own reality and showed its practical value. A view of the English language as a means for communication is revealed in the type of task set by the teacher.

This concern for relating the English language to the students' own realities also appeared in another lesson while working on another activity:

(57) *Ángela: [...] que se llama Melanie. (.) Nosotros vamos a hablar sobre nosotros, usando esos verbos y usando las actividades de Melanie, después nos vamos a dedicar a ella.(..) Entonces, en la primera oración en vez de decir que ella se levanta a las siete, van a pensar a qué hora se levantan ustedes, ¿sí? En la segunda, de salir a correr, van a pensar en qué momento del día lo hacen*

(58) *Ángela: Have a shower, bueno, vamos a ordenar esas acciones de acuerdo a cada una de ustedes, a sus momentos, ¿sí? (.) Alguna-una se levantará antes, otra más tarde, depende en el lugar en el que vivan del colegio, ¿está? (.) De lo que tardan en llegar-estamos hablando durante un día común, ¿sí? (.) Después,*

yo les voy a explicar el negativo para que incorporemos oraciones o acciones que ustedes no realicen de las que están ahí, (.) por ejemplo esa de jugar al tenis y demás, ¿de acuerdo?

In both turns, the teacher mentioned the idea of doing the activity according to their own lives and routines. In addition, a recognition of the students' diversity of place of residence and routines was also present in her turns. The activity was the same for everybody, however, they were given the freedom to order the activities according to their own routines and, in doing so, the language was brought closer to the students' everyday lives. Doing the activity based on themselves, and not on Melanie (the character from the activity), gave importance to the students' lives and culture and established a connection between English and the students' realities, which are quite different from the reality depicted by Melanie's routine.

Furthermore, the notion of English as a means for communication can also be perceived in the focus of most activities during the lesson, which was building sentences or paragraphs, as the following excerpt shows:

(59) Ángela: After school, I go jogging. Ahí tenés otra. After, cuando la usamos al comienzo de la oración, no usamos that, usamos after solito. After that es cuando tenemos una acción previa, entonces decimos después de, después de aquello que yo ya dije, hago tal cosa, ¿está? (.) Esa es una oración aislada, ¿sí? Bien, vamos a redactar un párrafo que hable sobre todas aquellas acciones que nosotras hacemos en el día.

(60) Ángela: (...) Y les pedí que con esas ac- ese poquito vocabulario que habíamos visto de lo que forma parte de nuestras rutinas de la mañana ustedes elaboraran un parrafito, un par de oraciones.

By encouraging the students to connect utterances and build paragraphs about their own routines, instead of producing decontextualized phrases or sentences, linguistic elements in English were presented as parts of a whole which acquire meaning when assembled together. At the same time, each student was stimulated to produce their own content, which derives into a meaningful use of the foreign language. That is, these activities help the foreign language become meaningful for the students and contribute to the students' becoming agents of their own learning.

2.2.4. Response to orders

Before the first lesson, Ángela explained to me that she had had problems with the principal because she wanted to raise the level of English that was taught in her lessons, but the principal had asked her to work with basic topics such as colours. The fact that Ángela commented on that reveals what expectations she holds about the students and about her lessons, and it also reflects her interest in the students' learning English.

Furthermore, during the first lesson, while the students were working on an activity Ángela had assigned, she explained to me how she managed the principal's orders:

(61) Ángela: ((Talks aloud but to me)) *El miércoles pasado estuvieron con un temita de lectura, este:, tenían un trabajo que terminar de la hora anterior. (.) ¿Viste que la temática es para todos? (.) Entonces, tenían un trabajito que terminar de la hora anterior. Eh:, yo les agregué un cuento rápido, pero, después, tenían que venir a desocupar, (.) desocupar acá y los dejamos salir un poquito más temprano y bueno. (..) Entonces, yo, hoy por ejemplo, les doy el cuento y les digo que lo hagan en la casa y chau, porque sino no, (..) y es de cero para arriba.*

Researcher: *Pero ¿el texto siempre está relacionado con eso o es que además del texto tienen que ver siempre un tema más?*

Ángela: *Además del texto, trabajamos con un tema de lectura, leyendas, mitos. (.) Por eso, yo la clase pasada, les dí un texto-un cuentito-una leyenda, pero les dije a ver qué palabras de esta leyenda reconocen ustedes en inglés. Lo que sea, cualquier palabra pero saquen esas palabras, ¿viste? (.) Armamos en forma oral oraciones pequeñas porque, si no, se te va la hora. (.) Sí, si no comprende la consigna, poco podés hacer.*

Researcher: *No, no, es cierto que la comprensión-es serio el tema*

((We go on talking but the students are louder and it is not clear))

Samantha: *Teacher, ¿qué lo que es /read/?*

Ángela: *Leer, /ri:d/ ((to Samantha))*

Ángela: *(To me)) Algo es algo. No me conforma, pero bueø.*

In “*Entonces, yo, hoy por ejemplo, les doy el cuento y les digo que lo hagan en la casa y chau, porque sino no, (..) y es de cero para arriba.*” from Ángela's first turn, she indirectly admits to infringing the norm provided by the principal since the principal had asked all the teachers to work on reading comprehension in Spanish for twenty minutes in every lesson. Despite the principal's request, the teacher did not work on reading comprehension in Spanish either in this lesson or in the previous lesson. Moreover, by saying “*pero les dije a ver qué palabras de esta leyenda reconocen ustedes en inglés. Lo que sea, cualquier palabra pero saquen esas palabras, ¿viste? (.) Armamos en forma oral*

oraciones pequeñas porque, si no, se te va la hora.”, Ángela evinces her interest in defending the lesson time for its specific purpose, which is the learning of the English language. In Ángela’s last turn in this sequence, by stating her disagreement with having to work on other topics than the learning of the foreign language, she implicitly expressed her interest in using the lesson time for its specific purpose and in the students’ learning English. These turns reveal the high value placed by the teacher on the learning of English and her unease when the focus of the lesson is not the learning of the language. That is, the learning of English is placed above acquiring reading comprehension skills in Spanish. This view matches the conception of English as an asset for the students that was also inferred from the teacher’s turns.

Ángela’s stated interest in using the lesson time for the learning of English, and not for other topics, matched the activities she assigned during the lessons. The following interactional sequence occurred when she was discussing the homework the students had been assigned and the plan for that lesson:

(62) *Ángela: Bueno, y yo les comenté un textito sobre los signos de puntuación. Yo les he traído eso, pero quiero avanzar un poquito sobre lo mío, qué han hecho con respecto a lo mío, a inglés.*

Luchi: Usted nos pidió que comenzáramos a sacar, eh, (.) las palabras que conociéramos en inglés del texto.

Ángela: Del texto para trabajar alguito en eso, (.) para poder ir metiendo el idioma porque si estamos todo en castellano, vamos a tener problema. (.) Bien, y la otra clase estuvimos hablando [de

Samantha: [sí, vimos el texto y dijimos nosotros-qué podíamos nosotros saber del texto en inglés

In this excerpt, it becomes clear that Ángela infringed the order given by the principal in order to relate the activities of the lesson to the learning of English. This, in turn, reveals that, for Ángela, the object of study is valuable for the students, thus, the English lessons should not be interfered.

2.2.5. Underlying assumptions

In the analysis carried in the preceding sections of Ángela’s decisions about the lessons and behaviour in class, it is possible to notice some assumptions that underlie her teaching practices and that are, thus, made available to the students during her lessons. The most outstanding ideas about English that can be recovered from her practices are that English

is a means for communication and that English is an asset for the students in their own realities.

2.2.5.1. English as a means for communication

Ángela's teaching practices allow us to infer that she conceives of English as a means for communication and that she is keen on conveying this idea to the students for them to see the instrumental value of the language. This can be observed in the type of activities she deploys in her lessons since they all encourage the use of the language, even when the students' proficiency in English is not high. That is, despite the students' low proficiency in the foreign language, she designs activities which are focused on using the language and not on memorizing sets of rules. Moreover, in most of the references to the English language, the conception of English as a means for communication can be recovered. Consequently, it is possible to say that Ángela's teaching practices make available to the students ideas which favour the learning of the language, since its usefulness as a means for communication can be clearly inferred by the students. This assumption seems to be the basis for another idea that is facilitated to the students through her practices and which is the issue of the following section.

2.2.5.2. English as an asset for the students

In the excerpts analysed above, the idea that English is an asset for the students can be clearly recovered from Ángela's turns. This idea can be inferred from Ángela's decisions about how to manage the principal's orders. That is, her attempts to somehow relate the learning of English to the topics assigned by the principal; her decision to assign activities about other topics as homework so as not to devote lesson time to other purposes than learning English; and her statements about her disagreement with having to invest lesson time in those topics reveal that she conceives of the foreign language as valuable knowledge for the students to have. When considering these decisions in relation to her asking the students what they would like to study in the future so as to adapt the content of the lessons to their needs, it is possible to infer that she regards English as an asset in the students' context outside school. Another evidence that supports this inference is the fact that Ángela constantly related the learning of the foreign language to the students' daily lives and realities outside school.

2.3. The legislation on aboriginal education and the teachers

Although the legislation on aboriginal education seems to be clear and not difficult to implement, the analysis of the lessons observed demonstrates that some rights are not being guaranteed. Moreover, experiencing certain situations first-hand and talking to members of the different communities allowed me to see disparities between the legislation on aboriginal education and its implementation.

First, I found numerous difficulties to come across real information about the current situation of the EIB programme in San Juan, i.e. to know if it was functioning, where, how, why and who had made the decisions to implement it at some schools. In the end, I obtained this information from the members of the community but not from any governmental office.

In addition, as noted in the introductory chapter, the EIB programme was executed only in some schools in San Juan and due to personal initiatives by different teachers who saw the need to relate the school to the community where it was immersed, but, at first, the indigenous communities were not consulted. Then, when they were, the programme worked for two years in some schools and was interrupted because of lack of funding. In other words, one of the objectives of the Law 26.206 on National Education, which is to assure indigenous peoples of respect for their language and cultural identity by fostering the appreciation of multiculturalism in the education of all the students ², is patently not being aimed at nowadays.

It is also interesting to point out that, during the year I was carrying out fieldwork at school, the regional conference on EIB took place in San Juan for the first time, but, during that year, no school was functioning under the EIB programme. In addition, the government representatives in charge of the EIB in Argentina who were present in the conference were not informed about the situation at that time in San Juan and neither was the Minister of Education of the Province.

The only programme related to EIB which is functioning at the moment is Programa Universitario de Asuntos Indígenas (PUAI), i.e. none of the children or adolescents from the Warpe communities in San Juan are receiving a type of education which contributes

² The text of the objective is: "Asegurar a los pueblos indígenas el respeto a su lengua y a su identidad cultural, promoviendo la valoración de la multiculturalidad en la formación de todos/as los/as educandos/as." (National Education Law 26.206, 2006)

to the preservation of their ancestral language, culture and traditions. In other words, article 52 of the National Law on Education is not being observed. This article states that the EIB is the programme of the educational system in the Early, Primary and Secondary Education levels that guarantees the constitutional right of indigenous peoples to receive a type of education that contributes to preserve and strengthen their cultural norms, their language, their worldview and ethnic identity to perform actively in a multicultural world and to improve their quality of life. Additionally, EIB promotes a mutually enriching dialogue among the indigenous peoples and linguistically and culturally different ethnic populations and propitiates the recognition and respect towards those differences (Law 26.206, 2006).³

As the teaching practices analysed here reveal, this right is not being respected. However, the teaching practices in relation to aboriginal students observed here seem to be in accordance with the school and the province where they take place. In other words, the teachers' practices do not seem to be deliberate decisions to keep aboriginal languages, culture and traditions outside school. They seem to be practices which have been naturalized over many years of being part of a system which allows and fosters them. These same practices were also carried out by other teachers and the school personnel, in general. Most teachers and the school principal stated that they did not know that they had students of indigenous descent in their classes, but some teachers did know this fact, and so did the school personnel, because some of them live in the area and belong to the community or know the history of the place. Nonetheless, aboriginal identity is clearly a topic which is not discussed at school. Considering the characteristics of the socio-political context previously mentioned, it becomes possible to assume that one of the forces influencing this behaviour on the part of the teachers and the principal of the school is the fact that they have not been officially informed by the EIB representatives of the cultural background, characteristics and traditional customs of the community where the school is immersed. Therefore, it is possible to neglect these characteristic as they have not been obliged to implement changes to somehow adapt the school to the area. In this

³ The text of the article is: "La Educación Intercultural Bilingüe es la modalidad del sistema educativo de los niveles de Educación Inicial, Primaria y Secundaria que garantiza el derecho constitucional de los pueblos indígenas, conforme al art. 75 inc. 17 de la Constitución Nacional, a recibir una educación que contribuya a preservar y fortalecer sus pautas culturales, su lengua, su cosmovisión e identidad étnica; a desempeñarse activamente en un mundo multicultural y a mejorar su calidad de vida. Asimismo, la Educación Intercultural Bilingüe promueve un diálogo mutuamente enriquecedor de conocimientos y valores entre los pueblos indígenas y poblaciones étnica, lingüística y culturalmente diferentes, y propicia el reconocimiento y el respeto hacia tales diferencias." (National Education Law 26.206, art. 52, 2006).

case, it became evident, during the observation of the lessons and the interviews with the teachers, that they have not received training in how to deal with aboriginal students, in their lessons and in the school environment. That is to say, articles 4° and 5° of resolution number 119/10 issued by Consejo Federal de Educación are not being observed. Article 4° states that the different jurisdictions will promote research on the sociocultural and linguistic reality with the aim to design curricular proposals and educational materials according to these realities. Article 5° states that the Consejo Federal de Educación is in charge of guaranteeing gradually and progressively the teacher training on and for EIB specifically, initial and continuous in the different levels of the educational system (Consejo Federal de Educación, Res. N° 119/10).⁴

Neither research on the sociocultural and linguistic situation of the Warpe people from the area nor teacher training on aboriginal education have been conducted. Additionally, Sonia's lessons do not display materials, activities or teaching practices, in general, that promote respect for multiculturalism or that raise awareness and recognise the aboriginal identity of most people in the area where the school is. Apart from Sonia's lessons, the Spanish lessons observed, the conversations in the teachers' room and the interviews with the teachers and school personnel also demonstrate that this lack of awareness of the sociocultural reality of the area where the school is located is shared by most members of the school. This is confirmed by a school presentation on October 11th commemorating the day of respect for cultural diversity (October 12th) in which some students performed the role of bad indigenous people and other students the role of Spanish conquerors who saved the lands from the indigenous people. This is a representation of history which is quite distant from the representation most aboriginal people have of how those events took place.

Nevertheless, Ángela's teaching practices did raise awareness on cultural diversity, but she seemed to be one of the only teachers to carry out these practices at school. In addition, as was noted earlier, most of the time she infringed the orders given by the school's principal. Therefore, her practices cannot be taken as the norm in the institution, but as somehow deviations from the usual behaviour.

⁴ The articles are:

“ARTICULO 4°.- Acordar que las jurisdicciones promoverán, en el marco del Consejo Federal de Educación, investigaciones sobre la realidad sociocultural y lingüística a los fines de diseñar propuestas curriculares y materiales educativos pertinentes a estas realidades.

ARTICULO 5°.- Garantizar en forma gradual y progresiva la formación docente en y para la Educación Intercultural Bilingüe específica, inicial y continua en los distintos niveles del sistema educativo.” (Consejo Federal de Educación Res. N° 119/10, 2010).

According to article 54 of the National Law on Education, one of the obligations of the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology is to define contents that promote the respect for multiculturalism. This article states that the Ministry of Education Science and Technology, in accordance with Consejo Federal de Educación, will define the common curricular contents that promote respect for multiculturalism and knowledge of the aboriginal cultures in all the schools of the country, encouraging the students to appreciate and understand the cultural diversity of our society as a positive attribute (Law 26.206, 2006)⁵.

However, as it was observed in most of the lessons, the content of the subjects is not adapted to promote respect for and knowledge of different cultures, on the contrary, traits of one culture seem to be more valued than traits of other cultures. This can be seen in the supremacy of Spanish as the norm even in the English lesson. It is also observed in how the teachers refer to aboriginal people since they use the word “indios” instead of the politically correct form “originarios”, “indígenas”, “aborigen”, etc. Moreover, as was stated in the preceding sections, the moral value respect was a topic dealt with in class, but it was never related to cultures or identity. This lack of promotion of respect for different cultures, languages and traditions seems to be one of the forces for students to hide their ethnic identity at school.

2.4. Ideas provided to the students

From the multiple excerpts analysed above, it is possible to say that different teaching practices make available different ideas to the students. Therefore, some ideas are offered and some are left aside. It is evident that, in the case of Sonia, her teaching practices do not contribute to the learning of the language; on the contrary, they hinder it. In the case of Ángela, she facilitates ideas which stimulate the learning of the language and other ideas that neither contribute to nor obstruct the learning of the foreign language. Additionally, it is possible to say that Sonia’s teaching practices are the ones that can have a more powerful influence on the students’ conceptions since these pupils are exposed to

⁵ The article states: “El Ministerio de Educación, Ciencia y Tecnología, en acuerdo con el Consejo Federal de Educación, definirá contenidos curriculares comunes que promuevan el respeto por la multiculturalidad y el conocimiento de las culturas originarias en todas las escuelas del país, permitiendo a los/as alumnos/as valorar y comprender la diversidad cultural como atributo positivo de nuestra sociedad” (National Education Law 26.206, article 54, 2006).

her practices for five years. Therefore, the possibilities of acquiring and naturalizing them increase radically.

Not only are the languages that are used and talked about in the classroom relevant in this analysis, but it is also possible to infer ideas from the fact that, during the numerous months of observations in two classes, it was not possible to notice any instance of reference to a Warpe language. In other words, that in a school that is attended by students with aboriginal descent the foreign language lesson is not leveraged to discuss the features of the Warpe languages, their usefulness, uses and differences with Spanish and English reveals the negation of the existence of these languages. This, in turn, is a way of invisibilizing the culture associated to these languages executing what Gualdieri (2004) calls 'ethnic invisibilization'. However, contrary to what was found in that study, this case is about the usual and spontaneous practices carried out by well-intentioned teachers who are not seizing the opportunity to capitalize on experiences with living languages that express social contact. That is, even when the teaching practices are well-intentioned, they can implicitly transmit ideas that seem to be deeply entrenched in a homogenizing ideology (Blommaert & Verschueren, 1991; 1998) in which differences are conceived as dangerous and, thus, need to be eliminated. These ideas demonstrate that the 'homogenizing policies' (Hecht, 2007, p. 68) that aimed at linguistic unity, since the beginning of Argentina as an independent country, have left a trace in the representations of languages that are still hegemonically circulating in pluriethnic school contexts. Additionally, Shulist's findings (2017) in São Gabriel da Cachoeira become pertinent at this point. She posits that aboriginal language teaching is influenced by the dominant ideology which does not recognise the value of learning aboriginal languages in a city. In relation to these findings, we can conclude that teaching practices do not only reflect the hegemonic ideas about languages imposed by society onto the school context, but also reproduce and mould those ideas that circulate hegemonically in society. The analysis carried out in this chapter can also be related to Rymes and Anderson's findings (2004) in the United States and with Andreani and Hecht's (2012) in Argentina since it demonstrates that ideas about languages are transmitted to the students at school to such an extent that the school can contribute to the promotion of ideas which rank from the invisibilization of a language to the assessing of a language as more valuable than others. Therefore, taking into account the functioning of the language economy in this socio-political context, it is possible to say that by advocating the use of Spanish in all the situations inside the school context, the teachers and, thus, the educational institution

promote ideas of inequality among languages and, therefore, indirectly among language users. In other words, the institution implicitly favours a hierarchy in which not only are certain languages dominated by others, but by association, certain groups of speakers are dominated by others. Consequently, a possible deduction is that, at the ideological level, these teachers' practices index and reproduce dominant and conventional ideologies about the value of ancestral languages and their speakers. Additionally, if we consider the inferences presented in this chapter in the light of Zavala and Córdova's (2010) statements that the colonial imprint has been maintained and that the university reproduces and updates this imprint through its projects, we can add that the university is not the only educational institution where the colonial footprint is refreshed and reproduced. The colonial footprint also appears in lower levels of the educational system and not only in the social actors' representations and institutional projects, but also in the teaching practices. The situation of the EIB programme in San Juan adds evidence to this interpretation since most of the rights of aboriginal students are not being observed.

The findings presented in this chapter also evoke Wortham's (2008) reflection on linguistic ideologies since he states that linguistic ideologies help to explain how the school institution contributes to positioning the students in certain social sectors and to constructing identities. Following this line of thought, we can infer that the ideas made available to the students influence the construction of their identities. Therefore, it could be said that the ideas conveyed by Sonia induce the students to construct monolingual identities for themselves and to value Spanish as the norm. Likewise, the practices of both teachers with respect to the ancestral language contribute to the representation of identities that do not value their own ancestral language or the culture that this language constitutes. Consequently, it can be inferred that these practices collaborate in the perpetuation of the current position of indigenous languages, i.e. marginalised as the peoples who speak them, waiting for redemption (López, 2012).

At this point, Irvine and Gal's position (2000) becomes pertinent as they state that social actors have representations of linguistic differences, which are ideologically constructed, and act according to them. In these ideological constructions, indexed relationships provide the basis on which other relationships among signs are built. Accordingly, it is possible to say that teaching practices without reflection upon the ideas that are transmitted through them can contribute to the dissemination of ideas that belittle some languages and, thus, some ways of conceptualizing the world. Similarly, they can also favour the construction of asymmetric or hierarchical relationships among signs. In

this way, the conclusions of this chapter add evidence to Canagarajah's vision (1999) that the teaching of a language cannot be considered an innocent activity since it enables ideological domination and social conflict.

2.5. Synthesis of the chapter

In this chapter, I have attempted to show that through different teaching practices various ideas about languages and cultures are made available to the students. In other words, the different uses that the teachers make of the languages, what they say about them and the lack of reference to them and in which situations they use them allow any participant of the event to infer certain ideas about the languages. It was also demonstrated that some teaching practices offer ideas, which do not contribute to the learning of English; on the contrary, they hinder it. Additionally, when analysing the teachers' practices in the light of the current political, cultural and socio-historical conditions of the aboriginal people in the province and of this particular community, it was possible to infer more ideas facilitated to the students at school.

CHAPTER III: STUDENTS' AND PARENTS' CONCEPTIONS

Chapter II provided some insight into the English teachers' practices at school and into the ideas that can be inferred from their practices and that are, thus, made available to the students through their practices. However, as Giddens points out (1984) social reality is not the product of factors that actors cannot control or comprehend, but it is actually reproduced and in part created anew in the specific activities of everyday life. Therefore, there is a good case for saying that the students' ideas about English, Spanish and the ancestral language are not necessarily the same as the ones transmitted by the teachers or their parents. This chapter presents the results of the analysis of excerpts of the observed English and Spanish lessons and of the interviews with students and parents.

Rampton (2006) suggests that when people speak, they express a number of meanings indirectly by drawing on a wide range of unstated assumptions about activities, manners, relationships, people, places, etc., which provide a baseline for the explicit part of utterances to make sense. The author also posits that people also routinely engage in open disclosures of perspectives by displaying orientations to the situation and the social world through innuendo, irony, prosodic features, presupposition, humour, etc. The analysis carried out here attempts to expose the students' and parents' ideas that can be inferred from the unstated assumptions in their utterances, from the open disclosures of perspectives and from the semantic propositions present in their utterances.

The theoretical background for the interactional analysis in this chapter is provided mainly by Goffman (1967; 1981). Goffman suggests that the term 'face' (1967) can be defined as "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact" (p. 5). The author also proposes that 'face' is a self-built image based on approved social attributes. Here, this concept is used to interpret the students' behaviour in class. This chapter also feeds on Goffman's concepts of 'participation framework' and 'participation status' (1981) to analyse the different roles the students perform and recognise during the classroom interaction.

Section 3.1 presents the ideas the students and their parents have about English; section 3.2 looks into the ideas these same participants have about Spanish and section 3.3 focuses on the ideas these participants have about the ancestral language. Section 3.4 is centred on the students' behaviour in class, that is, on the defiance of the teachers observed and, in section 3.5, the ideas the students have about the languages are related to their behaviour in the English lesson and in the Spanish lesson. Section 3.6 compares

the students' and parents' desires and what happens in reality. Finally, section 3.7 provides a synthesis of the chapter.

3.1. Students' and parents' ideas about English

The students and parents explicitly stated different ideas about English and some ideas were inferred from their interviews or from the observations of the lessons. Although many ideas about English were unveiled, three were the most salient and recurrent and the ones that seem to be directly influencing the students' behaviour in class and the dynamics of the teacher-students interaction. Each of these ideas are the issues of the following sections.

3.1.1. English as a means to find a job

What is recurrently noticeable in the interviews and the lessons observed is the conceptualization of English as an asset in the labour market and in the adult world. In the interviews with parents and students, some questions were asked about the utility of learning English at school and about the different fields to which they related English. When parents and students were asked about the usefulness of English, the first connection they established was with the labour market. The following excerpt is taken from the interview with Silvia, Ana's mother and an active member of the Warpe community in Cienaguita. As noted in the introduction, she is part of the cleaning personnel in one of the lime production plants from the area.

(01) Researcher: Y, en cuanto- bueno, volviendo a la escuela, por ahí, el inglés (..) ¿le parece importante que sus chicos aprendan inglés?

Silvia: Sí, sí, seguro.

Researcher: ¿Por qué?

Silvia: Y porque a la larga, yo pienso que hace falta, a parte ahora sí o sí, o sea está. Lo tenés que aprender y a la larga te viene bien, no sé si (..) justamente YA te va a hacer falta, pero yo pienso que dentro de un tiempo:: va a ser necesario.

Researcher: Claro

Silvia: ¿Me entendé? Como para cualquier - o sea ellos quieren salir o quieren- por ahí yo me doy cuenta en el trabajo de que vienen, yo lo he pasado (..) que, o sea, yo tengo ciertaø palabras que por ahí las sé y por ahí no. (.) Y han sabido venir gente, visitas de otro lado y yo no entendía lo que me querían decir, ¿me

entendéø? Por ahí algunas palabras laø enganchaba y por ahí no, entonces ahí te das cuenta voø de la importancia que tiene.

Silvia related the importance of learning English to the necessity of English to work. As the lime production plants are constantly visited by professionals from other parts of the world who use English to communicate, and most of the inhabitants from the area work in those lime production plants or desire to work there, awareness of the importance of learning English seems to be high. This connection between English and work was also established by other parents as can be seen in the following excerpt from an interview with Lucía, Amira's mother, who does not work in the lime production plants.

(02) Researcher: Y, pensando en la escuela, ¿le parece importante que sus hijos sepan inglés?

Lucía: Eh:, si vamos al: tema del: futuro laboral, sí.

In Lucía's view, the importance of learning English also seems to be strictly related to work opportunities. It seems that the connection between English and job opportunities is not only established by people who work in the lime production plants, but by most inhabitants of an area where that is the main source of employment. It is also interesting that no connection was established between English and job opportunities in the city of San Juan, but most of the connections were made to people from other parts of the world coming to the area.

In addition, this association between English and job opportunities was not only established by parents, but also by the students in the interviews with them like in this extract taken from an interview with Gonzalo, a student from fourth year.

(03) Researcher: Y ¿te parece que el inglés te puede ser útil?

Gonzalo: Sí.

Researcher: ¿Sí?

Gonzalo: Sí, sí, cuando - si algún día tengo yo que trabajar y capaz que me hagan algo y tengo que saber inglés, entoncesø me va a servir

From the many possible reasons for which English can be useful, the first explanation he provided was the fact that he might need it at a workplace. Clearly, this is a strong connection which is not only established by the parents who are aware of the utility of English because of first-hand experiences in situations in which English could have been

useful, but also by students. It seems the idea of English as a means to find jobs is transmitted from parents to students or shared by students. This conclusion can be arrived at since this connection was never established by the English teacher in the nine lessons observed, nor by the Spanish teacher in the four lessons observed, nor was it by the school personnel in any of the meetings, conversations or breaks observed. The connection between English and job opportunities was also established by Ana:

(04) Researcher: Y, ¿te parece que el inglés te puede ser útil?

Ana: Sí:, mu:cho y máø si quiero estudiar gendarme y me quiero ir para otro lado

Researcher: Ah, vos querés estudiar gendarme y ¿para qué te puede ser útil, por ejemplo?

Ana: Y, ponele que te manden a algún lado, ponele, qué se yo, Estados Unidos, que te manden a trabajar y va a ser útil porque ya voy a saber. No te van a tener que estar presionando para que yo aprenda sí o sí.

Ana seems to know what studies she would like to continue in the future and she could relate the importance of English to this occupation without any problem. Undoubtedly, the utility of learning English is not questioned by the students, on the contrary, they appear to be completely aware of how useful knowing English can be in the labour market.

This conception of English as an asset in the labour market was also voiced by the students during the sixth year lessons. All the students in sixth year showed awareness of the importance of learning English. In one of the lessons observed, the students openly stated their ideas about the value of English:

(05) Gisella: Y es re importante aprender el inglés

Ángela: ¿Sí? ¿Por qué es importante?

Gisella: Porque ahora viene en todos lados. Usted va a ver, no sé, [eh,

Virginia: [Un manual de un taller y es todo en inglés

Gisella: y inglés, o ya cuando tengamos nuestra plata y empecemos a viajar a Europa, a todos lados

It seems the students regard English as an asset in the field of work or in the adults' world. From the many possible aspects they could have named in relation to English, instruction manuals and traveling were the first to be mentioned. The value of learning English is not questioned by the students, who, on the contrary, appear to be completely aware of how useful it can be to know English for working. The mention of English as an

asset when traveling is an important idea to take into account considering the area where the school is. It seems that the place of residence and the socio-economic position of the students and their families are not impediments for the students to understand the significance of English as a means for communication. Moreover, they were able to explain the importance of English by resorting to their own experiences with the language. The following extract occurred when Gisella tried to clarify why learning English is important in their own town. She told the story of a time when she was working in the same lime plant her dad works at and some foreign engineers visited the plant:

(06) Gisella: *Y, entonces, fue el Fransois. Bueno, se le entendía un poco y el chico- el otro pedía ensalada y yo (...)* ((puts on a non-understanding face)) *claro.*

((The students laugh))

Gisella: *Me dio- me puse colorada porque me dio vergüenza, obvio, porque él estaba pidiendo una ensalada y yo miraba para ver si alguien me decía lo que él me estaba diciendo. Y el otro chico decía “te está pidiendo una ensalada”. Un, un- era un ingeniero porque estaban para hacer los hornos Mers allá y entonces venía y se está haciendo un revoltijo [porque*

Virginia: *[Revoltijo ((laughs))*

Gisella: *O sea, vienen muchísimos ingenieros para hacer esos hornos Mers, entonces, ((laughs)) yo que sé yo, me puse colorado. Después, me digo no voy nunca más cuando vengan esos ingenieros. No voy más, estoy en el horno.*

Virginia: *Hablame español ((moving her head upwards showing disapproval))*

Gisella’s story provides clear hints of the contact with the English language these students are exposed to outside school. Moreover, in the first turn by Gisella, the utterance “*me dio- me puse colorada porque me dio vergüenza, obvio*” and, in the second turn by the same student, the utterances “*yo que sé yo, me puse colorado. Después, me digo no voy nunca más cuando vengan esos ingenieros. No voy más, estoy en el horno.*” express embarrassment at not being able to speak or understand English. That is, in this sequence, the conceptions of English as a necessary means for communication and as an asset for employment can be clearly recovered from Gisella’s turns. In consequence, awareness of the lack of this asset leads to shame. In this example, the response of one of the students, who is an active member of the Warpe community (Virginia), is also worth analysing. This imperative statement shows a kind of refusal to speak English and a hidden expectation that foreigners should speak Spanish when in town. Apparently, English is recognized as a valuable means, but, at the same time, some rejection to its expansion in the town can be perceived.

3.1.2. English as a difficult language

Another idea which students seem to have about English and which could be inferred from the observations of the lessons was that English is a difficult language for them. During the first lessons observed in fifth year, most of the activities carried out were related to performing the play “Little Red Riding Hood” in English. During one of those lessons, the teacher asked the students to read the play aloud. After they finished reading a part of the play, some students celebrated having accomplished the activity:

(07) Tatiana: Ahí está ((clapping))

Sonia: Very good.

Valentina: Very good ((smiling))

Tatiana’s celebration after accomplishing the task leads the observer to infer that she considered the task difficult to accomplish, but that she had a great interest in being able to complete it. In the turn produced by Valentina, the same attitude can be observed since it presents traces of surprise and delight, at the same time. Clearly, reading in English is considered a difficult task for the students, so if a student is able to comply with the task and receives the teacher’s positive appraisal, that student deserves congratulations from his/her classmates for a job well done.

Despite this interest in learning English displayed by the students, they also demonstrated shame about being seen performing the play “Little Red Riding Hood” by the rest of the school. Before one of the lessons in which they had to perform “Little Red Riding Hood”, the students had stuck posters on the windows so that nobody passing by could see them and, during the lesson, they seemed to have understood they were going to perform it outside:

(08) Valentina: No, acá dentro

Tatiana: Acá dentro hagamos todo

Renzo: Acá adentro

Sonia: Si lo hacen mal, nos vamos afuera

Students: No::

The students’ refusal to perform “Little Red Riding Hood” outside the classroom, together with the teacher’s threat to have it performed in front of the entire school community if they did not do well suggest that the students were embarrassed about being

seen by the rest of the school speaking English and performing a play. This shows that the students conceive of using English as a hard task, which, in this case, was going to be even more challenging because they would have to perform the play in public.

During another lesson observed in fifth year, the topic dealt with was “Giving directions”. All the students were concentrated on and committed to the task of doing the exercises in the copies that Sonia had given to them. When the students had finished the exercises, Sonia started checking the answers together with them. During that activity, it could be observed that the students tended to answer in Spanish. Even when they understood what the teacher was asking and they knew the answer in English, they translated it into Spanish to answer the teacher’s questions:

(09) Sonia: The fourth?

Renzo: Estación de bus

Sonia: ¿Cómo es estación de bus?

Amira: /bos stopp/

(10) Sonia: Library, the third point?

María: /pɒstɒ 'fi:se/

Sonia: Post office

María: Bue:no, e:so ((inclining her head to the side indicating lack of interest))

(11) Renzo: La estación de policía

Sonia: I don't understand, I don't understand, no entiendo

Renzo: La estación de policía

Sonia: No. No les entiendo

Tatiana: /pɒli:s 'stætɪvɪn/

Sonia: Police station

Tatiana: Bueno, no sé yo:

The students had the answers written in English on the page and, yet, in most cases, they translated the words into Spanish when saying them out aloud. They were reluctant to say anything in English, therefore, they stuck to Spanish as much as they could. Clearly, the idea that speaking English is difficult is held by the students. Their reactions to the teacher’s corrections were also noticeable. María’s response to the teacher’s feedback presents María as not caring about the teacher’s correction and, at the same time, it presents her previous answer as information shared by all the students and the teacher.

After she received the feedback from Sonia, Tatiana justified herself by saying she did not know. The fact that students responded to Sonia's corrections by somehow justifying their mistakes, instead of accepting the corrections or repeating the words correctly, indicates that the students interpret corrections as reprimands. Thus, the students' avoidance to read aloud in English even when they understand what they are reading can be explained as not daring to make mistakes and to be corrected in front of the class. This is further illustrated with the following excerpt:

(12) *Sonia: Shopping centre, bien, eight?*

((Silence))

Sonia: ¿Qué tienen? (... ..) Nothing? (... ..) ¿Qué tienen en el eight? (... ..) ¿Qué tiene escrito en el eight?

((to Valentina))

Valentina: /leisure/ centre

Sonia: Bien, leisure centre. Nine?

The students' silence after the teacher's questions and their silences during Sonia's pauses after her questions show the students' fear to answer. They had done the exercise and had provided all the previous words (as can be seen in excerpts 09, 10 and 11) except for that one. The other words ("bus stop", "post office" and "police station") were mostly cognates or English borrowings, but "leisure centre" had a word which did not resemble Spanish, thus, it was more difficult to pronounce than the others. The fact that the students did not produce the words shows they are ashamed to get negative appraisal, which, in turn, emerges from the conception of English as a difficult language and from a general cultural trait of the inhabitants of the area: a strong concern for how they are perceived by others, i.e. for their positive face (Goffman, 1967). The possibilities of making mistakes in English are higher than in Spanish; thus, the possibility of losing face is higher when using English than when using Spanish. Therefore, using Spanish is a way of saving face.

In addition, the analysis of these extracts also allows us to infer that if the English teacher does not use the foreign language naturally and for practical purposes such as responding to the students' turns, it cannot be expected that the students use the language naturally and for practical purposes such as answering the teacher's questions. Another inference that can be made is that if the mechanical use of the foreign language is not first stimulated in a choral way or in reduced groups of students, it is not reasonable to expect

the students' individual and creative use of the foreign language when being listened to by all their classmates.

In sixth year, the conception of English as a difficult language was also inferred from the students' turns. In one of the lessons, Ángela asked the students to describe their daily routines aloud and some students made comments about the difficulty of the task:

(13) Ángela: *Y ¿si usamos inglés y vamos repitiendo esas acciones en inglés?*

Gisella: *Ah::, ¡qué preciosa! ((putting on an extra-kind face))*

Luchi: *Se nos puso complicado*

By using irony in a humorous way, Gisella pointed out the difficulty in the task set by the teacher. Through this use, Gisella evokes a shared common ground, a shared viewpoint: that English is difficult. Luchi confirmed this shared viewpoint by explicitly expressing having to speak English was a challenging task. Explicit and Implicit references to the difficulty in speaking English were numerous during the sixth year lessons. The following sequence occurred after the students had been working for some minutes.

(14) Gisella: *Profe, ¿enfermería lleva inglés?*

Ángela: *¿Sabe que si? Obligatorio, el que no aprueba inglés ((moves her hand from one side to the other))*

Gisella: *Porque no me gusta enfermería, pero*

((The students laugh))

Gisella: *Y ¿periodismo deportivo?*

Ángela: *También*

Samantha: *Eso sí, porque vas a todos lados.*

Ángela: *Para todo, para todo inglés, así que enfóquense. Este::*

Gisella: *No voy a estudiar nada*

((All the students laugh))

In Gisella's first response to Ángela's turn, she produced a witticism (Dyner, 2009) which was also related to the difficulty of learning English or to her disliking it. Her last turn in this sequence confirms this meaning. Although the reasons for refusing to study English are not overtly stated in her last turn, they can be related to how challenging learning the language is, since the same student said in the previous lesson that she did like English and she even explained the importance of learning the language. In addition, just before that sequence was produced, she had complained about the difficulty inherent

in speaking in English. Moreover, the idea of English as a challenging language to speak is present in other students' turns:

(15) *Ángela: I get up, and*

Gisella: Seven,

Ángela: Seven

Gisella: No, at

((the students laugh))

Luchi: No hace falta que digás eso

Gisella: Then, después, (.) luego, (..) no se rían de mí ((to her classmates))(..) have a /ʃover/

Ángela: Then, I have a shower. Bien, exelente.

Luchi: No, ahora no quiero ((laughing))

((The students laugh))

Luchi: Que no sé cómo decirla

Gisella: ¡Qué estrés!

Samantha: Es q es re fácil, ¿viste? pero:, pero- es re fácil escribirla, tenés que pronunciarla nada máø

In this sequence, it is possible to perceive how hard speaking English can be for the students. The main difficulty they seem to find is its phonetics since Gisella shows awareness of her classmates' possible judgement when speaking, Luchi attempts to refuse to carry out the task orally and Samantha explicitly states pronouncing words is difficult in English. Therefore, they seem to hold the idea that English pronunciation is difficult. This idea about English seems to be translated into avoidance of speaking or reading aloud so as not to make mistakes:

(16) *Ángela: Pero háblenlo, no necesitan escribirlo*

Luchi: No, es que yo lo voy haciendo y ahí lo voy leyendo y me dice qué mal que lo hace

(17) *Ángela: Traten de- hablemos, hablemos, después escribimos*

Samantha: ¿Cómo se dice /het/? /het/, no se dice /het/

Ángela: /get/

Samantha: Espere, la escribo y se la leo

When students try to speak English and provide sentences, traces of shame appear in many of their turns. Luchi, in excerpt (16), stated her concern for the teacher's corrections. In excerpt (15), by saying "No, ahora no quiero" and "Que no sé cómo decirla" when it was her turn to talk, she expressed her unease with having to talk in English because of

its difficulty. In excerpt (17), Samantha refused to say a sentence before writing it. Gisella showed awareness of her classmates' presence and of a possible negative evaluation in “*no se rían de mí*” (excerpt 15). Thus, concern for being evaluated or ridiculed in front of and by the teacher and their peers can be observed in the students' turns. Once again, cultural traits seemed to be influencing the learning of English. Carranza (1995; 2013) suggests that ethnographic observations exhibit forms in which the situations outside the school are translated into practices of the social actors inside it. In this case, ethnographic observations allowed me to see how the distinctive concern of the people in the area for what people might think about them is transferred to the English lesson as avoidance of making mistakes, and, therefore of losing face (Goffman, 1967) in front of the class.

Traces of the idea of English as a difficult language can be found in other exchanges as well. In the same lesson where the previous analysed sequences occurred, the teacher introduced a reading comprehension task in English and she asked the students to read aloud. At the beginning, the students showed interest in reading aloud:

(18) *Ángela: (...) ¿Leemos con la vista o leemos a viva voz?*

Gisella: Yo lo leería así para que vamos aprendiendo ((she looks at the rest of the students))

((The students nod))

In this interaction, interest in learning more English is clear and the students seem to be ready to make an effort to learn more. However, not all the students dared to read when they were asked to do so:

(19) *Ángela: (...) Bien, ¿quién va a empezar a leer? Que no sea Samantha que ya leyó.*

Gisella: Yo leo, pero hasta ese puntito. ((Pointing at the copies))

Ángela: Bueno, ella pone los límites.(.) ¿En la casa es así?

Gisella: Ay, es que yo no sé leer, me da cosa

Luchi: Nos da vergüenza

Both students, Gisella and Luchi, mentioned being embarrassed about reading in English, Luchi stated her embarrassment straightforwardly and, by saying “*me da cosa*”, Gisella pointed to feeling embarrassed as well. In addition, in the second turn produced by Gisella, “*es que yo no sé leer*”, not being able to read aloud as she might be expected to is presented as the cause of embarrassment. Clearly, the students are ashamed of losing face in front of the class by not pronouncing words correctly in English. This is confirmed

by the fact the students suggested a different way of reading aloud in which they were less exposed to criticism:

(20) *Luchi: Hagamos esto como-¿con qué profesora lo hacíamos? Ah, con la chica que venía a ayudarnos, lo leíamos en voz alta con ella y ella lo leía más alto que nosotros y nosotros íbamos repitiendo con ella el mismo texto*

(21) *Samantha: Arranquemos juntos, todos juntos*

Gisella: Usted dice some y ahí nosotros decimos some, ye::, ye:::, ya:, ya::

((The students laugh))

Ángela: Quiero escucharlas leer

(22) *Ángela: Sino, les leo un párrafo yo y después lo lee otra.*

Gisella: Bien, dele.

Samantha: Dele.

(23) *Samantha: Bueno, ¿quién va a leer, profe? Luchi*

Luchi: ¿Por qué?

Ángela: Cualquiera, vamos a leer todas juntas

Samantha: Porque yo ya leí, ya leyó la Gisella

Luchi: Todas juntas, todas juntas

(24) *Ángela: ¿No se les hace más lío leyendo así?*

Luchi: No, no. Es más cómodo.

Samantha: Como que todas nos vamos acompañando, poquito

The method they suggested for reading was the one through which they were less prone to making mistakes in front of the whole class. This is particularly interesting taking into account that they are only four girls and they are all friends, so fear of sounding unwise in front of the opposite gender does not have a bearing on this case. Once again, it is possible to infer the presence of shame about reading in English because of the possibility of making mistakes. The challenge that speaking English implies for the students can be observed in the following turns, since the students congratulated Gisella when she dared to read.

(25) *Ángela: Excellent!*

Luchi: Good, good

((Samantha claps))

It is evident that, for the students, reading in English is a difficult task, so when one of them dares to do it, the others recognize the effort. Additionally, congratulating one another when they achieve a goal seems to constitute a practice among the students.

Nevertheless, there is a contradiction between this avoidance of reading in English and the high frequency of uptake of the teacher's turns-at-talk during the classroom interaction. The following exchanges were produced when the teacher was reading aloud:

(26) *Gisella: øpereme, profe,*

Ángela: A beautiful valley

Gisella: øpere, øpere, øpere

Ángela: called Glencoe

Gisella: ¿Qué?

Ángela: We were walking through, we were walking through a beautiful valley called Glencoe, when we saw a tall man standing

Samantha: ¿Cómo?

Ángela: a tall man standing, casi todo es igual ahí, beside the road

Gisella: ¿Cómo?

(27) *Ángela: O hitch-hike es, en realidad*

Virginia: Hacer dedo

Samantha: ¿Cómo se dice?

The students' turns show their reaction to the teacher's explanations during the lesson. In other words, in these utterances, the students can be perceived as interested in picking every detail from what the teacher said. Nonetheless, this interest can also be observed in the students' uptake during the whole lesson. The following excerpt shows how all the students attempted to answer the teacher's questions or complete her sentences:

(28) *Ángela: (...) Bien, entonces, ¿qué ha pasado-qué pasó en el invierno del 92, de 1692?*

Samantha: Unos miembros de un campamento, o sea

Ángela: Del campamento Campbell, que es uno de los clanes, ¿sí? ¿Con quiénes?

Samantha: Aha, con Mc Donald.

Ángela: No,

Samantha: Con cuatro

Ángela: Con los soldados de ¿dónde?

Gisella: De Scotland

Ángela: British soldiers

Virginia: Aha, con cuatro soldados de Scotland

Ángela: Dice British soldiers and members of. ¿Quiénes son los British soldiers?

Samantha: Soldados británicos

Ángela: Soldados británicos y miembros de ¿qué? De ese clan Cambell asesinaron

Samantha: A cuatro

Ángela: A casi cuarenta de los

Virginia: Mc Donald

Ángela: Mc Donald Fiurenco que es otro,

Virginia: Otro clan

Ángela: Otro clan

Luchi: Otra familia

Ángela: Otra familia, ok. ¿Dónde fue eso?

Gisella: En Escocia

Ángela: En Escocia. ¿Dónde los mataron?

All the students: En la casa

Ángela: En su propias casas, y otras cuarenta personas que eran mayormente

Luchi: Mujeres

The typical three-part structure of classroom interactions (Lemke, 1990) was fluent and construed by all the students who answered questions enthusiastically. However, it can also be inferred that this piece of the interaction was particularly dynamic due to the language used. As it was carried out in Spanish, avoidance of speaking English did not appear. Even when the teacher corrected content in almost every utterance by the students, this did not stop them from providing answers. Spanish does not seem to be considered a dangerous field for making mistakes, so embarrassment fades away. However, the possibilities of making mistakes in English are higher than in Spanish, thus, shame about reading or speaking in English is higher as well. This idea is reinforced by the students' predisposition to reading when they already knew the pronunciation of the words and they had fewer possibilities of making mistakes:

(29) *Ángela: Some years ago I was in Scotland, I was, with a group of friends. We all loved Scottish mountains.*

Samantha: ¿Cómo?

Angela: We all loved Scottish mountains so we went hiking there almost every year.

Gisella: Yo (..) Some /jeas/ ago

Once the teacher provided the correct pronunciation, shame started fading away and the students started showing more predisposition, than before, to reading in English. Consequently, it can be inferred that shame disappears when the possibilities of losing face decline, i.e. when they know what they are saying has been approved by the teacher.

3.1.3. English as a source of recreational pleasure

Although the notion of English as a difficult language seems to be part of the set of ideas the students have about English, this does not seem to be an impediment for the students conceiving of English as a source of recreational pleasure. Excerpt (07) introduced in the previous section, where Tatiana celebrates having accomplished the task and Valentina congratulates her, is a clear example of how the two ideas coexist. On the one hand, it allows any observer to realize that saying something in English is considered difficult for the students, but, on the other hand, the conceptions of English as desired knowledge and of learning English as fun can be inferred from the students' utterances and behaviour.

In addition, as stated before, during the first lessons observed in fifth year, the main activity was practicing the play "Little Red Riding Hood". During the rehearsals of the play, the coexistence of both notions (English as a difficult language and as a source of recreational pleasure) were observed. Although the students showed insecurity about speaking English in front of their peers, they also showed enthusiasm and interest when practicing and performing the play inside the classroom. In one of the lessons, when the teacher arrived, the students were sticking pictures on the windows and decorating the room with trees and flowers. The teacher greeted the students but nobody answered. All the students were decorating the room with things they had brought from home and were dressing up to perform "Little Red Riding Hood". When they finished, they asked the teacher if they could do it again:

(30) Amira: Lo hagamoØ de vuelta, profe

Valentina: Otra veØ

Romina: Sí

Celina: Otra veØ

Sonia: Bien

María: Lo hagamoØ de vuelta

The students' interest in performing the play again, their proactive attitude towards decorating the room with posters they had done at home, and the costumes they had brought to class are indications of the students' joy when carrying out activities related to the learning of English. This behaviour also establishes a sharp contrast with the students' behaviour in the previous lesson whose focus was moral values, and provides hints for understanding some of the students' ideas about the language. The conception of English as fun can be clearly recovered from these excerpts. Undoubtedly, the students enjoy communicating in English. In addition, this joy seems to be accompanied by a concern for a correct performance in English. After they finished the play, the following exchange was produced:

(31) Sonia: Bien, chicos, me ha gustado.

((The students clap))

The fact that the students clapped when the teacher admitted she had liked the performance, makes evident their concern for doing a good job, which is observable in other occasions, as well. The following exchange was produced after the teacher asked Amira to read her part of the play again because she had previously read it too slowly:

(32) Amira: ¿Algo mejor?

Sonia: Sí

By asking for Sonia's approval of her performance, Amira exhibited concern for improving her reading abilities in English. The students' motivation to improve their knowledge of the language could also be observed in other fifth year lessons when the main topic of the lesson was not the play. In one of the lessons, Sonia explained the simple past tense because the students stated they did not know that tense and, as a result, they were not able to do the exercises she had assigned the previous lesson. While she was explaining, the students were all silent, looking at the blackboard and paying attention. This lesson was unlike the others I had observed before, because the students acted in a completely different manner. Even though in the previous lesson they had shown interest when practicing "Little Red Riding Hood", they talked among themselves much more than in this lesson and the teacher scolded them many times due to their behaviour. In this lesson, they were talking, but, as soon as the teacher started explaining the past tense, they

calmed down and paid attention. Moreover, uptake of the teacher's turns-at-talk on the part of the students was more frequent in this lesson than on other occasions. The following exchanges were produced when the teacher was explaining the past tense:

(33) *Sonia: ¿Se acuerdan cuando aprendieron el verbo to be?*

Some students: Sí.

Sonia: Que para he, para she y para it iba is, ¿Se acuerdan?

Some students: Sí.

Sonia: Eso es presente, en pasado es was.

Some students: Ah

(34) *Sonia: ¿De qué forma?*

María: Agregando dos personas.

Sonia: Bien, bien, entonces, acá ¿iría el was?

Some students: No, el were.

The sequence of turns-at-talk in these exchanges follows the preference organization (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984, p. 53) of turns in a classroom interaction and thus, contributes to the dynamics of the lesson. The students show attentiveness and willingness to collaborate in the interaction. The way the students behaved in this lesson reflects interest and good predisposition for learning English. This is supported by their willingness to take down notes when the teacher started lecturing although the teacher had to ask them not to write while she was explaining. However, later on the students asked her again if they could write down what was on the board. When she allowed them to do so, they were all silent copying the chart the teacher had drawn on the board.

This radical change in students' behaviour influenced by the topic of the lesson could also be observed in other lessons. In one of the lessons, Sonia had given the students some photocopies and she explained they were going to focus on giving directions. The first exercise consisted in finding places on a map. The students showed enthusiasm as soon as the teacher started explaining the exercise:

(35) *Sonia: [...] y ustedes las tienen que ubicar, dónde están, ¿sí?, qué hay. En el punto número dos qué hay, en el punto número uno, qué [hay*

((All the students are looking at the copies))

María: [una iglesia, [ah no, un hospital

Other students: [no.: Un hospital.

Even though the questions the teacher asked were only part of the explanation of the task, the students answered them. They all started doing the activities silently by themselves or in pairs. They were all concentrated on the copies and doing the exercise. They looked for words in the dictionaries and asked questions to the teacher when necessary:

(36) Amira: Profe, ¿qué es /betwen/? Es que no sale en el diccionario.

Sonia: ¿Qué palabra?

Amira: /betwen/.

The students first looked up the meaning of the words in the dictionaries and, when they had doubts, they asked questions to the teacher. They worked autonomously trying to solve their own problems, or, at most, with their classmates. The teacher was consulted only occasionally and, in most cases, to show her the finished exercise.

(37) Celina: Teacher, mire ((she shows the copy to the teacher))

(38) María: Mire, profe

((The teacher goes there and looks at the copies))

The students seemed to need the teacher's approval individually. Despite the fact that they had all checked the exercise together with the teacher, they asked her to look at their own work one by one. All the students were more engaged in this lesson than in previous ones. Even one of the least hard-working students, Fernando, finished the exercise before the teacher assigned it:

(39) Sonia: Bien, a ver qué más tienen que completar, me avisan

((All students start doing the exercise silently))

Fernando: Ya lo hice, teacher

Sonia: ¿YA lo hizo? ((with a surprised face))

Fernando: Creo que sí

Sonia: ¿Usted solo?

Fernando: ¿Ah?

Sonia: ¿Usted solo?

Fernando: Sí

The fact that Fernando finished the exercise before the teacher assigned it to them indicates that he was interested in the exercise and found joy in doing it. This seemed to be unexpected by the teacher since traces of surprise can be detected in her turns-at-talk. That is, by repeating Fernando’s statement in her question combined with the stress in “ya” and her facial expression, she is not only seeking to confirm she has heard correctly, but also displaying an orientation to the statement as an extraordinary one. This orientation is further strengthened by her questioning of Fernando’s self-performance. This was a radical behaviour change for Fernando since, in previous lessons, he either tended to avoid working all together or spent most of his time playing with his mobile phone. However, Fernando’s behaviour in excerpt (39) shows hints of the view of English as fun. At the same time, he seems to hold the idea that English is useful because when the focus of the task was language use, his interest in doing the activity increased.

The fifth-year students worked all through the lesson on the copies. While they were doing the third exercise, the teacher left the room for seven minutes, and the students did not stop working silently with the dictionaries or asking their pairs for help. This situation was exactly the opposite of what happened in the first lesson. In that lesson, they were dealing with moral values, the teacher left and all the students started talking about something else and teasing each other. At that moment, the students were aware they were not working and did not try to go back to work. However, in this lesson, the students continued working on the task when the teacher was absent.

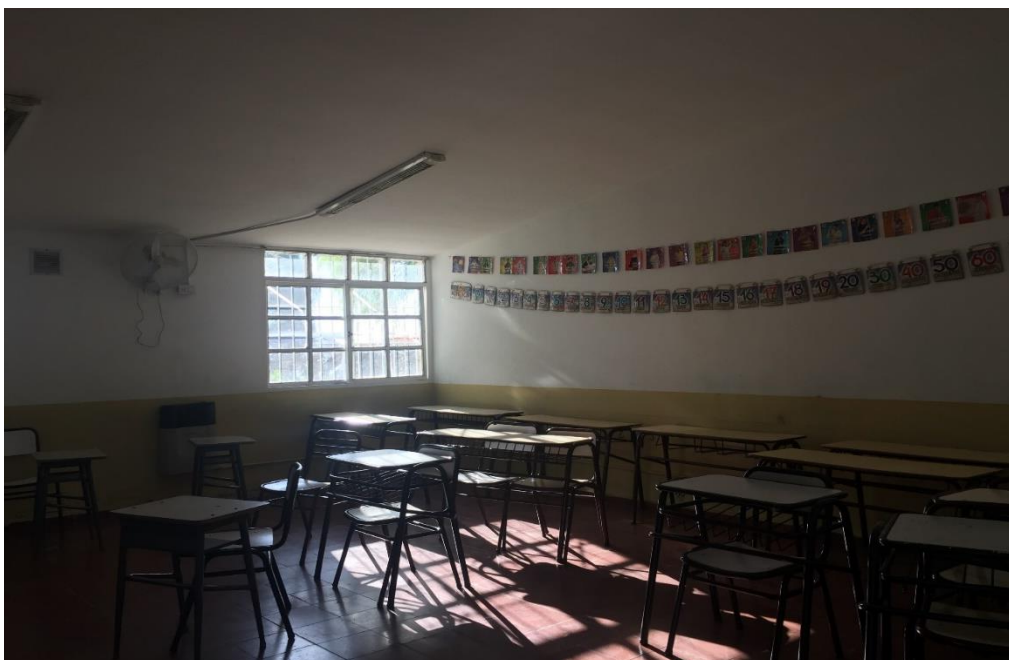


Image 6 The fifth-year classroom after the students left because the school time was over.

Clearly, the students become more engaged with tasks related to the learning of English than with tasks that are not relevant for the learning of the foreign language. That is, when they find the objective of the speech event to be what they expect for an English lesson, the students recognise their participation status (Goffman, 1981) in the lesson and act accordingly. Another interesting issue in this lesson is the students' enthusiasm even when working by themselves. In the previous lesson that centred on the teaching of the simple past tense, the teacher was doing all the talk and, although then they showed more interest than in previous lessons, they were not as enthusiastic as in this lesson. When they could work autonomously, they proved to be more engaged in the task and worked harder. This is particularly interesting if we take into account that doing English exercises by themselves might be more demanding and they might have to make a greater effort than when talking about values, for example. In other words, the more English they are taught and the harder the task, the more enthusiasm is shown. Therefore, it can be argued that the students show interest when learning English because they seem to have the idea that English is useful. It is also evident that using the foreign language in a game, a play or exercise is enjoyable, thus, it can be inferred that using the foreign language is potentially enjoyable.

This idea is supported by the lesson observations in sixth year, since, in these lessons, the students did not misbehave and showed a constant interest in learning more English. As was discussed in the previous section, the uptake of the teacher's turns-at-talk was frequent in sixth year. In one of the lessons, they reviewed the simple present tense and the students copied what the teacher wrote on the board. When they finished, they started working on a photocopy the teacher provided. They were all engrossed in working on the copies. The interaction between the teacher and the students was dynamic and all the students were eager to work:

(40) Ángela: Ordenando, ordenense, ordenen su día

Luchi: Me levanto, no, me visto después

Virginia: Ah, sí, yo también

Gisella: Ah no:, yo me levanto, me baño, cierto que me baño antes de venirme a la escuela, préstame la goma Virgi

The students discussed the exercise they had been assigned with the teacher and with their classmates. They worked together and, instead of only trying to complete the task, they seemed to be making an effort to provide true-to-life examples. Apart from trying to apply the exercise to their real lives, they also constantly asked the teacher questions about new vocabulary and grammatical structures:

(41) *Ángela: After, after that, so*

Gisella: Eso lo quiero escribir

(42) *Samantha: Teacher, ¿qué lo que es /read/?*

Ángela: Leer, /ri:d/

(43) *Virginia: ¿Qué lo que es o'clock?*

Ángela: En punto

(44) *Luchi: Y ¿cómo puedo poner no me gusta el tenis?*

The students displayed continuous interest in learning more English by asking questions, taking notes of explanations, doing the exercises and trying to use the English language to talk about their everyday lives as much as possible. Furthermore, the students showed a very proactive attitude towards learning the language, even if that implied learning more content and working harder:

(45) *Luchi: Profe, pero, en serio, nos hace sentir mal cuando nos dice eso, “¿no saben esto?”*

Ángela: ¿Por qué? No, no, pregunto para agregar, pero veo que estoy agregando y agregando

Luchi: No importa, mejor, [porque

In this excerpt, the turn produced by Luchi shows that having to make an extra effort to learn more English is not a problem for the students. On the contrary, by saying “*mejor*”, Luchi expressed some inclination towards acquiring more knowledge of English.

Later in the lesson, the teacher asked the students what they would like to study when they finish school and why, so that she could bring information in English about their interests to class. At the end of the lesson, the students reminded her about the material she had mentioned:

(46) *Ángela: No, no se van a ningún lado. Bueno, les encargo eso, ¿sí?*

Luchi: Nosotros le encargamos a usted que nos traiga la información

Again, the demand for more content is present in Luchi's turn. There is clear evidence that the learners have a longing for knowledge of English, despite the extra effort having more content to learn may imply.

In another of the six-year lessons observed, the students remembered a song this same teacher had taught them in primary school. However, Ángela had not been their teacher since that year because they had had Sonia from first to fifth year of secondary school. After that, Samantha tried to explain what their experience with English had been the previous years and what they think of English:

(47) *Samantha: Le digo la verdad, no nos ha gustado nunca el inglés*

Virginia: Con la otra profesora el año pasado fue (.) pf ((moving her hands))

Gisella: No, no es que no es que no nos guste en sí la materia, la materia puede gustarnos porque es divertido

Samantha: No, no. Es que, claro, como lo da ella

Ángela: Es divertido, aprender otro idioma es divertido. Les voy a dar unas clases,

The students: Sí, sí

Gisella: Pero, depende la manera como nos la explique, por ejemplo esta manera así que usted nos está explicando es divertido, pero ella

Virginia: Y ella se sentaba y no nos ayudaba

The fact that the students explained what their experience with English had been like the years they had not had Ángela as a teacher right after they said they remembered things from primary school, proves this explanation was a justification for their lack of knowledge of English. In other words, by showing they remember content taught in sixth grade, but not much from first to fifth year of secondary school, they imply their lack of knowledge of English is not a consequence of their learning difficulties, but of Sonia's not doing her job properly. This is confirmed by their straightforward complaints about Sonia. In addition, Gisella, in her turn "*No. No, es que no es que no nos guste en sí la materia, la materia puede gustarnos porque es divertido*", made it clear that they do not repel English since they consider it as fun, but their interest in learning English seems to be associated with the way of teaching the language the teachers display.

3.2. Ideas about Spanish

As noted in the introduction, the same groups of students (fourth and fifth year) share the same Spanish teacher, Carina. As she started teaching in September, there was not much time left before the end of the year exams, so it was possible to observe only lessons where the activities carried out aimed, mostly, at getting marks for the students. Nonetheless, the conception that the students seem to have of Spanish as an unnecessary subject was inferred from the lesson interactions and from the interviews with the students. However, the students' parents do not seem to have the same idea that the students have about Spanish as a subject at school.

3.2.1. Spanish as an unnecessary subject for students

During one of the lessons observed in fourth year, the teacher reviewed the characteristics of a text and a story they had read the previous lesson. The students made comments which explicitly showed lack of interest in the topics being discussed. The following exchanges took place when Carina was asking about a text they had been assigned as homework.

(48) Carina: *Perdón. Entonces, el quince fue la licencia médica y hoy es veintidós, ¿sí? Bien. El texto pirata parrata no va. Si han traído ese text[o*

Ismael: *[No traje nada yo*

Carina: *¿Eh? ¿Alguien más ha traído algo? ¿Qué ha traído usted? Ah, ((looking at Tamara's notebook)) La sirena. Ah la pipetuá, esto ¿no tendrá que ve::r con el tema que vimos de: Odiseo? ¿Quieren que recordemos qué pasó?*

Ismael: *No.*

Carina: *¿No?*

((The students put on tired faces and shake their head, some say "no" many times))

Carina: *¿Por qué se ponen así? Nosotros la última clase que vimos fue (..) ehm:: (..), el concepto de texto que significaba tejido, que significaba trama, que significaba entramado, ¿sí? Me dijeron que el entramado de letras, entramado de palabras, entramado de (.) vocales, si se quiere de sílabas que formaban un texto, ¿sí?. Un texto, eh:: deriva de la palabra textus que significa tejido, pero no es lo más importante que yo les dije que íbamos a trabajar del texto, sino ¿qué cosas?*

Agustina: *(. . . .) Cri cri ((laughter))*

Ismael's refusal to the teacher's offer can be considered a dispreferred response (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984) which signals lack of interest in cooperating with the lesson dynamics and in reviewing the text they had worked with. He also made explicit that they had not complied with the task they had been assigned. In addition, the students' gestures together with the onomatopoeia of a cricket as a response to the teacher's question about the topic of the lesson demonstrate the students' lack of engagement with the activity. The fact that the students show no engagement with the lesson topics even when they are strictly related to the subject "Spanish" (as opposed to teaching moral values in the English lesson) demonstrates the students find the contents taught in the subject and, thus, the subject itself lacking in usefulness.

The following excerpt also shows comments from the students which explicitly state lack of interest.

(49) Carina: *Ahora, ¿se animan ustedes a producir un texto con esas propiedades?*

Some students: No.

Carina: Ustedes ¿qué tienen? ¿No tienen ganas o no se animan?

Romina: No tenemos ganas.

Carina: Enton[ces]

Emilse: [Profe, vuélvalo a explicar, que quede bien claro ((looking at her classmates with a complicit gaze))

Carina: Bien. Eh::, sabemos que textos es un tejido de palabras, de oraciones, [eh::

Ismael: [Bueø, no tan atrás

Emilse: Callate ((looking at Ismael with a reproaching look))

Carina: Bueno, ¿dónde quieren que empiece?

In this excerpt, Romina clearly stated lack of desire to work on the topic being taught, but Emilse (the girl who always understands everything quickly and who had previously said she had understood) asked Carina to explain again looking at her classmates mischievously. Even when Ismael made it clear that they did not need a further explanation of everything, Emilse told him to stop talking. Emilse's request for the teacher to explain again can be understood as an attempt to avoid working, i.e. the more the teacher lectured, the less the students had to work on their own. This is another piece of evidence of the students' lack of commitment to participate. In addition, many students yawned loudly and stretched their arms during the lesson. These gestures can also be understood as indicating lack of interest in what is going on in the lesson and, also, as defiance of the teacher since they can be interpreted as signs that the activity being carried out is tiresome.

The Spanish lessons in both classes were characterized by the occurrence of these types of responses and gestures from the students that express a clear disinterest in the topics being discussed and, therefore, in the subject “Spanish”. The following piece of interaction occurred after the teacher had corrected some notebooks and exercises the students had been assigned:

(50) *Carina: Adentro, vamos (. . .) ah:: ((putting on a tired face))*

Tamara: ¿Qué le ha pasado?

Maira: Uste:des son

Carina: No. Siento ganas de matarlos.

Tamara: ¿Por qué?

Agustina: ¿A quién?

Carina: A ustedes

Carina’s disappointment with the students’ production was expressed straightforwardly, however, the students did not seem to worry about it. They continued doing what they were doing, chatting and laughing. As a result, considering that the students’ behaviour in class and the constant and explicit lack of interest they demonstrate do not seem to be dependent on the lesson topic, it can be inferred that their behaviour is related to the idea that learning Spanish is unnecessary, thus, everything which means “doing Spanish” is not interesting. This inference is corroborated by the interviews with the students since when asked about the need to learn Spanish at school, different students were very clear in stating that Spanish was not a useful subject. In his interview, Gonzalo, a student who comes from Cienagueta and who collaborates in different activities related to the Warpe community, expressed doubts about the importance of learning Spanish at school:

(51) *Researcher: Mira, y vos ¿crees que te sirve tener lengua acá en la escuela? (..) Que te enseñen castellano acá en la escuela*

Gonzalo: (..) M::, no. No sé.

Researcher: No sabés. (..) Ya, ¿te sirve de algo?

Gonzalo: (..) M:, no.

Researcher: Y en el futuro, ¿te puede servir?

Gonzalo: Sí, en el futuro capaz que sí.

After my persistent questioning, Gonzalo acknowledges that learning Spanish at school can be useful in the future; however, his first answers to my questions were clear indications that he does not think it is. Therefore, considering the students' constant and explicit lack of interest in the Spanish lessons together with their responses in the interviews, it can be said that they do not take into account Spanish as a useful subject at school and, this idea is manifested through their behaviour in class.

3.2.2. Spanish as a necessary subject according to parents

Contrary to what was found in relation to the ideas about English, i.e. that the parents and the students seem to share the same ideas about English, the ideas the parents hold about Spanish seem to be different to the ideas that the students have about Spanish. In the interviews to parents, they were asked about the utility of their children learning Spanish at school, and they all provided different opinions, but, in their comments, they constantly expressed the idea that learning Spanish at school is useful. The following fragment was taken from the interview with Lucía, Amira's mother:

(52) Researcher: Y que aprendan:, eh, que tengan lengua, por ejemplo, ¿le parece importante?

Lucía: Sí.

Researcher: ¿Sí? ¿Por qué le parece importante lengua?

Lucía: Eh:, bueno, lengua, yo interpreto que, (.) yo interpreto, que es enseñarle a: (.), lo que es, eh, leer, escribir texto, sea, todo eso, o sea, o creo que es importante para: (..) para elloø, o sea, porque,(..) eh:, para que sepan cómo: hacer un texto, cómo escribir una carta, no sé

Researcher: Claro, o sea que también usted lo piensa más laboralmente, por ejemplo.

Lucía: Claro, sí. Y, sí, porque a lo mejor hoy en día:, a lo mejor yo quiero escribir un texto y mi ortografía no es, eh:, buena (..) y hoy el que la tiene una ortografía buena eø como que resalta o le hace saber a uno que está mal o:- yo no quisiera que mis hijos pasen algo así.

Clearly, Lucía considers the learning of Spanish at school useful, but what can also be inferred from her answers is that the utility of having Spanish as a subject at school seems to be related to acquiring literacy and to learning the standard forms of the language. In addition, by saying “y hoy el que la tiene una ortografía buena eø como que resalta o le hace saber a uno que está mal o:- yo no quisiera que mis hijos pasen algo así.”, Lucía points out the importance of learning Spanish so as not to be looked down on. This indicates that in her view the standard variety of Spanish is a kind of cultural capital, although the students do not seem to hold the same conception. In addition, Silvia, Ana's

mother, also recognized the importance of learning Spanish at school. However, the reasons she provided for considering Spanish as a useful subject are different to the ones provided by Lucía:

(53) Researcher: Sí, sí, sí. Y ¿considera que es importante que estudien castellano en la escuela?

Silvia: Sí, sí, seguro.

Researcher: ¿Por algo en particular?

Sivia: Y: yo pienso que todo lo va dando el tiempo, o sea, en el tiempo que vivimos porque no podemos vivir- también vivir siempre con términos, terminología, (.) o sea, la misma sociedad te va haciendo ((rolling her hands))

She seems to believe that new Spanish words are learnt at school, therefore, having Spanish at school allows for easier ways of adapting to the requirements of contemporary society. Hence, it can be said that although parents seem to consider learning Spanish at school important, the reasons for doing so are varied. However, not all the parents that were interviewed shared this idea that learning Spanish at school is useful for their children. Chapter IV deals with this difference more extensively.

3.3. Ideas about Warpe languages

In the interviews with parents and students, some questions addressed the topic of the Warpe identity and the possibility of being taught a Warpe language at school. The students explained that they had never discussed any topic related to being Warpe at school, but that they would like to do so. In his interview, Gonzalo admitted knowing some words and songs in a Warpe language, but he firmly refused to tell me one during the interview, he said he would do it later. In addition, when asked if he would like to speak a Warpe language, his answer was almost inaudible:

(54) Researcher: Mira, y ¿te gustaría hablar una lengua warpe?

Gonzalo: (... ..) Sí ((whispering))

Researcher: ¿Sí? saber algunas palabras ya sabés, no me las querés decir pero las sabés

Gonzalo: Máø o menoø

Researcher: Pero hablar la lengua, ¿sí?

Gonzalo: Sí.

Researcher: Y ¿te gustaría que se enseñe acá en la escuela, que se enseñe una lengua warpe acá en la escuela?

((Gonzalo nods))

Researcher: *¿Crees que es posible?*

Gonzalo: *Y sí. (...) sí, sí es posible*

Gonzalo constantly acknowledged being interested in speaking a Warpe language and in it being taught at school. This is very interesting considering his answers with respect to Spanish in extract (51) in section 3.2.1. When asked about Spanish he was hesitant and vague in his answers, however, when asked about a Warpe language he was clear and direct. This interest in learning a Warpe language can also be related to his interest in preserving the Warpe traditions:

(55) Researcher: *Y ¿vos decís que es importante mantener las costumbres warpes?*

Gonzalo: *Sí*

Researcher: *¿Por qué?*

Gonzalo: *Porque: mantener las costumbres warpes es como mantenerlos vivos a ellos dentro de nosotros, mantenerlo, eh, ser como nosotros éramos antes. Ahora no no hablan de ellos mucho, ma o meno así*

In Gonzalo's turns, it becomes evident that he is interested in preserving the Warpe traditions and the language. He seems to be keen on strengthening the Warpe identity. In other words, from Gonzalo's turns, it is possible to infer that he is concerned about preserving the Warpe culture and identity and knowing a Warpe language is a way of doing this. However, according to Cameron (2001), when asking informants to express their opinions and beliefs in interviews, researchers expose them to judgement. Therefore, interviewees who consider there is a risk will attempt to show themselves in a particular way. Apparently, Gonzalo perceived a risk in answering the questions since he did not want to show how much he knows of a Warpe language and he whispered and only nodded when answering some of the questions. These can be taken as a signal that he is embarrassed about discussing those issues at school and afraid to be heard by his classmates or school personnel. This is confirmed by his answers when asked if they had ever talked about their Warpe identity at school:

(56) Researcher: *Y acá en la escuela han trabajado alguna vez con el tema de ser warpe, [de:*

[((Gonzalo

shakes his head))

Researcher: *¿No? y ¿hablan de la comunidad, de ser warpe?*

Gonzalo: *No. No hablamos de ser warpe, hablamos de los warpes, de qué costumbres tenían, todo eso*

Researcher: Tenían

Gonzalo: Sí, ¿cómo era? (.) En geografía- no, en historia

Researcher: En historia, pero para vos, ¿los warpes siguen vivos?

Gonzalo: Mhm ((nodding))

Researcher: Y ¿vos nunca les dijiste a la maestras “miren pero están vivos”?

Gonzalo: No

Researcher: ¿Por qué no?

Gonzalo: Porque soy muy callado y nunca hablo así

Researcher: Pero ¿te molesta que hablen en pasado (.) de los warpes?

Gonzalo: No, (..) máφ o menoφ. Sí ellos siguen vivos y ellos capaz que no sepan

Researcher: ¿Preferirías que lo digan en presente?

Gonzalo: Mhm ((nodding))

Undoubtedly, Gonzalo would like to address the issue of being Warpe nowadays at school, but he does not dare to talk about the topic with the teachers or with his classmates. The Warpe identity for Gonzalo seems to be restricted to the community, but it is not recognized at school. In other words, although he is interested in preserving the Warpe identity and knowing a Warpe language, the school does not seem to attribute value to that ethnic identity and language, therefore, identity practices are restricted to the family or community environment.

Additionally, Ana, who at the beginning of her interview stated that she was not involved in the Warpe community and that she was not interested in the activities carried out by the community, when asked about knowing a Warpe language she revealed a clear interest in learning the language. The following extract occurred when Ana explained that her grandfather spoke a Warpe language:

(57) Ana: Él nunca nos ha hablado así. No le hemos preguntado tampoco.

Researcher: ¿No te gustaría que les enseñe?

Ana: Sí, estaría bueno.

Researcher: ¿Te gustaría aprender?

Ana: Sí, sí, estaría bueno

Researcher: ¿Te gustaría aprender unas palabras o hablar la lengua de corrido?

Ana: Aprender primero unas palabras y después hablar la lengua de corrido

She recognised not having asked her grandfather to speak to her in their ancestral language or to teach her the language, but she said she would like to learn it. However,

this interest in learning the language not only was stated in relation to her grandfather, but it also appeared when asked about school:

(58) Researcher: Y a vos ¿te gustaría que enseñen una lengua warpe en la escuela?

Ana: Sí, estaría bueno, sí.

Researcher: Acá en la escuela

Ana: Acá en la escuela, sí, que saquen inglés, oh ((laughter))

Researcher: ((laughter)) ¿Vos decís que saquen inglés y que pongan una lengua warpe? ((laughter)) y ¿vos decís que es posible?

Ana: Sí, sí, para mí, sí. Estaría bueno que los del centro de estudiante propongan eso, los chicos del centro de estudiantes

In this extract, it becomes evident that although Ana tends to hide her origins - at least at school where the interview was being conducted - she would like a Warpe language to be taught at school. In addition, in this extract, Ana mentions replacing English as a subject for a Warpe language. This is particularly remarkable considering that, as it can be observed in extract (04), she showed interest in learning English at school and explained its utility clearly. It seems that Ana attempts to hide her ancestral origins at school, but not because she disowns her origins, on the contrary, she seems to be interested in keeping her Warpe identity alive, but the school is not a place where that identity can be shown. This interest in preserving her ancestral origins can be seen in the following extract taken from her interview:

(59) Researcher: Y ¿vos decís que es importante mantener las costumbres warpes?

Ana: Y sí, porque: como que ellos son las, las, los principales digamos, porque ellos han sido el centro y de ahí recién han empezado, qué se yo

Researcher: ¿Sí es importante?

Ana: Sí

Clearly, Ana does not conceive of her origins as a negative trait, but by stating that it is important to maintain Warpe traditions, she implicitly values her origins as something to be proud of and, thus, as something to be preserved. However, this aspect of her life and of many other students is not recognised at school. The following extract was produced in her interview when discussing how the Warpe identity is considered at school:

(60) *Researcher: Mirá, y de este tema, de una lengua warpe, de que hay gente en Cienaguita que todavía habla, de, de las fiestas, acá ¿no charlan nada de eso en la escuela?*

Ana: No, acá no

Researcher: ¿Nunca les preguntaron?

Ana: Nunca, nunca nos han preguntado (..) ni nosotros hemos hablado de eso

Researcher: ¿Por qué no?

Ana: Porque, no sé, como te digo, no sé, como que no se da, qué se yo. Aparte con la directora, con la directora no hablamos casi nada porque vas y querés decirle algo y por poco te muerde cuando vas (..) a decirle algo

Researcher: Pero ¿te gustaría que se pueda hablar?

Ana: Sí, estaría bueno

Researcher: O sea, te gustaría que se charle, poder hablar de las fiestas

Ana: sí y poder aprender también

Researcher: O sea, ¿te gustaría que haya alguien de la comunidad trabajando acá?

Ana: Claro, claro, sí, estaría bueno

In Ana's turns, as in Gonzalo's turns, it becomes evident that the school is not a place which welcomes the discussion of the students' cultural traits and ethnicity and, at the same time, the students do not attempt to change the characteristics of the situation. Nonetheless, it seems the students do not tend to defy the state of the situation not because they would not like it to be different, but because they are afraid to be punished. This can be seen in Ana's turn "Aparte con la directora, con la directora no hablamos casi nada porque vas y querés decirle algo y por poco te muerde cuando vas (..) a decirle algo". Clearly, the issue seems to be that certain topics are not welcomed at school.

Moreover, not only the students demonstrated a strong interest in learning a Warpe language and in it being taught at school, but also the parents interviewed expressed this interest. Lucía, Amira's mother, stated she would like to speak the ancestral language:

(61) *Researcher: Y: ¿le gustaría a usted saber algunas palabras de la lengua?*

Lucía: Sí

Researcher: Sí, y ¿hablar la lengua, por ejemplo?

Lucía: Sí, si pudiera, sí

Researcher: Y a usted ¿le parece importante mantener las costumbres warpes?

Lucía: Sí

Researcher: Sí, ¿por qué?

Lucía: Y porque, bueno, en MÍ caso que yo me considero originaria, es como que:, si no las mantenemos como que (..) vamoø a borrar, se va a borrar, se va a terminar- como se había perdido me parece (..) en el

tiempo (.) algunaø costumbreø, o sea, sí me parece bien a mí que se mantengan o que vuelvan o que se conozcan de nuevo porque a lo mejor no se conocen y hay mucha gente que no las conocen

Lucía did not hesitate when asked if she would like to speak the ancestral language and to keep the Warpe traditions. These straightforward statements demonstrate that Lucía, as many other people from the area who do not attend the community's ceremonies often or who do not collaborate actively in the community, still have interest in their ancestral language and culture being preserved. Silvia, Ana's mum also expressed this interest in being able to speak the language:

(62) Reasercher: Bien, estem:, y ¿le gustaría saber algunas palabras en una lengua warpe?

Silvia: Sí, sí, creo que es bueno, sí.

Researcher: Y ¿hablar la lengua de corrido?

Silvia: No sé si podría ((laughs))

Researcher: ((laughs)) bueno, [si le hubiesen enseñado desde chica

Silvia: [Claro, tipo querer, sí. No sé si podría, pero bue...

Researcher: Bueno y ¿que su hijos sepan una lengua warpe?

Silvia: Y, también estaría bueno, si no es tarde.

Researcher: Le gustaría.

Silvia: Sí, sí.

Silvia stated her desire to speak the ancestral language fluently or to know some words at least and she also stated her desire for her children to speak the language. Therefore, it can be concluded that most parents and students - despite their degree of affiliation to the Warpe community - display a clear interest in the language being preserved and in learning the language themselves. However, when asked if they would like their children to learn the ancestral language at school or to talk about topics related to being Warpe, an issue which emerged was ethnic discrimination. The following extract was taken from Lucía's interview:

(63) Researcher: Y ¿qué pensaría usted de que su hija, por ejemplo, forme parte de la comunidad?

Lucía: Si ella quisiera, no me molestaría para nada, o sea

Researcher: Claro, que se reconozca que

Lucía: Sí, o sea, a- no me molestaría, poøque, por ahí, yo creo que hay mucho, no sé si mala palabra, pero como que: mucha vergüenza a lo mejor de decir te reconozco de ser originaria de indioø. Pero, por lo que, a lo mejor en la cara no le dice, pero yo a elloø le, le-cuando hacemoø chisteø, o qué se yo, le digo yo soy india ((laughs)), o sea, mi padre, mi abuelo, mi- vengo, o sea y soy

Researcher: Claro, usted dice que puede haber mucha discriminación alrededor del tema

Lucía: Claro, porque uno, a lo mejor dice, soy originaria de indios y, a lo mejor para una chica adolescente, loø compañeroø no lo entienden, no sepan lo que significa realmente, o sea:

Researcher: Usted sabe que hay muchos chicos que se reconocen y que trabajan en la comunidad, por ejemplo en Cienagueta, activamente, pero acá en la escuela lo niegan rotundamente. Acá en la escuela es no, nunca supe nada, no sé quiénes son los warpe, no conozco nada. (.) Y después los veo trabajar en la comunidad.

Lucía: Claro, sí, a eso eø a lo que me refiero, porque yo pienso que, a lo mejor, lo sienten- o eso, o ya le habrán dicho algo y no saben cómo manejarlo, o sea

Researcher: Sí, sí, sí, mucha razón tiene, y ¿sabe si alguna vez charlaron este tema en la escuela?

Lucía: No, la verdad que no, no sé, me parece que no

Researcher: ¿No le han contado nada que hayan charlado o algo así?

Lucía: No, no, porque hubiera estado bueno a lo mejor tener una charla así y hablar a ver quién se considera y a lo mejor hay alguno que le sale de corazón, de orgullo decirlo (.) y entonces como que es un tema más (..) pero como que no se habla mejor. Nadie va a salir a decir nada

Researcher: Nada. O sea que ¿le gustaría que se trate [el tema en la escuela]?

Lucía: [sí, sí, sí, sí

Researcher: Y ¿cree que es posible, por ejemplo que se trate el tema, que venga alguien a charlar del tema?

Lucía: Sí, sí, sí, sí

It is curious that Lucía did not recognise herself as indigenous during the first part of the interview. However, when she did, it became clear that she has a strong desire for the Warpe culture and traditions to be preserved. But, at the same time, it is possible to observe that the indigenous identity is not a topic discussed unreservedly because it seems to be considered a negative trait by non-indigenous groups. This can be inferred from Lucía's utterances "yo creo que hay mucho, no sé si mala palabra, pero como que mucha vergüenza a lo mejor de decir te reconozco de ser originaria de indioø. Pero, por lo que, a lo mejor en la cara no le dice, pero yo a elloø le, le-cuando hacemosø chisteø, o qué se yo, le digo yo soy india ((laughs))". The fact that she laughed after saying she is indigenous and that she says it as a joke to her children reveals that she is aware of the conception of the indigenous identity as a negative trait. That is, the parents and students seem to be aware of the circulation of this conception and they consider the school a place where this type of ideas can be modified and where awareness of respect for other cultures and ethnicities should be promoted.

Fear of ethnic discrimination was revealed in the students' and parents' interviews and, also, inferred from some sequences in the lessons observed. The following sequence of turns was produced in sixth year when Ángela, the teacher, explained the culture

department's director was there. I intervened because I had been talking to the culture department's director, who was there to invite the school to the the Warpe New Year celebration. Immediately afterwards, the teacher asked the students questions related to the Warpe community:

(64) *Ángela: Trabajaba acá y hace no sé si tres o cuatro años que es directora de cultura.*

Researcher: Me contaba que el 23 y el 24, como se celebra el año nuevo warpe, va a hacer loco y carbonada y todo ahí en Mediagua.

Ángela: ¿En Mediagua? Podrían traer alguien que alguien que le haga un homenaje a la Pachamama y nos limpie un poco ¿no?

Researcher: Estaba la idea acá, me lo ha pedido la directora, no sé si se vaya a dar, pero me pidió eso.

Ángela: Traer una ofrendita y que nos limpien un poquito

((Complete silence, students are looking down))

Ángela: Acá, ¿alguien nos puede hacer de nexo?

((Silence))

Ángela: Chin chin chin, cric cric cric

((Samantha laughs))

Ángela: ¿No conocen ningún descendiente warpe?

Gisella: Yo sí, pero no le voy a decir

Virginia: ((laughs)) "no le voy a decir"

Gisella: Yo sí conozco una señora de ahí, la de Cienaguaita, pero es media: ((moves her hand up and down))

Luchi: ¿Media qué?

((Gisella rolls her eyes))

Ángela: Y ¿qué significa esa seña?(..) media::, media ¿qué?

((Luchi and Gisella tell secrets to each other))

Ángela: No, no, estos secretos me matan

Researcher: Secretos en reunión ((laughs))

Ángela: Secretos en reunión, mala educación

((The students laugh))

Gisella: Ella es warpe ((pointing at Luchi and laughing))

Luchi: Yo soy warpe, le quiero decir ((laughing)). Por eso le dije- no, mentira, son unas taradas ((not clear))

Ángela: Hablen en serio. ¿Es verdad?

((The students do not stop laughing))

Luchi: Nosotros siempre hablamos en serio. (..) No, no es verdad ((goes on laughing))

Ángela: ¿A quién conoce? ((to Gisella))

Gisella: A ella ((pointing at Luchi))

Ángela: a ella ((looking at Luchi))

Gisella: Para mí, ella es warpe

Luchi: Entonces, ¿vos qué sos?

Gisella: Indígena ((laughing))

Ángela: ¿Por qué lo toman como desprecio?

Luchi: No:, ella está jodiendo

Samantha: Ella es turca, huevona

Luchi: ¡Samantha!

Ángela: ¿Qué pasó? No se habla así de las culturas

Luchi: No, nosotros jodemos. No, allá en Cienaguita hay una chica que se llama Iris porque ella es la que en Cienaguita llama al señor para que hiciera toda la celebración

This interaction is particularly interesting because it shows how the topic “identity” is treated by the students and how much shame being part of an aboriginal community brings to the students. The silence and laughs produced after the teacher’s turn asking for a nexus reveal how uneasy the students get when talking about the Warpe identity at school. In addition, Gisella admitted knowing somebody related to the aboriginal community, but she refused to provide more information about the community. Even Luchi, who recognizes herself as member of the Warpe community and who is an active member that attends and collaborates in all the celebrations from the community, denied knowing much about it. In line 23, Luchi attempted to admit she has Warpe ancestors, but, again, she laughed and denied it completely. Then, Gisella indicated Luchi was Warpe, and, apparently, that was an offense because Luchi defended herself making a comparison between her and Gisella, which positioned both on the same level of a hierarchical structure. All throughout the interactional sequence, traces of discrimination against people of indigenous descent can be observed. There is also a contradiction between pretending to know nothing about being Warpe and, then providing information about people from the community. This contradiction between having knowledge about the Warpe community and denying this knowledge discloses the students’ embarrassment about being identified as a member of an aboriginal community at school. Considering that these same students attend and collaborate in the ceremonies of the Warpe community of Cienaguita, their identity denial can be interpreted as another indication that the school is a place where aboriginal origins and cultural traits should be hidden.

3.4. Defiance of the teachers

One of the most noticeable characteristics that were perceived during the English and Spanish lessons and in both classes, fourth and fifth year, was that the students tend to defy the teachers. However, the type of defiant behaviour observed varied depending on the subject being addressed, namely, English or Spanish. In addition, during the English lessons, the students' behaviour also differed depending on the characteristics of the lessons. The following sections describe the differences observed.

3.4.1. Defiance of the English teacher

Each of the first English lessons that were observed started with an activity about a topic which was not related to the learning of the English language because the school principal had ordered the teachers to focus on different topics for the first 20 minutes of their lessons. However, many of the lessons observed were completely devoted to working on one of those topics such as moral values, the Malvinas war or the life of Benito Quinquela Martín. During those lessons, the students did not show interest in the topic being discussed in class and stated their discontent:

(65) Ismael: Todos los días lo mismo cansa ((putting on an irritated face))

((All the students display tiredness and put on tired faces, they cover their faces with their hands, they lay down on their desks))

Sonia: Y, es una semana. (... ..) ¿Cuándo nos cansamos? Cuando no le encontramos aplicación a algo

Ismael: Cuando no hay entusiasmo ((laying on the desk with a sleepy face))

Sonia: Claro

Ismael: Y sí, ya nos hemos cansado, desde que hemos empezado la escuela que estamos con esto

((Mariano yawns and is heard in the whole classroom))

Sonia: Todos, todo el grupo ¿sí? Vamos chicas vénganse para acá, chicas ((touching Marta's shoulder))

acá, ustedes háganse más adelante ((addressing the rest of the group)), varones ((addressing the boys))

acá, así
((Agustina moves her hand showing lack of interest in what the teacher says))

Ismael: ((addressing the others)) Así no máø

In the first turn of example (65), Ismael mentioned being tired of the topic. What is more, he complained about the recurrence of the topic. According to the teacher, they had not seen the topic moral values before, but they had been working on the Malvinas war. It seems that for these students everything that is not related to the learning of English belongs to the category “all the same”. Ismael is not the only one who indicated the unpleasantness of the topic since, through gestures, the other students also showed lack of interest in the topic being discussed. Gestures in these exchanges were particularly interesting because they were not hidden from the teacher; on the contrary, they were quite evident, as if expecting the teacher to notice them. The extremely loud yawning from Mariano is also a signal that this behaviour was out in the open. Mondada (2014) points out that multimodal resources make sense when considered together and in relation to the context of the activity that defines them. Therefore, if we consider gestures, and embodied language in general, in relation to the context of classroom interaction, they provide an insight into the students’ ideas about the teacher, the activity being carried out and the language used for interacting. Apart from explicit lack of interest in the topic being discussed and in the activity, defiance of the teacher can also be observed in those fragments as well as in the following exchange between the teacher and Gustavo:

(66) Sonia: Ustedes, ¿qué están pensando?

Gustavo: No estamos pensando

In the second turn-at-talk, Gustavo cancelled the presupposition that students were thinking, triggered by the question asked in the first pair part. By stating they were not thinking, he implied they were doing the opposite of what was expected from them; therefore, lack of engagement and provocation towards the teacher were expressed in Gustavo’s turn. In addition, most of the time the students were not working on the activity assigned to them, but chatting about their personal lives or looking at their phones even though the school forbids mobile phone use during class time. They did not only chat with their classmates in the same group they were sitting with, but also with other classmates sitting on the other side of the room. Therefore, the class was noisy and undisciplined. The most distinctive features of this lesson in relation to the students were explicit lack of interest in the topic being discussed, lack of engagement with the lesson event and acts of defiance of the teacher. These elements allowed for the interpretation that the lesson did not match the students’ expectations about what an English lesson

should be like; thus, defiance could be understood as a complaint about unsatisfied expectations.

During another fourth year lesson, rebellion against the teacher was also observed. While the teacher was introducing the simple present tense, she asked some male students to provide a verb in English:

(67) *Sonia: Bien, ahí los tres, díganme uno*

Martín: No sé

Sonia: De lo que estamos hablando

Gustavo: Buenos días, profesora

Sonia: ¿Qué pasa que están haciendo otra cosa?

In the turn produced by Martín, lack of engagement with the activity can be detected, but it is a conditionally relevant turn in relation to the previous turn. However, the turn produced by Gustavo does not satisfy the conditions set by the teacher's turns. The production of a turn that is remarkably distant from what would be a conditionally relevant response, can be perceived as an indication of rebellion against the teacher, and lack of engagement with the lesson event on the part of Gustavo. In addition, other students also showed lack of engagement with the lesson event:

(68) *Sonia: Windows, windows, ¿les parece? ¿Qué estoy escribiendo? A ver, dígame qué estamos escribiendo ((looking at Maira)). Traduzca.*

Maira: No sé, profe

Sonia: Y ¿qué está haciendo Agustina?

Emilse: ¿Agustina?

Maira: Maira

Sonia: ¿Qué está haciendo?

Maira: Nada, estoy haciendo la carátula

Maira openly admitted not knowing what was going on. In other words, the students did not hide their lack of interest and, at the same time, by doing so, they defied the teacher. Furthermore, this defiant attitude towards the teacher appeared on various occasions, but mainly, when working on other topics that were not related to what is assumed to be involved in the learning of the foreign language itself:

(69) *Malena: Profesora ya no es la hora de usted ya*

Sonia: Deje el celular y deje de ver la hora

Mariano: Yo me estoy lavando la cara ((while dropping some water on his face))

Emilse: Teacher, ¿cuántas hormigas entran en una ballena?

Sonia: No sé

Emilse: Ninguna porque va llena

((The students laugh and the teacher turns around and walks towards her desk))

The teacher was not only defied, but also ridiculed in front of the whole class. This constant defiance occurred, mainly, when the objective of the activity was on other topics that were not related to the learning of English or when she explained a topic, but the students were not working by themselves, i.e. when they were expected to have a passive attitude. When they had to work autonomously in English, they tended not to challenge the teacher and to work on what they had to do. Therefore, they seem to be interested in the learning of English, so when the objective of the lesson is not the expected one, the defiant attitude towards the teacher is intensified.

In fifth year, during the first lessons observed, the topics dealt with during the first half of the lessons were not related to the learning of English. During one of those lessons, the focus was on two moral values: respect and solidarity. The teacher divided the students into two groups, one group worked on solidarity and the other group on respect. The teacher explained they were going to work 15 minutes on that topic and then on “Little Red Riding Hood”. The students took around 10 minutes to organize themselves in groups. However, when they were supposed to be working, they were chatting about something else and, when the teacher approached the groups, the students exhibited lack of interest in what was going on:

(70) Sonia: ¿Cómo lo muestran? Son valores, pero ¿cómo los muestran? No respetando a mi papá, a mi mamá, a mis profesores

Amira: No nos interesa

María: No sé

The students indicated their disinterest in the topic, but on top of that, Amira displayed a defiant attitude towards the teacher by bluntly stating the students were not interested. María did not state her disinterest straightforwardly nor did she show any effort to answer the teacher’s questions appropriately. During the same activity, Sonia left the room for some minutes and when she came back, and asked one of the groups why they had not

finished, Renzo, who belonged to that group and was standing next to the teacher, was still talking to his group as if the teacher was not present addressing them:

(71) Sonia: me imagino que ya han terminado, [si no, tienen tarea y la tienen todos. Han estado hablando de cualquier cosa menos de inglés

Renzo: ((to his classmates)) [¿querés que te dibuje la calle? Así, mirá, acá está los Berros y esto es una calle de tierra, en esa calle vive el Pepe ((drawing on the board))

Rebellion against the teacher can be observed in Renzo's behaviour. Even when the teacher was scolding the whole class, Renzo kept on talking and drawing on the board. However, this behaviour was not observed later in the lesson, when they started working on "Little Red Riding Hood". The teacher read and the students wrote down the pronunciation of words as they heard them and they occasionally asked for repetition. The atmosphere of the whole lesson changed considerably from one topic to the next one. Thus, seeing that the students' behaviour varied drastically when the focus of the task was the learning of English, it is possible to infer that the students are interested in learning English. It is also possible to infer that the expectation the students have about the speech event "English lesson" is that its objective is the teaching and learning of English. When this does not happen, the students tend to defy the teacher.

It is also interesting to compare the students' behaviour towards Sonia and their behaviour towards Ángela. In none of Ángela's lessons observed, the students defied her; on the contrary, they always showed good predisposition to do what the teacher proposed. However, the main difference between Ángela's lessons and Sonia's lessons is that Ángela did not propose activities that were not somehow related to the learning of English. It is clear that the students recognise the activities proposed by Ángela appropriate to the speech event, but not the ones proposed by Sonia. In addition, the students' turns in excerpt (47) demonstrate that they do not recognise Sonia's practices as going in accordance with the speech event English lesson. Therefore, it is possible to say that the students' defiance of the teacher is directly related to their ideas and expectations about the English lesson and the role of the English teacher.

3.4.2. Defiance of the Spanish teacher

Defiance not only of the English teacher was observed, but also of the Spanish teacher. However, it did not occur in the same form or during the similar moments of the lessons.

In section 3.2.1, example (48) exhibits the students' lack of engagement during the Spanish lessons. However, after those exchanges where the students made it explicit that they had not complied with the task and that they had no interest in reviewing the text they had worked with, the teacher asked the students what was going on:

(72) *Carina: Perdón. Entonces, el quince fue la licencia médica y hoy es veintidós, ¿sí? Bien. El texto Pirata Parrata no va. Si han traído ese text[o*

Ismael: [no traje nada yo

Carina: ¿Eh? ¿Alguien más ha traído algo? ¿Qué ha traído usted? Ah, ((looking at Tamara's notebook)) La sirena. Ah la pipetuá, esto ¿no tendrá que ve::r con el tema que vimos de:: Odiseo? ¿Quieren que recordemos qué pasó?

Ismael: No.

Carina: ¿No?

((The students put on tired faces and shake their head, some say "no" many times))

Carina: ¿Por qué se ponen así? Nosotros la última clase que vimos fue (..) eh::: (..), el concepto de texto que significaba tejido, que significaba trama, que significaba entramado, ¿sí? Me dijeron que el entramado de letras, entramado de palabras, entramado de (.) vocales, si se quiere de sílabas que formaban un texto, ¿sí? Un texto, eh::: deriva de la palabra textus que significa tejido, pero no es lo más importante que yo les dije que íbamos a trabajar del texto, sino ¿qué cosas?

Carina: Chicos, ¿qué les pa[sa?

Malena: [cri cri cri criminal ((singing and laughing))

((All the students laugh))

The fact that even when Carina was reprimanding the students, Malena interrupted her by singing and laughing and all the students laughed shows the students' defiance and lack of respect towards the teacher. This can also be inferred from Ismael's first turn since he responded to the teacher's turn even when it did not constitute a question and was not directed at him individually. Additionally, he provided information which had not been required and which made him lose face (Goffman, 1967). In other words, Ismael's statement about his lack of compliance with the task assigned can be interpreted as defiance of the teacher as well. Malena's response of the sound of a cricket to Carina's question can also be interpreted as defiance of the teacher because of its unmistakable inadequacy. However, Ismael and Malena were not the only student who made defiant comments. The following interaction occurred after the teacher finished explaining the characteristics of a text:

(73) Carina: [...] *hay adecuación cuando nosotros nos manejamos así; una clase informal, ¿sí? La adecuación tiene que ver con eso; con si es formal o informal, cómo va dirigido, ¿entendieron?*

Some students: Sí.

Carina: Tienen cara como que no.

Emilse: Tenemos cara de que tenemos sueño.

Carina: ¿Cómo?

Emilse: Cara de que tenemos sueño.

Carina: ¿Entendieron, entonces?

In this excerpt, the lack of interest of the students in the topic of the lesson is also clear. The intervention from Emilse, “*tenemos cara de que tenemos sueño*”, triggers the inference that the lesson or the topic makes the students sleepy, i.e. they are not interested enough to be awake. Emilse’s comments also show defiance of the teacher since the responses do not satisfy the conditions established by the teacher’s turns.

In addition, in another fourth year lesson, defiance of the teacher was also found when she corrected some linguistic expressions by the students. The following extract comes from an interaction that occurred after Emilio asked a classmate what the time was:

(74) Carina: *Qué hora son, está mal, ¿eh? Chicos, ¿cuántas horas tenemos nosotros al día?*

Mariano: No sé qué hora son

[...]

Carina: Es cómo es, una sola hora, ES, ES

Emilio: ¿Qué horas son?

Carina: No, no digas qué horas son porque RE MAL. (... ..) Y eso que tienen ustedes de yo digo, yo digo, lo tienen que decir bien.

Emilio: ¿Qué hora eØ?, ¿qué hora son?

Carina: LO VUELVO A ESCUCHAR MAL Y TE AMONESTO

Marta: Hablá bien, Emilio

Emilio: ¿qué hora eS? ((putting on a refined face))

By stating that what Emilio was saying was wrong, the students’ grammatical variant was depicted as incorrect and, simultaneously, Carina’s variant was portrayed as the only correct form. Also, Carina included the voice of the students in “*y eso que tienen ustedes de yo digo, yo digo*”, and corrected the idea represented by the voice of the students by saying “*lo tienen que decir bien*”. In other words, the ideas present in the voice of the students “people talk the way they want or they can” and “there are no correct varieties of a language” are discredited by the teacher who seems to consider that the students’

variety of Spanish is a deviation from the standard variety, and therefore, incorrect. Emilio, by repeating the same expression again, defies the teacher and the idea transmitted by the teacher that the variant Emilio was using was wrong. Apparently, the idea that learning Spanish is not useful is related to the idea that the variety of Spanish they speak is correct and does not need to be modified.

Besides, the last lesson in fifth year consisted in the students showing previous marks to the teacher, deciding the marks for the third trimester and calculating final marks. When Carina and the students were discussing the students' marks, the issue about the few Spanish lessons they had had that year was brought up:

(75) Carina: Lo tengo que arreglar, ya no hay manera de disfrazarla, chicos. (. . .) El año que viene no van a tener esa brecha tan- han estado casi un año sin profesores de lengua ustedes.

Fernando: Bueno, parte es culpa de nosotros porque nosotros la hacemos renunciar

Fernando seems to blame himself and his classmates for the teachers' resignations. However, none of the teachers they had that year left the school because of problems with the students, they left because of retirement or scholarships abroad. Therefore, it is possible to interpret that he holds the idea they do things to upset the teachers. If this idea is analysed taking into account the students' defiant attitudes towards the teacher observed in class, it can be said that the students are aware of their behaviour and that they have some attitudes of rejection towards what being a Spanish teacher implies since it seems they do not defy Carina only, but all the Spanish teachers.

3.5. The relationship between the ideas about languages and the ideas about learning and the teachers

In the previous sections of this chapter, it became clear that the students and parents have varied ideas about each of the languages taken into account here. Regarding English, it was observed that both groups of participants conceive of it as an asset in the labour market. This idea can be related to the notion of English as a source of recreational pleasure, which apparently derives from English being considered a means to find a job or to obtain better job positions than the ones that can be obtained with no knowledge of English. In other words, the fact that knowing English is useful to the students makes it valuable and enjoyable to them. This can be confirmed by the fact that, although the

students conceive of English as a difficult language, they do not lose interest in trying to learn the language. The extreme interest shown by students and parents in their children's learning English and the positive ideas associated with English can be taken as indications that, in terms of conceptions, there is dominance of English over Spanish and the ancestral language. According to Phillipson (1992), "English linguistic hegemony" characterizes the English teaching profession and it is through the beliefs, purposes and activities typical of this profession that English keeps the role of the dominant language. However, in this case, the arguments that promote English as a superior language do not seem to come from both English teachers but from the home environment. In the previous chapter, it became clear that Sonia's teaching practices do not encourage the learning of English, and neither do they transmit ideas that favour its position as a dominant language in society. Despite her practices, the students' ideas are compatible with the hegemony of English. Therefore, Pennycook's critiques (2000) to Phillipson's view that the notion of linguistic imperialism may lack a sense of agency seems to be pertinent in this case since here the choices to learn English do not seem to be an ideological reflection of linguistic imperialism, but a conscious willingness to appropriate the language. This conscious willingness seems to be strictly related to the socio-cultural context where the community is immersed. As noted earlier, the life of most of the population is regulated by the lime plants that function in the area since most of the inhabitants work there. In addition, the job positions offered by the lime plants are some of the most desired, as they are well-paid in comparison with the other jobs that can be taken on there. They also provide medical coverage and pension contribution. That is, the inhabitants of the area have first-hand experiences of how useful English can be for working in the lime production plants when foreigners come and of how English is an asset to get better job positions inside the lime plants as well.

These ideas about English seem to have a bearing on the students' behaviour in the English lesson. As was observed in section 3.4.1, the students are more concentrated and committed to working in the English lesson when the objective of the speech event "English lesson" is the learning of English. In other words, it was detected that the students' behaviour in class improves considerably the more English they are taught and the more effort is demanded from them. However, when the objective of the speech event is not the learning of English, the students become more defiance of the teacher and the disruptive behaviour in the lesson increases. Clearly, when the communicative situation (Goffman, 1981) presents all the expected components, the participants know how to

perform their participation status (Goffman, 1981) and display a type of behaviour that matches the teacher's instructions. When the communicative situation does not exhibit the expected components, then the norms, rights and obligations inherent in the interactional roles are suspended. The students seem to have the expectation that the speech event "English lesson" should have the clear and specific objective of studying the foreign language and that the lesson time should be devoted to this objective since when this happens, the students handle easily and without conflicts their participation status (Goffman, 1981) and the expected behaviour for them in the lesson. When the objective of the speech event does not coincide with the students' expectations, the defiant behaviour towards the teacher increases because the students stop recognising the set of rights and obligations of their interactional roles in the speech event.

Although defiance of the teacher was also observed in the Spanish lessons, it took place in a completely different manner. As said before, in the Spanish lesson, the students never stopped defying and provoking the teacher. That is, the objective of the lesson event in this case did not have any effect on the students' behaviour. Apparently, the communicative situations presented all the expected components and the students recognised which the rights and obligations inherent in their interactional roles as students were. However, in the Spanish lessons, these rights and roles seemed to be suspended for different reasons to the ones in the English lessons, although in both cases the ideas the students have about languages seem to be provide the basis for the suspension of the obligations of their interactional roles. The analysis carried out in the previous sections revealed that the students' ideas about Spanish were not as positive as the ones about English since they consider Spanish as an unnecessary subject. Therefore, the students' lack of commitment towards the didactic proposal can be interpreted as lack of interest in the subject itself. In other words, although the communicative situation presents the expected components, they refuse to collaborate with an activity they consider devoid of usefulness and sense. If we consider this conception of Spanish as an unnecessary subject in light of the ideas about the ancestral language inferred from their interviews, a relationship between these ideas can be detected. Apparently, the students have the idea that learning the variety of Spanish taught at school will derive in losing traits of their own variety and, therefore, identity. Consequently, defiance of the Spanish teachers seems to be rooted in the ideas about Spanish and the ancestral language.

In these cases, Goffman's concepts (1961) for explaining 'total institutions' can be applied to accounting for the students' behaviour in both classes, even though the

institutions analysed by the author are not educational institutions. The students' behaviour can be interpreted as 'situational withdrawals' (Goffman, 1961) at times; that is, as strategies of detachment to survive in the lesson by separating their 'inner self' and their role as students. On other occasions, it can be understood as 'intransigence', i.e., as intentionally challenging the teacher and her proposals by refusing to cooperate. Therefore, it is possible to say that the students' behaviour presents elements of accommodation and elements of resistance in both classes, but the motives behind these elements seem to be different.

These adverse reactions towards the didactic proposals are particularly interesting considering the students' cultural background, which favours obedience, silence, taciturn behaviour, etc. Consequently, in the English lessons, these adverse reactions can be interpreted as attempts to redefine the conditions under which the "English lesson" event should function. Clearly, the teacher's control of the situation derives from the objective of the speech event. Given an incongruent objective, the result is lack of control and failure to achieve the interactional commitment of the rest of the participants.

In addition, if we take into account the analysis of the English lessons in this chapter in light of what Alcalá (2007; 2010) states, that the teachers assess the students and categorize them without negotiating the appraising criteria with the students, we can infer a possible complication in the students' assessment and categorization process. In the case here observed, the students' misconduct seems to be a demand for the fulfilment of expectations, but these students are assessed negatively because of their misconduct in the classroom. In other words, they are negatively assessed for expecting English in the English lesson, i.e. for demanding education.

As a result, considering Martín Rojo's conclusions (2010) that the teachers' views of education and what they expect from the students lead them to manage the class in a particular manner, it can be said that the students' views of education and their expectations of the teachers also play an important role in the development of the lesson. Martín Rojo's findings about the relationship between the teachers' expectations and the students' achievements is also relevant since, if we follow her line of thought, the students' defiance of the teacher can be interpreted as refusal to accept the teachers' expectations conferred on them and as attempts to defy and question those expectations.

At this point, Acuña's findings (2010) are also relevant because of the similarities of her findings with what the data of this study suggest. In her study, she found that there is misalignment between the students' expectations and the education regulations.

However, in this study the misalignment is observed between the students' and the teachers' expectations. Continuing with this line of reasoning, Wortham's view (2008) that linguistic ideologies help to explain how the school contributes to the construction of identities is appropriate to explain the students' behaviour in this study. That is, it seems that the teacher's behaviour raises expectations about the students' identities and, in this case, the students' misconduct can be understood as a way of rebelling against the identities that have been conferred on them. Therefore, the findings of this study also coincide with Martín Rojo's (2010) since they demonstrate that situated resistance to some educational practices affects the essence of these practices, that is, the students' resistance affects content teaching.

Another point which is worth discussing is the fact that the students and parents seem to have different ideas with respect to Spanish. The parents considered in this chapter highlighted the importance of learning Spanish at school and related it to not being looked down on and to adapting to the demands imposed by society nowadays. That is, it seems that life experiences have led them to consider the learning of the standard variety of Spanish a necessary means to make progress in life. Therefore, it is possible to infer that they hold these ideas due to having faced situations where they have been marginalized for the variety of Spanish they speak.

3.6. Incongruence between the students' and parents' desires and the educational reality

The students and parents in this school demonstrated and expressed a strong desire to learn and preserve their ancestral language and the customs and traditions associated to it. However, what also appeared in the analysis quite often was fear of ethnic discrimination and a clear tendency in the students and parents to hide their indigenous origins at the beginning of the interviews and sometimes all throughout the interviews when they were carried out at school. These results allow us to infer that although they desire to preserve their culture and language, their fear of ethnic discrimination inhibits the open recognition of their indigenous identity and, thus, no attempts are made by most members of the community to bring about the conservation of identity. Moreover, another issue that plays a role in this situation is the fact that most members of the community are not aware of the rights they have for recognising themselves as aboriginal people and the school, which is the institution that could raise awareness on this issue, does not carry out

this task either. Furthermore, the school personnel does not seem to be fully aware of how to proceed in this socio-cultural context because they have not been informed of the adequate procedures by the responsible organisms such as the EIB department in San Juan or the Province's Education Ministry.

Moreover, in section d) of article 53 of the Education National Law, the importance of the contributions that members of the aboriginal communities can make in the planning of school programmes is recognised,⁶ but, in the real case, members of the Warpe communities are not often consulted. In relation to this mismatch between what the law states and reality, the indigenous representative of the province explained that they are not often consulted or invited to participate when making decisions, particularly now that the person in charge of EIB in San Juan does not know the communities. Additionally, if they are invited, many times, it is difficult for the communities' representatives to attend the meetings since they live in places which are far away from the city and transportation is infrequent and expensive. Sometimes the meetings are arranged for times of the day when it is impossible for the communities' representatives to attend them and come back on the same day to their towns. Moreover, according to the indigenous representative in the Province, although there is a certain number of scholarships and subsidies for the members of the communities, they are distributed at the discretion of government officials who do not know the communities, their members and representatives. In many occasions, they are given to people who do not belong to the communities.

Therefore, it can be said that the members of the community show interest in their language and culture being preserved and in the school taking part in the process of preservation by respecting and valuing their ancestral language and practices. However, even when there are laws designed to protect these cultures, there is a number of issues, which have not been contemplated – or have been neglected- by the authorities responsible for the enforcement of the law.

⁶ The text states: "Para favorecer el desarrollo de la Educación Intercultural Bilingüe, el Estado será responsable de:

d) promover la generación de instancias institucionales de participación de los pueblos indígenas en la planificación y gestión de los procesos de enseñanza y aprendizaje." (Article 53, National Education Law 26.206, 2006).

3.7. Synthesis of the chapter

In this chapter, I have presented and discussed the ideas that were expressed by the students and parents and other ideas that were inferred from the lesson observations and from the interviews. I have concluded that both groups have the same ideas about English and about their ancestral language; however, their ideas with respect to Spanish as a subject differ. I have also suggested that there is a relationship between the students' ideas about languages, their behaviour of compliance or resistance towards the didactic proposal and their behaviour towards the teachers. Finally, I have argued that there is a mismatch between the students' and parents' stated interests, what the legislation on aboriginal education states and how it is put into practice in the province.

CHAPTER IV: THE WARPE IDENTITY AND THE IDEAS ABOUT LANGUAGES

Chapter III discussed the conception the students in this school and their parents have about English, Spanish and their ancestral language. In doing this, it showed which conceptions these two groups share and on which they hold dissenting ideas. Another issue that was addressed in chapter III is the way in which the students' ideas about languages affect the lesson dynamics and the teacher-student relationship. Additionally, the degree of affiliation to the Warpe community also seems to influence the ideas the students have about languages. Consequently, in this chapter, awareness of aboriginal identity becomes a crucial issue. To tackle this topic, this chapter is centred on Ismael, a student from fourth year whom I have selected because of his high level of awareness of his Warpe identity. It is also centred on his mother, on whom I chose to focus because of her degree of affiliation to the Warpe community of Cienaguita. Ismael and Iris are central members of the community and, therefore, they perform numerous semiotic acts that convey Warpe identification. This does not imply that they are exceptional members of the community and that the practices that they carry out are exceptional; on the contrary, they display practices that are typical of Warpe people in the area.

This chapter begins with section 4.1, which deals with Ismael's identity, his behaviour in the Spanish and in the English lessons and with the ideas that can be inferred from his behaviour in relation to his level of awareness of the Warpe identity. Section 4.2 is about Ismael's mother, Iris, her identity and the conceptions that were visibilized in the interview with her. Then, in section 4.3 the relationship between ideas about the ancestral language and ideas about Spanish is discussed. Section 4.4 discusses the Warpe identity and the legislation on aboriginal education. Finally, section 4.5 provides a synthesis of the chapter.

The theoretical background for this chapter is provided mainly by Gumperz (2003) and Blommaert (2005) to dive into the issue of identity. According to Blommaert (2005), "identities are constructed in practices that produce, enact, or perform identity" (p. 205), i.e. the construction of identity involves semiotic processes of representation, and, at the same time, every act of semiosis is an act of identity in which the social actors provide information about themselves. The author also posits that identities exist before an interaction starts and, thus, condition the interaction. In the cases examined here, I consider that the layer of identity related to being aboriginal is present in most of the

interactions where Iris or Ismael participate. Gumperz (2003) states that ‘what from a purely linguistic perspective may count as minor distinctions can often, for largely ideological reasons, attain great social import as badges of identity’ (p. 110). In this chapter, I attempt to detect and analyse these badges of identity, in addition to analysing what the participants explicitly state about their aboriginal identity.

Moreover, the students’ behaviour in class, and mainly Ismael’s, is analysed on the basis of the concept of ‘community of practice’ (Lave and Wenger, 1991; Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1992). This concept, as noted in the introductory chapter, is used to describe a group of people who converge through practices around a common goal. Here, the teachers together with the students constitute a community of practice, and also the group of students in itself is another community of practice since they have a common endeavour, which differs from the one the teachers have.

Additional theoretical notions I will be using in this chapter are Bourdieu’s concepts of linguistic capital, linguistic marketplace and symbolic domination (1977/1972). Bourdieu and Passeron (1990/1977) suggests that people in a community act in a market, a structured space of positions which are distributed according to the different kinds of capital that social actors have. This capital is not necessarily economic, but it can be cultural and symbolic capital as well. The author argues that linguistic capital (1977/1972) is a form of inherited or acquired cultural capital that is not transferable. Speakers in a linguistic community have different amounts of linguistic capital that allow them to produce highly valued linguistic forms in a specific marketplace. In relation to Bourdieu’s concept of linguistic marketplace, Woolard (1985) proposes the concept ‘alternative marketplace’ to define linguistic situations which do not operate according to the norms of the hegemonic marketplace in the community. This concept is related to Bourdieu’s notion of ‘symbolic domination’ (1977/1972), i.e. imperceptible power that can be exercised only with the complicity of those who do not know that they are being dominated or who exercise it. Woolard (1985) expands Bourdieu’s definition and argues that ‘symbolic domination’ is the legitimization of the dominant groups’ cultural authority. Citation in this chapter also feeds on Martín Rojo, Relaño Pastor and Rasskin Gutman (2010) and on Heller (2006/1996), who deal with ethnic identity in the classroom.

4.1. Ismael

As noted in the introductory chapter, Ismael is one of Iris's children, the Warpe community's health agent. He was one of the first members of the community with whom I had contact. He is a very quiet boy who gets on well with most students at school. The school personnel also holds him in high esteem and the teachers do not complain about him often. He tends to do well and pass most of the subjects with high marks. Therefore, most teachers consider him a good student. At first, Ismael did not like the idea of doing an interview, but after some time of seeing me around in his town and at school, he accepted carrying it out.

4.1.1. A student's identity

From his interview, it became clear that he is fully aware of his Warpe identity and that he is an active member of the Warpe community in his town. When asked about what word he prefers for talking about indigenous peoples, he stated his position clearly:

(01) Researcher: Y ¿vos qué palabra preferís para hablar de los warpe? (...)

((Ismael seems to be thinking))

Researcher. ¿Te gusta más la palabra indio, aborígen, indígena, pueblos originarios?

Ismael: Originarios

Researcher: Originarios, ¿por qué?

Ismael: Porque::, no sé,((laughs)) quí sí yo,(..) indio queda mal

Researcher: ¿Por qué queda mal?

Ismael: Porque: no- los indios son de la India, no de acá

The fact that he knows which words are politically correct to talk about his indigenous identity shows his awareness of issues related to having aboriginal ancestors. In addition, apart from stating what is politically correct, he talked about his own experience:

(02) Researcher: Si alguien te pregunta “¿sos de pueblos originarios?”

Ismael: Sí

Researcher: ¿No te molesta?

((Ismael shakes his head))

Researcher: Si alguien te pregunta “¿sos indio?” ¿Te molesta?

((Ismael nods))

Researcher: Sí

Ismael: Sí, en serio, a veces, me preguntan así y no le digo nada ((with a frustrated face))

He expressed strong disapproval of the word “*indio*”, and, in his last turn of this excerpt, by saying *en serio*, the following content is presented as if it was difficult to believe. Apparently, the question *¿sos indio?* is offensive and disrespectful. This awareness of the Warpe identity was also present when asked about the celebration of Mother Earth’s day:

(03) Researcher: Mirá y ¿vos preferís llamarla Pachamama o Pekne Teta?

Ismael: La segunda, Pekne Teta

Researcher: Y bueno, ¿estuviste el año pasado, ayudaste?

((Ismael nods))

Researcher: Y, ¿charlaron de eso en la escuela? ¿Contaron después de la fiesta?

Ismael: ((He shakes his head)) Eø paø burla no máø

Researcher: ¿Por qué? ¿por qué burla?

Ismael: Porque, como empiezan a hablar lenguaø que no conocen empiezan a criticar

“*Pekne Teta*” is the word Warpe people use for “Mother Earth”, and by choosing this word instead of the Quechua word “*Pachamama*”, which is more commonly used by different Andean cultures and has become a well-known term and concept in various social circles, his affiliation to the Warpe people comes to light. Furthermore, he acknowledged having participated and helped to organize this celebration. However, in the last two exchanges of this extract, he admitted not talking about these celebrations at school because he is afraid of being ridiculed. It seems the Warpe identity is a cause of shame at school, thus, it tends to be hidden. Nonetheless, when asked if he would like these celebrations to be known by everybody at school he liked the idea:

(04) Researcher: Claro, y ¿te gustaría que se charle más en la escuela de estas fiestas?

Ismael: M:, se:

Researcher: Que se charle con los profes, con los compañeros, que todos sepan de la fiesta

Ismael: Sí, poøque a la de Retamito no fue casi nadie, si a Cieneguita no fue casi nadie y eso que viven a:, al lado, ¿viste? No fue nadie poøque algunoø no sabían, (...) o se enteraban tarde, se enteraban el domingo ya y no iban nada

In this extract, it becomes clear that Ismael has interest in the celebrations being preserved and gaining popularity with the passing of time. It seems that one of the reasons

for hiding his identity is that the practice of including identity as a matter to discuss is not part of the school agenda, nor is it valued by the school. This can be inferred because in Ismael's turns he shows desire to spread the knowledge of Warpe celebrations. Therefore, the indigenous identity is not hidden because of a desire to keep the knowledge to himself, but because the Warpe identity and culture is not valued by the school.

4.1.2. A student's behaviour in the English lesson and ideas about English

As stated in the previous chapters, during one of the fourth year lessons, one of the activities was about the painter Benito Quinquela Martín. The teacher asked questions even though only two students had searched for information about the painter. When the teacher asked questions, Ismael provided answers that were noticeably wrong:

(05) *Sonia: A ver, ¿qué puede contarme de los que han encontrado quién es Benito?*

Ismael: Un chico que vive ahí abajo en el coso ((after saying that, he looked at his classmate and smiled))

(06) *Sonia: ¿A qué edad lo abandonó la madre?*

Ismael: A los cuarenta años ((laughing))

Sonia: No, cuando era chico, a ver ¿a qué edad?

(07) *Sonia: Bien, dibuja puertos y ¿cuáles son los puertos?*

Ismael: Estación de trenes

Sonia: ¿Una estación de tren es un puerto?

(08) *Sonia: Y los barcos se encuentran en*

Ismael: En la tierra ((rolling his eyes))

Gustavo: En el agua

Sonia: En la tierra, en el agua, ¿o sea que acá en el río vamos a encontrar un barco?

Because of their inadequacy and the fact that they are accompanied by gestures and laughter when uttered, these answers are interpreted as jokes. However, providing inadequate answers deliberately opens the floor for confrontation with the teacher and can be taken to mean resistance to the topic being discussed or to the teacher.

Apart from challenging the teacher with his answers, Ismael also made comments about the teacher or what she said on different occasions:

(09) *Sonia: No, nunca lo pido en primero*

Ismael: ((In a very low voice to his classmate)) Callate vieja

(10) *Sonia: No hay problema, sí, pero me gusta las posibilidades que ustedes también,(.) este::, descubren para averiguar algo que quieran, sino “no me acordé”, “usted no nos dio la información”, “no nos dijo dónde averiguar”, son excusas*

Ismael: ((To his classmate)) Cualquiera, ¿cierto?

In these turns produced by Ismael, lack of cooperation with the teacher is evident. In excerpt (09) he showed his disinterest in what Sonia was saying, and it is also possible to observe, in this turn, refusal to listening to the teacher. In excerpt (10), by saying “*cualquiera*”, he showed his disagreement with what Sonia stated. However, Ismael did not misbehave during the lesson, unlike most students, who were moving, hitting each other or talking about something else when the teacher was asking questions. This is relevant for analysis since Ismael’s behaviour does not seem to be signalling indifference or inattentiveness, but protest. He answered almost every question from the teacher, but in a confrontational manner. Twenty minutes later, however, the teacher provided instructions to carry out an activity in English, and since then, Ismael changed his behaviour and he did not provide any more defiant comments or questions. Moreover, the teacher wrote the instructions in English on the board and Ismael, copied and asked questions which referred to the task:

(11) *Ismael: Y ¿qué hay que hacer cuando elegimos la profesión?*

(12) *Ismael: Profesora, ¿tenemos que escribir en inglés todo lo que sabemos de carpintero y todo eso?*

The fact that Ismael changed his behaviour radically from one task to another during the same lesson throws light onto the ideas that he has about the English lesson and about the role of the English teacher. He did not question her behaviour or the task anymore; on the contrary, he focused on learning what the task was about. His behaviour seems to be associated with the idea that the English lesson should focus on learning English and the English teacher on teaching English, thus, when this did not happen, interactional disalignment and defiance of the teacher appeared in different ways. Therefore, it can be said that when it comes to English, Ismael’s behaviour and the ideas this behaviour reveals are compatible with the other students’ behaviour in class, as discussed in Chapter

III. Additionally, Ismael's change of behaviour from one activity to the next indicates his desire to learn English or some degree of interest in the object of teaching or some interest in learning in general. This interest can be further understood if we take into account his comments in the interview when asked about English:

(13) *Researcher: ¿Te va bien en inglés?*

Ismael: Sí

Researcher: Pero, ¿te gusta, te gusta la materia o no?

Ismael: La materia: (.) sí, y la profesora:, eh:, también, sí, me cae bien la materia y la profesora

Although doubt can be perceived in his turn when referring to the teacher because of the use of pauses, lengthening of the last vowel in a word, the discourse marker “*eh:*” and the use of “*sí*” after those signals of doubt, no complaints were made about the teacher or the language. Additionally, when asked about the utility of learning English, he recognised its value as an asset in the labour market immediately:

(14) *Researcher: Mirá, y ¿te parece que el inglés puede ser útil?*

((Ismael nods))

Researcher: ¿Para qué?

Ismael: No sé, para:, quí sí yo, por trabajo

Not only did he admit that learning English is useful but also he established a relationship between English and job opportunities. This idea of English as a means for getting a job is consistent with the students' ideas about English that were unveiled in the analysis of the lessons and that also appeared in the interviews with other students.

Clearly, Ismael shares with his classmates the notion of English as an asset to find work and also shares with them the same interest in learning the language. When taken into consideration with his answers in the interview and with his change of behaviour when the focus of the activities is the learning of English, his defiant comments towards the teacher can be understood as demands for the teacher to teach English.

4.1.3. A student's behaviour in the Spanish lesson and ideas about Spanish

Just as is the case with the rest of the students, Ismael's behaviour in the Spanish lesson differs considerably from his behaviour in the English lesson. Like the rest of the students, in the English lesson he defies the teacher only when the lesson objective is not the

learning of English; on the other hand, in the Spanish lesson, the defiant behaviour towards Carina, the Spanish teacher, never ceases. However, Ismael's behaviour was particularly noticeable in the Spanish lessons because his defiance of the teacher was unremitting and adamant.

In chapter III, some excerpts show Ismael's defiant attitude towards the Spanish teacher, but, in general, they could be inferred from comments which expressed lack of interest in the activities being carried out. However, Ismael also made comments about the teacher constantly. The following exchange shows Ismael's reaction to a statement by Carina:

(15) Carina: mujeres que te atrapaban y te decían Menéndez, ven acá, te ibas a largar del barco. Te ibas a largar.

Ismael: ¿qué sa:be?

In this excerpt, Ismael clearly questions Carina's predictions about his possible ways of acting. But, what is interesting about Ismael's response to Carina's statements is that the question he produced challenged her knowledge. This can be taken as a sign that Ismael conceives of the teacher as not having enough knowledge about him, his culture and his potential ways of acting. Nonetheless, the situations where Ismael challenges the teacher's comments were numerous. The following interaction occurred when Carina was explaining the characteristics of a text:

(16) Carina: Ustedes, ¿cómo se dirigen a mí, hacia mí? Mirá, flaca, callate porque:

Ismael: Flaca ((putting on an ironic face))

((The students laugh))

Carina: Bueno, gor::da, ¡pará, gorda, callate!

Ismael: ¿A quién?

Carina: Probablemente si me dicen gorda los amonesto

Ismael: Ah, no, entonces flaca nomáø, sigamoø con flaca.

In this extract, Ismael's comments seem to be jokes and they seem to have been taken as jokes by the teacher as well since she did not reprimand Ismael. However, the fact that his jokes tend to challenge the teacher and, at the same time, offend her allows for the interpretation that Ismael holds negative ideas about the Spanish teacher. This is confirmed in his interview as will be discussed later in this section.

Moreover, at the end of one of the lessons observed, other interesting exchanges between the teacher and Ismael took place. Ismael was restless and seemed eager for the lesson to end and Carina addressed him directly:

(17) *Carina: Menéndez, ¿cuándo se va a tragar- va a abstenerse de (..)*

Ismael: Siga hablando usted, déjeme a mí estar inquieto

Carina:(.. ..) Una última cosa así me callo ((looking at Ismael))

Ismael: No va a venir más, ¿dijo?

In Ismael's first turn, there is clear defiance not of the teacher's reprimand, but of the idea that the reprimand implies, namely the idea that he should not express his disinterest in what the teacher says. In addition, in Ismael's second turn, defiance of the teacher is even stronger since it is a provocation. It is also interesting to see that these comments are not targeted at the activities carried out or at the objective of the lessons, but at the teacher herself.

In addition, Ismael did not show interest in learning the topics discussed in the Spanish lessons at any time, nor did he stop defying the teacher during the lessons. He also expressed overt disinterest in Spanish as a subject when the teacher was correcting his notebook and deciding his grades:

(18) *Carina: A ver, pará, pará, el cuaderno está (.)*

Ismael: Horrible

Carina: El práctico no lo has hecho, (..) mañana espero que me lo traigas, y ¿la evaluación del primer trimestre?

Ismael: No la tengo

Carina: ¿Por qué?

Ismael: Y:, la debo haber perdido ((as not caring))

Carina: ¿La debés haber perdido? ((showing anger))

Emilse: No sé, si creo que no las entregó

Martín: Sí las entregó

Carina: Bueno, yo necesito que la tengan pegada, ¿cómo hago con eso Menéndez? (..) yo sé que todos estaban aprobados, pero, escúchame Menéndez, ¿vos te acordás la nota que tenías?

Ismael: Seis me parece

Carina: Sí, yo sé que todos estaban aprobados (.. ..) en el cuaderno, tenés un cuatro

((He looks for something and he finds the test))

Tamara: Sí, es esa ((to Ismael))

((Ismael gives the test to Carina))

Carina: Ismael, tenés un ocho

Ismael: Bueno, un ocho ((as not caring))

In Ismael's first turn of this extract, he acknowledged not having his notebook the way it was expected, but he did not provide a way of solving his poor performance, and when he was asked about his test, he did not show any sign of concern about complying with what the teacher was demanding. In addition, when discussing his mark on the test, he displayed no preoccupation for having a good mark either. This behaviour from Ismael showed indifference towards doing well in Spanish, learning Spanish and complying with the Spanish teacher's demands. That is, he showed no concern about building an image for himself as a good student; on the contrary, he depicted himself as an irresponsible student. This reveals his interest in doing the opposite of what he is expected to do and, thus, defying the teacher. This can also be seen when the teacher asked him to bring his notebook completed on the following lesson:

(19) Ismael: Yo no creo que mañana lo traiga

Carina: ¿Qué? ¿no vas a hacer nada?

Ismael: Tengo muchas cosas que hacer

Agustina: ISMAEL

Carina: ((To Agustina)) Ch, pará. ((to Ismael)) te vas a llevar el, el – o sea, por un capricho te lo vas a llevar

Ismael: Sí. Me lo llevo.

In this extract, Ismael's lack of interest in passing the subject is clear since, even when he was given an opportunity to comply with what he was asked for in order to pass the subject, he refused to do the assignment. But, the fact that he stated his refusal to comply with the task constitutes an issue worth analysing. His need to contradict the teacher by bluntly stating his refusal to do what he is told can be interpreted as provocation towards Carina.

In addition, during the last lesson observed, Carina was deciding the final marks for the students and the students were helping her with the calculations and showing her the tests they had taken with the teachers they had had that year before she took the position of Spanish teacher for fourth year. Ismael's marks constituted a topic worth discussing again. Carina was deciding Ismael's definite mark on the subject and the marks she had on her list were not right, but Ismael did not say anything:

Carina: Bueno. E:h, vamos con Menéndez, Menéndez.

Ismael: Dos, tres y cinco ((reading from the teacher's grade sheet))

Carina: No. E:h, dos, tres, cinco. ¿Y te daba de?

Ismael: Tres treinta y tres.

Carina: Pará, pará, pará, pará. ¿Menéndez Hernán?

Ismael: Sí.

Carina: Dos, seis, y TRES.

Agustina: No, tres y cinco, si le daba tres, le da el promedio de tres.

Menéndez: Tres, cinco.

Carina: ¡Ay! (.) ¿Qué hago ahora? Dos, tres, cinco. ¿De cuánto te daba el promedio?

Ismael: Déjelo así no máø.

Maira: Tres treinta y tres, ¿o no?

Ismael: Sí, sí.

Carina: Tres treinta y tres. Tres, ¿qué hice?

Ismael: ¿Por qué?

Carina: Me estoy equivocando mal. Acá era un, ¿un cinco? ¿Dónde estoy acá?

Students: Un tres.

(...)

Carina: Eh (..) dos, tres, cinco y te da de tres treinta y tres.

Ismael: Sí, sí.

In this fragment, Ismael first exhibited indifference about having his real mark in “*déjelo así no máø*”; then, he accepted twice that his mark was three. Despite the fact that, in the previous lesson, he had shown the teacher the test and his mark was eight, he did not say so again at the moment these exchanges took place. This is a clear attempt by Ismael to fail the subject since, even though he had the passing marks, he did not inform that to the teacher. Ismael's behaviour can be interpreted as interest in not passing the subject and as refusal to doing well in Spanish.

A deeper insight can be gained into this behaviour if Ismael's comments in his interview about Spanish are taken into consideration. When Ismael was asked about the Spanish language, the ideas revealed were completely different from those expressed about English:

(20) Researcher: todavía no han tenido lengua, pero el año pasado, por ejemplo, en general, ¿cómo te va en lengua?

Ismael: Bien, me llevé el primer trimestre, nomás y, después la saqué

Researcher: Ah, ta:n [bien no te va diríamos

Ismael: [no me gusta mucho

Researcher: Ah, ¿por qué no te gusta?

Ismael: Me caen mal los profesores

Researcher: ¿Por qué? ¿Todos los profesores?

Ismael: No, algunoø, los de lengua, me parece, no máø

Researcher: Los de lengua, ¿te parece difícil?

((He moves his head indicating doubt))

Ismael stated a strong dislike for Spanish as a subject and for the teachers of the language. It is interesting to notice that he stated not having an issue with a particular teacher, but with all the Spanish teachers. In other words, he seems to have problems with what a Spanish teacher represents for him. This negative image of the Spanish teachers that Ismael seems to hold might be associated to constant corrections by the teachers on the variety of Spanish from the area:

(21) Researcher: Muchas cosas diferentes y ¿los retan cuando ustedes dicen alguna palabra que a los profes no les parece bien?

Ismael: Sí, to:do

Researcher: ¿Por ejemplo?

Ismael: Y cuando laø pronunciamoø mal o decimoø mal laø palabraø

The fact that the teachers correct students' pronunciation and morphological as well as syntactic structures in their own mother tongue is one of the causes for Ismael's dislike of the teachers and the learning of the language. This is confirmed, later, by his statement about how unnecessary learning Spanish is:

(22) Researcher: Y, a vos, ¿te parece bien que les enseñen castellano en la escuela? ¿Te parece que te sirve?

Ismael: No sé. (..) Me parece que no.

Researcher: ¿Que no te sirve?

((Ismael shakes his head))

Researcher: ¿Vos sentís que hablás bien así?

((He nods))

The stated lack of utility of learning Spanish and the indicated comfort with his own variety of Spanish lead to infer that being corrected in Spanish is considered unnecessary and it may be a possible reason for disliking the teachers that do that. Also, Ismael's constant defiance of the Spanish teacher, his lack of interest in passing the subject, his

stated dislike for the Spanish teachers and his conception of Spanish as an unnecessary subject unveil the negative conceptions he holds about learning Spanish at school and about the Spanish teachers. It seems his negative ideas about the Spanish teachers derive from the language they teach.

In addition, the sharp contrast between the interest in English and the aversion to Spanish reveals some ideas associated to each of the languages. Apparently, Ismael considers English a useful language to learn and associates it with job opportunities, and Spanish, a language he is already fluent in and which does not need to be learnt at school.

4.1.4. A student's ideas about Warpe languages

As stated in the first section of this chapter, Ismael is not only fully aware of his Warpe identity, but he also exhibits interest in preserving cultural inheritance related to the Warpe people. When he was asked about the importance of preserving Warpe traditions, the first issue he named was preserving the language:

(23) *Researcher: y, para vos, ¿es importante mantener las costumbres warpes?*

Ismael: Sí

Researcher: ¿Por qué?

Ismael: M:, para mantenerlas poøque ya casi nada de nuestro idioma (.) no se habla nuestro idioma warpe, loø otroø, por ejemplo loø mapucheø, esoø, (.) esoø hablan y nosotrosø mucho no sabemoø, mi mamá no sabe casi nada, no sabe casi nada

Researcher: Y, ¿a vos te gustaría que se enseñe una lengua warpe acá en la escuela?

Ismael: Sí

The fact that the language is the first thing he mentioned as a loss demonstrates that preserving the Warpe language of his ancestors is something he desires. By using the possessive adjective *nuestro* when talking about the Warpe language of his ancestors, he indicates a sense of belonging to the Warpe people and recognition of his own Warpe identity. In addition, he stated his concern not only for not losing his language, but also for the school's embracing the Warpe identity and language. Apparently, the indigenous identity is not hidden all the time and everywhere, but mostly at school because the school rejects everything that is related to the Warpe identity.

Furthermore, in the first section of this chapter, the fact that Ismael chose the Warpe word to refer to Mother Earth's Day (excerpt 03) reveals his concern for preserving the

language of his ancestors. However, during the interview he denied knowing any word in a Warpe language:

(24) *Researcher: Mirá, y vos ¿sabés algunas palabras en una lengua warpe?*

((He shakes his head))

Researcher: Sí, ya me dijiste pekné tetá, ¿qué otra más?

Ismael: La verdad, no me acuerdo

Even though during my time observing different practices in the community, I witnessed Ismael using some words in a Warpe language in ceremonies or when talking to *amta* (the spiritual guide), he denied knowing any word in a Warpe language. Moreover, this lack of fit between what he stated and what was observed could also be perceived in one of his turns during the interview:

(25) *Researcher: Y, ponele, ¿algún insulto que vos sabés que los demás no lo pueden entender?*

Ismael: ((Laughs)) No, eso sí que no. El Nacu no me quiere decir

In Ismael's turn in this exchange, the fact that he is interested in learning words in a Warpe language can be observed since in "*El Nacu no me quiere decir*", the presupposition that he has asked Nacu (a member of another Warpe community) for those words can be recovered. Additionally, another presupposition can be recovered in "*eso sí que no*", the fact that there are other words in a Warpe language that he knows. Apparently, Ismael holds the idea that the language his ancestors spoke should be preserved, but at the same time, he tends to hide his knowledge of the language. Guber (2005) suggest that the restrictive context, i.e. the physical space, the activity and the articulation between the participants in the social encounter, may encourage self-censorship or loquaciousness with respect to certain topics. Ismael's denial of knowledge of Warpe words during the interview might be related to the fact that I was not a member of the community, so the risk of being judged was higher with me than with anybody else and, also, to the fact that the interview was carried out at school and, although there was nobody else in the room, the place might be a factor that influenced his statements.

4.2. His mother

As stated in the Introduction chapter, Iris is the health agent of the Warpe community from Cienaguita and she works at the health centre in the area. However, in her interview she explained that she is not always able to comply with all her functions because the supervisors in the health centre do not allow her to do so because they do not agree with the indigenous ways. In addition, at the time of the interview with her, she had not received her salary for nine months, but she kept on working because the community needed her. The interview was carried out in a place close to her house where we stopped on our way to visit other parents.



Image 7 A street that we walked to visit other houses. This street is in the corner of Iris's house.



Image 8 Place where the interview was conducted, the backyard of a house.

4.2.1. A mother's identity

Iris recognises herself as Warpe and works actively for the community. Thus, she is involved in most celebrations in the community as was said before:

(26) Iris: Sí, organizamos con la comunidad, organizamos la ceremonia de la Pekne Teta que la hacemos en el mes de agosto, realmente todo el mes de agosto paø nosotros es muy sagrado porque no solo celebramos el día de la Pekne Teta, sino también el día del niño que tratamos de que los chicoø- siempre hacer la ceremonia con los chicos para que los chicoø valoren lo que eø la naturaleza

(27) Iris: (...) Y nosotros siempre hacemos para el día de la mujer, que es el día el cinco de septiembre, eh, nosotros siempre hacemos algún festejo algo con laø mujereø del lugar

In these turns, her knowledge about Warpe celebrations becomes visible. The fact that she used the Warpe expression for Mother Earth (as her son did) reveals her affiliation to the community. Also, although children's day is not a typical Warpe celebration, it seems to be adapted to fit Warpe cultural norms since she mentioned celebrating both days

together so as to raise children's awareness of nature. In addition, in turn (27) she talked about women's day, but the date she mentioned –September 5– is when aboriginal women are specifically commemorated showing, in doing so, strong affiliation to her aboriginal origin. Moreover, she stated acknowledging her Warpe identity all the time and recognized encouraging some aspects of the Warpe culture:

(28) *Researcher: Y vos, generalmente, ¿lo contás abiertamente a que trabajás en medicina ancestral?*

Iris: Sí

Researcher: ¿Todo el mundo sabe?

Iris: Sí, todo el mundo sabe, realmente nosotros somoø promotores de salud indígena, empezamos con un programa que es de médicos comunitarioø,(..) toman a una persona por comunidad que es elegida por la comunidad para ser trabajada en la parte de salud. (.) Ehh::, la parte de salud nos absorbe a nosotros, pero (.) no respetando (.) nuestro trabajo, que nosotros estamos para trabajar con las comunidadesø, (.) realmente con nuestra gente. (.) Si tenemos una persona que necesita un tratamiento, nosotrosø tenemos que hacerle sacarle un turno a esa persona, (.) si necesita la medicación y no puede asistir al centro de salud, nosotros tenemoø que llevarle la medicación, (.) pero:: salud pública acá como que nos ha tomado más que nada como para que estemos ahí en el centro de salud. Eh, (.) más que nada para hacer la limpieza, o para llenar planillaø, controlar pacientes, igual, nosotrosø no hacemos discriminación de nada porque si va alguien de la comunidad lo hacemoø con todos en general y si tenemos que llevar algún medicamento a una persona que no es miembro de la comunidad igual lo llevamos.

In these turns, Iris stated that she recognized her Warpe descent and also that she worked for the community. In other words, she often mentioned her ethnicity although, as can be observed in this turn, at her workplace she does not carry out tasks just for the people of the Warpe community, but for anybody who needs help thus going beyond her job description. Therefore, it can be inferred that she is interested in talking about and in expressing her identity.

4.2.2. A mother's ideas about being Warpe

Being of Warpe descent seems to be considered a cause for pride because when Iris was asked how she felt about her children belonging to the community, she stated her pride:

(29) *Researcher: Y, ¿qué pensás de que tus hijos sean miembros de la comunidad?*

Iris: ¿Qué pienso? E:h, me enorgullece, me enorgullece mucho, más allá que sabemoø la marginación y la discriminación que sufrimoø, porque yo a diario lo sufro en mi trabajo y pienso por ahí, ehm, yo les

inculco mucho después de la comunidad, ellos respetan y valoran mucho todo esto, pero hay veces que ellos- no puedo, eh:, privarle a uno de mi hijo que estudie lo que él quiere, por ejemplo tengo al segundo de mis hijos que él quiere estudiar militar, e:h, y a mí me gustaría, qué sé yo, que estudiara algo, que sea comunicador ¿viste? Una cosa así para que trabaje para la comunidad, pero a mí me enorgullece que ellos pertenezcan a la comunidad y que trabajen para la comunidad porque ellos son los que se encargan de preparar la ceremonia para la Pekne Teta.

She expressed pride in her children's collaborating with the community and showed concern for one of her children's planning to work on something which is not related to the community, namely the military.

The fact that her children recognise their ancestral origin and that they collaborate with the community seems not to be enough for Iris since she stated she would like her children to work for the community and to study something that could be useful for the community. However, in this same turn, by saying "*más allá que sabemos la marginación y la discriminación que sufrimos, porque yo a diario lo sufro en mi trabajo*", discrimination against aboriginal people was presented as taken for granted and known by everybody, and also as a possible impediment for recognizing their aboriginal identity.

By expressing her desire for her children to be active members of the community, despite the discrimination she knows they will suffer, Iris shows she considers the recognition of identity as important. This can be one of the reasons for the constant mention of her identity in excerpt (28).

Nonetheless, fear of ethnic discrimination appeared in other turns by Iris as well, as can be seen in the following turn which was produced when asked about who could teach a Warpe language at school if the possibility existed:

(30) Iris: No sé exacto, pero yo creo que, eh, si se camina, se busca, porque hay personas que por ahí no salen a la luz por el miedo de la discriminación o del que se te rían porque yo creo que una de las cosas de hoy en día- la en- en- la entidad de la persona pasa por el hecho de que se te ría, si vos decís soy de pueblo originario se te van a reír, porque te dicen ah, mirá- a mí me ha pasado por eso lo digo, te dicen son de pueblo originario, "ah, pero mirá se viste igual que nosotros" (.) y no sé cómo pretenden que nos vistamos, ¿viste? (.) No sé, piensan vernos con una pluma, o de vestido, o descalzo, ¿viste? No sé cómo piensan vernos o por ahí si vos hablás, ¿viste? "Ah, no, pero si hablan igual que nosotros," nosotros sí, pero parte de la lengua se perdió por eso, porque nosotros en la escuela nunca nos inculcaron a enseñarnos la lengua realmente como tendría que ser, y tampoco, y habernos enseñado desde cuando empezamos la primaria que los indios, como nos llaman, que los indios existen, no que existieron, si vos vas a un libro, a la Patria Mía, que yo más o menos me acuerdo de los libros de mi época, vas a leer ahí que existían, (.) existían, (.) no existen

Iris related the scarcity of people who acknowledge speaking a Warpe language to fear of ethnic discrimination. In other words, she established a straightforward relationship between lack of recognition of aboriginal identity and fear of ethnic discrimination and of being put to ridicule. It seems she holds the idea that the commonness of lived experiences where people with Warpe descent have been laughed at for being aboriginal has led them to not recognise themselves as Warpe so as to avoid being humiliated. Additionally, she presented the loss of their ancestral language and of their identity as a result of mainstream education because they were never recognised by educators and educational materials as a contemporary people-nation. Also, rejection of the word “*indio*” can be inferred from Iris’s turn because she clarified that that is the way educational institutions refer to Warpe people and, also because during the interview, she used only the politically correct forms to refer to aboriginal people such as “*pueblos originarios*”. All these linguistic cues lead to the inference that Iris holds a representation of the school system as what is responsible for the loss of the ancestral language and for the lack of recognition of aboriginal existence nowadays. This representation seems to have been transferred to her children. Another issue that was raised in this turn is the fact that aboriginal identity is not a characteristic of the last centuries told in history books; on the contrary, it is alive and belongs to the present time.

4.2.3. A mother’s ideas about languages

The exchanges reproduced above, in section 4.2.2, show that Iris places a high value on the recognition of identity and provide hints to understand the importance she gives to her ancestral language:

(31) Iris: Mirá, lo poco que yo he podido rescatar de mi lengua, eh, es muy valioso, algo muy valorado y a veces cuando- yo tengo mis padres ya que están, mis padres tienen ochenta añoø, mi papá y mi mamá setenta y ocho y yo, por ahí, lo escucho hablar a mi papá y me llena de emoción escucharlo y mi papá sigue diciendo las palabraø yo vide, como te decía, el pacá, el pallá, ¿viste? Porque mi papá, más allá que yo traigo la sangre warpe por parte de mi madre, más allá que mi papá es hijo de criollos, es gauchó mi padre, eh, para mí es algo muy valioso la lengua, escucharlo hablar eø muy muy valioso. Yo retrocedería a esos añoø para que podamoø hacer las cosaø bien, en el sentido que podamoø inculcarlos en las escuelas, enseñarlos y que no se hubiera perdido porque la verdad que mucha parte de la lengua nuestra se ha perdido

In this turn, it can be seen that the Warpe language is significant for Iris, and also, certain nostalgia for how the language was spoken in the past can be detected. However, she stated knowing some words in her ancestral language, but all the examples she provided are from her father's linguistic repertoire and are characteristic of rural Argentinian Spanish. This is particularly interesting because she also stated that her mother was Warpe and her father *criollo*. Moreover, the fact that she expressed regret for not having done something as a community to maintain their ancestral language and teach it at schools shows the longing for the ancestral language to be revitalized, taught at schools and used by the community. Her interest in the revitalization of the language is also noticeable in another set of utterances:

(32) *Iris: Sí, sí, sí hablo, algunas palabras las hablo, no todaø porque vos sabeø que se perdió mucho esto y una de las cosas que estaría bueno es enseñar en las escuelas esto, enseñar la lengua, así como tienen escuelas mapucheø, la podemos tener nosotros también, armar un diccionario pero no por el simple hecho de que sea un diccionario de que lo arme una persona y que lo tenga esa persona nada más, sino un diccionario que sea entregado a todas las escuelas, a todos los establecimientos educativos para que se enseñe*

The repeated mention of the need to teach the Warpe language at school shows her desire for the language to be not only revitalized, but also disseminated and officialised. Among all the different social circles in which the language can be used and disseminated, she mentioned only the school revealing she holds the idea that the Warpe language needs to circulate in mainstream society instead of being marginalized. This concern for the Warpe language to be officialised and disseminated might be one of the reasons for not showing interest in her children's learning Spanish at school:

(33) *Researcher: ¿Considerás importante que estudien castellano en la escuela?*

Iris: (.. ..) No. (..) No.

Researcher: ¿Está bien con el castellano que hablan?

Iris: Para mí sí, está bien con el castellano que hablan, para mí, la verdad que no. (..) No (..), no sé qué, qué más aportarte ahí

The fact that she insisted on the need to teach the Warpe language, but rejected the need for Spanish to be taught at schools indicates she holds the idea that it is more important to learn a Warpe language than to learn Spanish. In addition, this rejection of

the need to learn Spanish seems to be related to how often the teachers correct the students' variety of Spanish at school. When asked if she could find any difference between the Spanish they teach at school and the one they speak at home, she mentioned many differences and problems that arise from these differences:

(34) Researcher: En cuanto al español, ya esto te lo pregunté y me has dicho un par de cosas, pero tal vez que te acordás de un par más, ¿notás alguna diferencia entonces entre el español que aprenden los chicos en tu casa, el que les enseñás vos en tu casa, el que se habla a diario, y el que les quieren enseñar las maestras en la escuela?

Iris: Sí, hay mucho, hay palabraø que te las corrigen y si no las expresás bien, te mandan a un fonoaudiólogo o es porque el chico tiene problemas al escribir, si voø no le enseñás a expresarse como tiene que ser, eh, pero sí para mí sí hay mucha diferencia

Opinions about Spanish lessons seem to be directly related to how the local Spanish variety is evaluated at school. By mentioning that if the children do not speak the variety they are taught at school, they are sent to a speech therapist, she brought to light a deeper issue: it seems that some students have been considered to have speech problems because they do not speak the standard variety taught at school. In addition, in her turn about differences in allophones between the two varieties, another key topic was mentioned: their ancestral language.

(35) Researcher: ¿Hay algunos sonidos que sean distintos?

Iris: Sí, sí, hay sonidos distintoø, cambia mucho, la- por ejemplo para nosotrosø, ¿viste? Nosotros tenemos mucho la k en nuestra lengua y por ahí cambia un poco, capaz que mis hijoø saben algunaø palabras y te laø escriben de la manera nuestra y ellos te corrigen, es como en inglés te corrigen escribirlo de otra manera, eh, por ahí el escribir, ¿viste? también va mucho en lo que el docente te corrige, por ahí, yo tengo uno de mis hijo que te cambia las palabras, las letras, perdón, y les pone- pero sí, yo creo que es el deber del docente

Echoing the question put forward by the researcher, Iris ratified the presence of differences with the Spanish language, but, in her turn, she stated “*cambia mucho*” from which we could understand she referred to the fact that the system of phonemes in the ancestral language is different from that of Spanish. However, the phrase “*para nosotrosø*” and the change of direction in her response indicated that the emphasis was on distinguishing the Warpe descendants from the rest of society. The interviewee moved rapidly from the idea “*mis hijoø saben algunaø palabras*”, probably referring to the

ancestral language vocabulary, to mentioning ways of writing, thus, totally moving away from the focus of the question. She also took advantage of the opportunity to bring up the disciplinary action of correction in the classroom of the Spanish variety they speak.

From her turn, it is possible to infer that Iris holds the idea that the variety of Spanish that the students acquire at home and that they use in the community presents linguistic features from the substrate languages, i.e. from the Warpe languages. Therefore, not acknowledging the need for their children to learn Spanish at school seems to be linked to a desire to keep the few linguistic features from the Warpe languages present in their own variety of Spanish. However, nobody from the community could explain in their interview what these features were.

In other words, the reasoning appears to be the following: if the children from the community learn the standard variety of Spanish taught at school, they would lose what is left of their ancestral language. However, what is considered to remain of the ancestral language seems to be symbolic and more associated with rural Spanish varieties than with any Warpe language. In conclusion, the rejection of the importance of learning Spanish at school can be related, on the one hand, to having her children treated as if they had speech problems because they do not speak the standard variety and, on the other hand, to the desire to keep the indigenous identity. This can be confirmed by the ideas about learning English present in Iris's turns because they are completely different from her ideas about learning Spanish:

(36) Iris: Sí, sí me parece importante, realmente, hoy en día si vas a buscar empleo te preguntan qué idioma sabé hablar y el que más se usa es el inglés, eh, por el hecho muchos por ahí para traducir o, como te decía hoy una de las señora, el hecho de que hoy en día la tecnología viene todo en inglés

Seemingly, English is not perceived as a possible threat to the loss of their own ancestral language; therefore, more positive ideas are associated with learning English than with learning Spanish. Moreover, a link between English and work opportunities was established by Iris and by many other members of the community, as discussed in Chapter III. However, Iris also associated the English language with technology, a rare connection among the students, but a recurrent connection established by some teachers and parents. Nonetheless, not all the ideas Iris holds about English seem to be positive:

(37) Iris: Y, yo, si vos me decís inglés, en este momento, yo pienso en los que quisie- en lo que nos destruyeron las Malvinas, los ingleses, ((laughs)), realmente, te da un poco de rabia de indignación por

lo que sucedió, pero yo creo que nosotros no tenemos que ver las fronteras, somos todos, más allá que seremo- hoy en día como está dividido el país, el mundo, eh, yo para mí somos todo hermanos y la verdad que decir inglés suena un poco medio duro

van Dijk (1998) posits that the use of certain lexical items suggests positive or negative evaluations, thus, they express judgement. In this turn by Iris, apart from the relationship between English and the Malvinas war, words such as “*destruyeron*”, “*rabia*” and “*indignación*” manifest resentment towards English-speaking people. Even when the force of the utterance that contains these words is mitigated by the clause initiated by “*pero*” and by “*un poco*” and “*medio*” at the end of the turn, resentment is expressed again in the clause “*y la verdad que decir inglés suena un poco medio duro*”. Apparently, Iris holds contradictory ideas about English: on the one hand, English appears to have value, but, on the other, it seems to be a symbol of destruction.

4.3. Relationship between ideas about Warpe languages and ideas about Spanish

In the interactional sequences presented in this chapter, it becomes evident that some members of the community consider mainstream society and education as responsible for the loss of the Warpe languages. They also seem to have the belief that Spanish is the language that displaced the ancestral language. As a consequence, negative ideas are held about Spanish and about the Spanish teachers since, by association, they are also deemed responsible for the displacement of the ancestral language. Although this resentment towards Spanish is rooted in the past, in the present, it appears to have taken the form of rejection not of the Spanish language, but of the standard variety of Spanish. That is, as most members of the community do not speak the ancestral language fluently anymore, what they believe to remain of the ancestral language is only traces of it in the variety of Spanish they speak. Therefore, learning the standard variety of Spanish is perceived as a threat to the last remnants of the ancestral language that are present in their own variety of Spanish. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992) point out that in a community of practice, “social meaning, social identity, community membership, forms of participation, the full range of community practices, and the symbolic value of linguistic forms are being constantly and mutually constructed” (p. 97). In this case, the symbolic value of the Spanish variety spoken in the area comes from the association its speakers establish with the ancestral language. This symbolic value attributed to the Spanish variety of the area

allows us to interpret the students' defiant practices in the Spanish lessons and mainly the practices of those students who are particularly aware of their Warpe identity, as attempts to alter the fundamental nature of the language economy in which they are engaged. In other words, these practices can be understood as attempts to build an alternative language economy that does not operate according to the rules of the dominant economy. That is, they are rebelling against 'symbolic domination' (Bourdieu, 1977/1972; Woolard, 1985), i.e. against the cultural authority of the dominant group who is associated to the dominant standard variety.

When considering the issue of the students' rebellion against the symbolic domination of the standard variety of Spanish over their own vernacular variety, we can say that in the school context, this rebellion is also against the 'symbolic domination' (Bourdieu, 1977/1972) exercised by the teachers and, thus, the institution. As Bourdieu (1977/1972) points out, education plays a role in the reproduction of inequalities but also naturalises and legitimises them. Apparently, cultural, social and linguistic domination that occurs in the daily social habits has been historically maintained through silent, unconscious modes of the subjects in this school. However, the students' resistance seems to have been taking place for some years now since, as stated in the Introduction, the teachers complain that the students have become defiant and rebellious during the last years. It can be inferred from the analysis carried out in this chapter and in Chapter III that the students perceive they are being instilled cultural values that are presented as universal by the teacher, but which are arbitrary and, thus, they resist that imposition. That is, the defiance of the Spanish teacher, as a semiotic act, can also be understood as a means to construe the aboriginal identity through reacting against the cultural authority of the dominant groups.

However, the teachers seem to have naturalised the hierarchization of the Spanish varieties and the devaluation of certain languages which makes the institution function as an agent of reproduction of inequalities among the varieties of Spanish and among languages. Nonetheless, the analysis carried out here proves that this institutional order can be contested through the students' linguistic practices, which call for the adoption of Heller's view (2006/1996) that the students' agency has to be thoroughly acknowledged and analysed.

When considering the ideas that the parents have, it can be said that there is a relationship between the ideas the members of the community hold about their ancestral language and the ideas they have about Spanish. However, how this relationship is constructed seems to be dependent on the degree of affiliation to the Warpe community.

The more aware the members of the community are of their identity, the more concern for preserving the ancestral language they display and the greater the rejection of the Spanish language they demonstrate. That is, all the parents expressed similar ideas in their interviews, but Iris was more categorical when establishing a link between the loss of her ancestral language and mainstream education. As the sense of belonging is a matter of degree, the fervent defence of the linguistic heritage also manifests itself in different degrees. As stated in Chapter III, some parents neither expressed their position against the teaching of Spanish at school, nor did they defend the characteristics of the Spanish variety spoken in the area. In addition, they considered the teaching and learning of Spanish at school as a means to make progress in life. In contrast, Iris opposes the corrective actions that derive from the Spanish norm and that opinion is compatible with her full adherence to the Warpe identity displayed by her occupation, her cooking habits, her ways of taking care of the health of the members of the community and by the teachings she imparts to her children.

Not only the degree of affiliation to the Warpe community affects the different ideas the students and parents have about languages, but also their experiences in the labour market seem to influence the ideas they hold about the varieties of Spanish, as was discussed in Chapter III. Apparently, some parents have developed awareness of the varieties of Spanish that are valued in certain job positions due to having faced situations in the labour market where one variety is preferred over the other. Thus, the linguistic marketplace (Bourdieu, 1977/1972) also serves to explain the symbolic value of the different varieties in this area. Some parents' experiences in the labour market have led them to place a higher value on learning and attempting to speak the variety of Spanish which is associated to better job positions than speaking their own variety even if this means losing the remnants of their ancestral language. That is, for some members of the community, mainly adults who work in the lime plants, the variety closest to the standard has more symbolic value than the vernacular variety as the standard is considered 'linguistic capital' (Bourdieu, 1977/1972) because of its relationship with the senior positions in the lime plants and its association to the capital of the province. Nonetheless, in the case of those members of the community who do not work in the lime plants and who show a high degree of affiliation to the Warpe community, they attribute symbolic value to their own variety of Spanish because they relate it to their ancestral language. These members also show an interest in creating an 'alternative marketplace' (Woolard,

1985), which does not function according to the norms of the dominant marketplace in society.

Another axis of this study is the clash of ideas about English that were found between the students and the teachers. Despite their degree of affiliation to the Warpe community, all the students expressed a strong interest in learning English because they consider it an asset in the labour market. In other words, they seem to consider speaking English as having linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1977/1972). Therefore, it can be said that at the language economy level, the rebellion against symbolic domination (Bourdieu, 1977/1972) which is observed with respect to the standard variety of Spanish is not observed with respect to English. On the contrary, the students' behaviour in the English lessons makes it evident that the hirarchization of languages is not contested but naturalized and that they are trying to get equal access to linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1977/1972). These findings are concurrent with Heller's (2006/1996) since they both reveal that often the students do not rebel against the domination of some languages over others or some varieties over others, but they attempt to have equal access to the languages that enjoy prestige.

When considering the ideas about Warpe languages that emerged during the lessons and interviews, we also find differences between the teachers and the students. As discussed before, the students stated their interest in preserving the ancestral language and in the school taking part in its teaching. In addition, it also became clear in the students' and parents' interviews that their Warpe identity is extant and, thus, a matter of the present times. However, the teachers' discourse and behaviour in class stands in sharp contrast with the students' ideas since what can be observed is a complete denial of the existence of other ethnicities in the area and of the presence of students with Warpe origins. According to Martín Rojo, Relaño Pastor and Rasskin Gutman (2010) the foregrounding of ethnicity in classroom interactions is indexical of the social order that schools construct around ethnic differences. In this study, the opposite of foregrounding ethnicity is what occurs, and this is also indexical of the social order that the school builds around ethnic differences. In this case, the representation of the 'other' is 'non-existent'. This representation is harder to denaturalize than the one found by Martín Rojo, Relaño Pastor and Rasskin Gutman (2010) since in their case, the existence of different ethnicities is at least recognised. Here, the first step to deconstruct certain ideas about the ethnic minority would be to acknowledge they exist.

Nonetheless, the school is not the institution responsible for deciding on the implementation of EIB, but the representatives of the EIB department in the city of San Juan are, that is, in the capital of the province. Although in San Juan the initiative to implement EIB in some schools has usually been taken by the teachers or by the different communities, the decisions are supposed to be made by other institutions. As was discussed in the previous chapter, section d) of article 53 of the National Education Law state that to favour the development of EIB, the State will be responsible for promoting the generation of institutional instances where the indigenous peoples participate in the planning and management of the teaching and learning processes. By promoting the participation of indigenous peoples in education, it recognises the lack of resources mainstream education has when it comes to the teaching of aboriginal knowledge. In addition, section e) of the same article states that also to favour the development of the EIB, the State will be responsible for fostering the construction of educational models and practices that are typical of the indigenous peoples and that include their values, knowledges, language and other social and cultural traits.⁷ In other words, these obligations recognise the need to adapt mainstream education to the diverse population the schools in Argentina display and the importance of preserving their language and culture. This article is directly related to the case studied here because, as it was possible to see in the analysis of the interviews with students and parents, they all stated they would like their ancestral traditions to be respected and their ancestral language to be recognised and incorporated at school. Although some members of the community showed a high sense of identification with the community, they all stated they would like identity topics like their indigenous descent to be discussed at school. That is, they would like their ancestral origins, language and traditions to be part of education, but the education system does not provide the necessary resources for that type of education to be promoted.

⁷ The section states: “Para favorecer el desarrollo de la Educación Intercultural Bilingüe, el Estado será responsable de:

e) propiciar la construcción de modelos y prácticas educativas propias de los pueblos indígenas que incluyan sus valores, conocimientos, lengua y otros rasgos sociales y culturales.” (Article 53, National Education Law 26.206, 2006).

4.5. Synthesis of the chapter

In this chapter, I have focused on two important members of the community as a consequence of their heightened sense of awareness of the Warpe identity. Through the analysis of Iris' and Ismael's interviews and of Ismael's behaviour in class, I was able to observe a relationship between the degree of affiliation to the Warpe community and the ideas the students and parents have about languages. Additionally, I have also suggested that there is an indirect relationship between the degree of affiliation to the Warpe community and the students' behaviour in class, since the higher the sense of the aboriginal identity they have, the more acts of defiance of the teacher they perform. Finally, I have discussed the issue that, although the students and parents show a desire for their traditions and language to be recognized and respected in the school context and although the legislation on aboriginal education supports the indigenous peoples, the school does not attend to the students' and parents' needs.

CHAPTER V: CONCLUSIONS

By adopting an ethnographic approach to the study of ideas about languages in a multicultural education context, I have been able to reveal some conceptions that are made available to the students through a repertoire of teaching practices. The examination of the lesson observations and of the interviews with the students also allowed me to disclose some ideas about languages that the students have. Additionally, the comparison of the ideas inferred from the students' interviews and practices at school with the ideas expressed by the students' parents in the interviews brought to light a series of relationships between ideas and, also, between ideas and the school context.

This chapter begins with some reflections on aspects of the methodology and research process. Section 5.2 deals with the link between the students' and parents' ideas about languages and the construction of the Warpe identity. Next, section 5.3 tackles the disparities that I found between the legislation on aboriginal education and what is observed in actual practices. In section 5.4, I summarize the students' and parents' ideas about English, Spanish and the ancestral language and establish relationships between them. In section 5.5, I draw general conclusions based on the ideas about languages, the learning of those languages, the teachers and the socio-cultural context where the school is. After that, in section 5.6, I discuss the main ideas that were inferred from the analysis of the English teachers' practices and interviews. Then, in section 5.7, I consider the influences originating at the institutional level on the teachers' practices. In section 5.8, I consider this study's potential beneficiaries and in section 5.9, I identify potential issues for future research.

Some considerations on the hypotheses outlined in the introductory chapter are addressed here. This study has revealed that the students' and parents' ideas about English, Spanish and the ancestral language are different from the ideas that the teachers have about these languages. This finding supports the first hypothesis. The second hypothesis predicted that dissimilarities would be observed between the ideas that the parents and the students hold about the languages in question. Yet, the dissimilarities that were revealed were not as striking as expected since these two groups only differ significantly with respect to the ideas about Spanish as a subject at school. However, this study has shown that there are aspects of the socio-historic and geographic context that influence directly the ideas about language that the parents and the students have. Finally, it was hypothesized that there would be little coincidence between the educators'

practices and what the legislation on aboriginal education states. The contrast between what the official documents say about aboriginal education and what was observed in the lessons proved this hypothesis correct. All these issues are addressed in detail in the following sections.

5.1. Reflections on aspects of the methodology and research process

In this study, linguistic practices were analysed with an “ethnographic orientation” (Carranza, 2013) which allowed me to understand them and the ideas about languages in this specific context in a holistic manner. Besides, conducting participant observation in the classroom brought to light the complexity of the classrooms and the fact that they are spaces where social struggle, reproduction and change take place (Rampton, 2006). Thus, although the ethnographic observations demanded more time than I had planned, carrying them out proved to be a very productive process. Since I faced numerous complications to reach the place or to be able to observe the lessons, I travelled often to the area and, thus, I was able to spend more time in the field with the teachers and students. Therefore, with the passing of time my presence was not perceived as disruptive. This allowed me to integrate more aspects in my research and to comprehend the intricacies of the context in depth. Additionally, in relation to the time spent in the field, DeWalt and DeWalt (2011) suggest that highly reliable data can be obtained by establishing a good rapport with the locals. Thus, as my presence in the field was longer than planned, I developed a better rapport with the research subjects and obtained more reliable data than those that I could have gathered if my presence in the field had been shorter or if I had not been present in various situations outside the school context. Furthermore, the fact that I witnessed numerous activities in different Warpe communities (even if I did not analyse them as data in this research study) provided the opportunity to observe the research subjects’ behaviour in different contexts. This, in turn, allowed me to gain a deeper understanding of the ideas about languages that coexist in this school.

In addition to participant observation, another technique that I used in this study was the semi-structured interview with a protocol. The interviews were quite enlightening since they contributed to my understanding of certain tendencies or behaviour that I had observed in the lessons. However, I was not able to conduct all the interviews I initially planned: as noted earlier, I was not able to interview Ángela, one of the English teachers. In addition, the fact that there are only two English teachers and that I did not succeed in

interviewing one of them appeared to be a major setback. Nevertheless, Ángela (the sixth year teacher) is the English teacher with whom the students have less contact; therefore, the effect of her practices on the students' ideas might not be as strong as that of other teachers' practices. In order to remedy this weakness, I held interviews with other teachers. Even though I did not examine those interviews thoroughly in this study, they allowed me to gain access to different perspectives and to interpret the ideas that are shared by the teachers about languages, the students, the institution and the area where the school is located. This was one of the ways in which I attempted to reduce attrition during the research process. However, as ethnographers, we are not immune to naturalizing certain practices or characteristics of the context, nor can we get rid of our beliefs, worldviews and ideologies. Consequently, I cannot avoid considering that others' opinions and my own subjectivity played a role when gathering and analysing the data.

In addition, the other technique used for analysing the data was qualitative content analysis. I examined the national regulations that serve as an official framework for the establishment of the EIB programme. This technique proved to be quite fruitful since it contributed to establishing a comparison between legislation and reality, which made it possible to have a better understanding of the socio-political dimension of the context.

Considering that through ethnography and discourse analysis several ideas and relationships between these ideas and aspects of the context have been revealed, this study sets a research agenda that takes ethnography and discourse analysis as the basis to comprehend ideologies. It also motivates a research agenda that prioritizes the analysis of local practices in order to gain an integral perspective of the phenomenon under study. By means of such an approach, real changes that foster interculturality in multicultural classrooms can be achieved.

5.2. Warpe identity and ideas about languages

Considering the ideas about Warpe languages stated by the students and parents in the interviews, it is possible to say that they all display a similar interest in their ancestral language being preserved. They also expressed a desire that the language be taught at school, i.e. that their ancestral language be recognized in mainstream education. This desire contrasts sharply with the students' and parents' difficulties in acknowledging their aboriginal identity outside the context of community. This contrast seems to be related to the fear of ethnic discrimination and to the belief that there are certain social contexts

where aboriginal identity should be hidden or should not be addressed directly, such as the school environment.

In addition, the ideas that the students and parents have about Spanish, English and the heritage language seem to be related to their degree of affiliation to the Warpe community. They all display an interest in the ancestral language being preserved, but the more active members of the community, who are more aware of their identity, defend their linguistic heritage more fervently and show a higher level of rejection of the Spanish language than the peripheral members of the community.

A difference was detected between the students and the parents since, despite the students' degree of affiliation to the Warpe community, they all expressed or implied that they do not consider Spanish a necessary subject at school. This does not seem to be the only belief influencing the students' behaviour in the Spanish lesson. If we take into account that many of the defiant comments towards the teacher were made in relation to the Spanish variety endorsed by the school, that all the students stated their interest in their ancestral language being preserved and that some members of the community established a relationship between the variety of Spanish they speak and traces of their ancestral language, we can infer that the beliefs about the heritage language also have an effect upon the students' behaviour in class. It seems that Spanish as a subject at school is deemed to be a threat to the preservation of the heritage language. As the students do not speak a Warpe language fluently, they believe that the only remains of their ancestral language is the traces of it in their variety of Spanish. Losing their variety of Spanish would mean losing the remnants of their heritage language and, as consequence, part of their indigenous identity. Following this line of thought, we might infer that one of the factors that seems to be influencing the students' defiant behaviour towards the Spanish teacher is their desire to keep the vestiges of their ancestral language and identity. What can be asserted is that even if the students and parents show a tendency towards not talking openly about their aboriginal identity at school, the students' behaviour seems to go in the opposite direction. Thus, the students' defiant behaviour towards the Spanish teacher could be interpreted as a way of acknowledging and defending their aboriginal identity indirectly.

5.3. Disparities between the legislation on aboriginal education and a real case

The analysis carried out in the preceding chapters reveals that the local school system is not acting in accordance with the sociocultural context in which it functions. Despite the considerable political efforts to preserve some indigenous cultures and languages, it is evident that there are still certain social groups who are severely deprived of their access to rights. When it comes to education, specifically, there have been advances with respect to the implementation of the EIB programme in some schools in Argentina, but in many others it has not been implemented, and neither have any attempts been made to incorporate aboriginal knowledge into the classrooms. The teachers do not seem to have been trained to respond adequately to the demands put forward by the existence of the linguistic and cultural heterogeneity that characterizes the classrooms. In other words, the education system is failing to ensure the students' rights to a type of intercultural education that promotes respect for the indigenous peoples and their languages. This failure becomes evident in the fact that the EIB programme has been implemented in all the schools that are attended by students of indigenous background as well as in the lack of proper teacher training. In addition, as has become clear in this study, both the different indigenous languages and the varieties of Spanish that students speak, which deviate from the standard, contribute to the diverse repertoire that is observed in the classroom. Even if the EIB was implemented in all the schools with students with indigenous descent, without the training of teachers to welcome diversity, an intercultural education that promotes the inclusion of indigenous languages, traditions and wisdoms is bound to exist only in the academic discourse without bringing about substantial change in the classrooms.

In addition, the qualifications and training of the people in charge of making decisions about the implementation and application of the legislation on aboriginal education gained importance during the analysis carried out here. Specifically, the persons that regulate the implementation are neither skilled professionals, nor are they guided by specialists. Moreover, the indigenous communities are seldom consulted on these matters and are not invited to take part in the decision-making processes. Therefore, decisions are made without considering the population involved or their needs.

For the students and parents, the school environment does not seem to be a place where aspects of their indigenous identity can be discussed openly. As a consequence, the first steps for schools is to acknowledge their internal diversity with a view to become

institutions where ancestral cultures, worldviews and languages are respected and embraced.

5.4. Linking ideas about languages, learning and teachers

The analysis reported in Chapter III leads us to infer that there is a relationship among the students' and parents' ideas about English and Spanish, about learning these languages and about the teachers. As was noted earlier, the parents and the students seem to hold the same ideas about English, i.e. both groups of informants consider English an asset in the labour market. It was possible to infer this idea from the analytical work, but it was also clearly stated by the students and the parents in their interviews. This can be related to the conception that the students have of English as a source of recreational pleasure, which apparently derives from the idea that English is instrumental to accessing a job. In other words, English is a valuable language for the students because of the benefits that knowing English can provide to them. It is also interesting to highlight that, although the students perceive English as a difficult language, its difficulty does not constitute a deterrent to their conception of English as a source of recreational pleasure. It is also possible to infer that these ideas about English are directly related to the observed defiance of the English teacher. As was noted in Chapter III, there is a direct relationship between the objective of the English lesson event and the interactional behaviour of collaboration or resistance on the part of the students. In other words, the student-teacher relationship and the dynamics of the lesson seem to be affected by the ideas the students have about the foreign language. These ideas, in turn, lead to expectations about the objective of the speech event "English lesson" since the students tend to defy the teacher when the objective of the lesson is not that of learning English. Therefore, taking into account the ideas inferred from the lessons and stated by the students, it is possible to say that the conceptions of English as an asset in the labour market and as a source of recreational pleasure influence the students' behaviour in class. Their behaviour appears to be a consequence of the ideas they hold about English, of what they believe that an English lesson should be like and what the role of the English teacher should be. Thus, the students' defiance of the teacher can be interpreted as a demand for knowledge of English since the harder the task is and the more use of English it demands, the less defiant towards the teacher the students become. Additionally, the fact that the students do not tend to challenge Ángela, a teacher whose lessons are focused on the learning of English,

counts as evidence of the students' interest in learning the language. This also supports the interpretation of the students' rebellious behaviour as a request for more teaching of English, i.e. as requests for the teacher to comply with what they believe an English teacher should do in the English lesson.

Moreover, the students' ideas about Spanish stand in stark contrast with the ideas about English and also seem to have an effect on classroom interaction. The analysis of the Spanish lessons and parts of the interviews in Chapter III reveals that the students believe that Spanish is an unnecessary subject at school. Therefore, it can be assumed that the students defy the teacher and misbehave in class because of lack of interest in the subject itself. This interpretation is further supported by the fact that the students' behaviour in the English lesson is different from their behaviour in the Spanish lesson. In the English lesson, defiance of the teacher is not manifest when the objective of the lesson event is the learning of English. However, defiance of the teacher remained constant throughout all the Spanish lessons that were observed. Consequently, it is possible to infer that the ideas the students hold about both languages influence their interactional behaviour in class.

Additionally, other relationships were detected between the students' ideas about the ancestral language and culture, and between their heritage language and Spanish. It seems that learning English is not considered a risk to the loss of the ancestral language and culture. In contrast, studying Spanish as a school subject seems to be considered a risk to the preservation of what is left of the Warpe languages. Nonetheless, what appears to be considered a threat to the preservation of Warpe remnants in their variety of Spanish is not the language itself but the variety of the language taught at school since it seems to be associated with the need to hide the indigenous identity at school. Therefore, defiance of the Spanish teacher can be interpreted as an attempt to transform the concealed state of the indigenous identity.

5.5. The relationship between the socio-cultural context and ideas about languages

In Chapters III and IV the socio-cultural context of the school gained importance as a strong factor that influences the ideas about languages that the different social actors have. First, it was found that the practices and semiotic elements that are associated with the participants who live closer to urban centres enjoy more prestige than those of the

participants related to rural areas. Additionally, the closer to urban centres the participants come from, the more concealed their indigenous identity is. Therefore, the semiotic resources which show a certain degree of indigeneity do not enjoy public prestige. Consequently, the Spanish variety that is spoken in the more rural areas and, which, thus, indexes being indigenous does not enjoy prestige in spheres where the social actors do not value the aboriginal identity. However, this same variety seems to have covert prestige for the members of the Warpe community in the area, since it is believed to have traces of the Warpe languages their ancestors spoke.

A second finding is that the main economic activity carried out in the region also affects the locals' ideas about languages. As was discussed in chapter IV, since the lime quarries are the main source of employment for the inhabitants, they influence the ideas about Spanish and English they have. As the standard variety of Spanish is valued in the lime quarries, the inhabitants who work there, or aspire to get a job there, attach more value to the standard variety than to the regional variety. That is, the linguistic marketplace (Bourdieu, 1977/1972) has an impact on the ideas the inhabitants have about Spanish. Nonetheless, the lime quarries also affect the local language economy. English is considered an asset to get a job: as the lime quarries belong mostly to foreigners and they are constantly visited by engineers or business people from other parts of the world, English is often used by the employees who occupy the higher positions in the companies. This means that English is associated with job opportunities as it is an asset to get a job in the lime quarries or at least better job positions than the ones that can be obtained without knowledge of English in these enterprises.

Consequently, it is possible to claim that the language economy of the area is directly influenced by the presence of lime quarries. The local language economy is also affected by the proximity of the smallest towns, Divisadero, Cienaguita, Pedernal, Retamito and Guanacache, to a slighter bigger town, Los Berros. In turn, the relative prestige of the Spanish varieties there is conditioned by the relation between Los Berros and a larger urban centre, Media Agua, with increasingly more value attached to ways of speaking in their neighbouring larger city.

5.6. Ideas available to the students

As the reports offered in Chapter II show, the analysis of the teachers' practices during the English lesson uncovers the variety and heterogeneity of ideas that are made available

to the students inside the classroom. The way Sonia and Ángela talked about the languages, how they used them and in which situations they used them allowed me to infer a series of ideas and beliefs about the languages in question. The analysis of Sonia's behaviour showed that through her practices, she fosters ideas that hinder the use of English in the English lesson and thus, interfere with the learning of the foreign language. Some of the ideas that are made available by Sonia are: English is unfit for communication, English is an object of study and not a means for communication and Spanish is the norm in the English lesson. However, the analysis of Ángela's teaching practices allowed me to infer assumptions about English that underlie her practices and that are completely different from the ones that underlie Sonia's practices. Ángela's assumptions are that English is a means for communication and an asset for the students. Since these ideas are the ones made available to the students, it could be said that Ángela's teaching practices favour the students' learning of the foreign language. On the other hand, none of the three teachers observed makes reference to the ancestral language that is partially known in the area, nor uses the students' knowledge to raise awareness of grammatical or pragmatic issues. This contributes to the denial of the existence of varieties of Warpe in the region and hence of the culture of the ethnic group that speaks those varieties.

On the basis of the detailed examination of the teachers' practices, it was possible to identify what ideas are made available to the students in the teaching-learning process. Moreover, after the thorough analysis, we can conclude that the transmission of ideas in the lesson does not take place only through what is actually said or done, but also through what is not addressed since this can convey numerous and powerful meanings. Consequently, it is possible to say that in times like these, when there is a constant promotion of teaching and learning techniques, of handbooks full of recommendations about teaching practices and numerous conferences about "how to teach", the analysis of what is actually occurring in the classrooms is being left aside, particularly in pluriethnic contexts.

5.7. Influences originating at the institutional level

The comprehensive analysis of the lesson observations also reveals that the teachers and the school authorities do not seem to have high expectations for the learning of English at school. Their practices and decisions suggest that, in their worldview, they

hold the belief that it is not necessary to devote one's energy to the teaching of a foreign language since the students that attend this school are not expected to learn and use the language. This expectation explains what is observed in the English lessons: the institution itself does not stimulate the teaching and learning of English since the activities promoted by the authorities (e.g. talk about the painter Benito Quinquela Martín in Spanish) are not only irrelevant to the learning of English, but also unrelated to it. Hence, the authorities' orders promote the use of the lesson time to do activities that do not contribute to useful learning that would give the students the opportunity to ignite their imagination, foster their creativity and enhance their reading abilities, besides equipping them for the labour market.

In sum, when I started my research, I thought that only the ideas about languages would have an effect on the teaching of language; however, I ended up finding out that the ideas about the specific learners play an influential role in how languages are taught and in the decision about what to teach at school in general. In other words, the idea that teaching these students is not worth the effort and that they only need to be entertained with contents that are not related to the subject or integrated in some way influence the development of the lessons. Consequently, it can be concluded that it is the institution, as well as the individual teachers, that is preventing the students from learning useful contents. Additionally, as norms are underpinned by ideas, the norm that the principal dictates that on a given day a class period be devoted to dealing with the life of the painter Benito Quinquela Martín or the topic "moral values" or Las Malvinas islands is supported by the idea that addressing those topics should prevail over the content of all the subjects at school. This homogenization of the focus in the whole school is also a type of encroachment on the educators, who should be free to display their teaching strategies in those areas in which they have been trained. This norm is also a form of undervaluing specific professional training. This reveals that the institution prefers quiet students who are focused on socially valued topics, but they do not favour students who are concentrated on the development of comprehensive cultural and technical capacities. It appears that the institution is inclined towards portraying itself as concerned with discussing popular and attractive topics instead of promoting advanced academic literacy and basic training in science. Skills in those two areas would allow the youngsters to aspire to a better future. However, going from one attractive topic to another and reducing specific training to its minimum do not contribute to the acquisition of basic skills after years of attending formal education.

Nonetheless, the fact that the principal's decisions were based on guidelines provided by the Ministry of Education has led me to interpret that the practices observed are not only explained through situational factors, but also through influences that originate in ministry decisions at the macro level.

5.8. Potential beneficiaries of this study

Among those that could profit from the findings offered by this study are fellow ethnographers, sociolinguists or scholars interested in aboriginal peoples. Moreover, I reckon that there are three groups from different fields that would find this study useful. A macro social group that could use these findings to their advantage is those who take part or are interested in the schooling of students of aboriginal origins in Argentina since the issues discussed here, such as the clash between the teachers' and the students' ideas, the concealed aboriginal identity at school, and the disparities between the conditions at school and the legislation on aboriginal education, do not seem to be restricted to this education context. These problems seem to be present in other schools realities as Hecht (2014), Andreani and Hecht (2012) and Unamuno (2012) show in their research. Additionally, at the level of the Warpe people in general, the scope of the findings presented here reaches other Warpe communities as well since there are issues that are common to most of these communities or at least to all the communities in San Juan. One of those matters is the fact that, for the time being, no community is receiving EIB education, nor are they being taken into consideration to make education-related decisions. Finally, at the micro level, the observed Warpe community could benefit directly from this study because it throws light on aspects of aboriginal education that have been ignored or neglected for years. One way in which this study could function as a source of empowerment is by making the findings available to the communities. Furthermore, a dialogue between scholars and community representatives could also be started so as to discuss the findings and possible ways of acting. Moreover, a discussion among sociolinguists could promote a critical outlook on the ideas about languages that exist in different contexts and the effect they can have on the educational encounter. The type of research conducted through the analysis of naturally occurring data could also motivate other scholars to use this type of data in order to reveal the way in which local realities are constructed. It is also expected that this type of study could empower citizens by bringing to light the practices that are adopted uncritically in the teaching and learning

context. By raising awareness about school practices and established ideas, effective changes could be made to motivate respect for languages and cultures.

5.9. Potential areas of interest for future research

Some promising directions for further investigation have emerged while carrying out the present research work but, due to its scope, they have not been extensively pursued here. First, this study shows that the in-depth exploration of the relationship between the labour market and the construction of local identities could yield interesting results. Another potentially fruitful topic to study is the connection between urban life and the construction of the aboriginal identity. Thirdly, considerations of the ancestral language such as beliefs about it, its uses, and members of the community who use it in different communities is another fruitful area of further inquiry.

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APPENDIX A: Interview protocol for students

Sección A: Información demográfica y personal

Entonces, tu nombre es... y ¿cuántos años tenés?... y ¿en qué año estás?...¿qué año hiciste el año pasado?... ¿Tenés hermanos y hermanas?... ¿cuántos?...¿trabajan?...y tus papás ¿trabajan?, ¿en qué?
 - ¿Qué palabra preferís para hablar de los warpes? Indio? Indígena? Aborígen?

Sección B: Sobre las lengua

B.1. Sobre el inglés

- 1- ¿Te gusta el inglés?
- 2- ¿Te parece que el inglés puede ser útil?
- 3- ¿Qué se te viene a la cabeza cuando pensás en inglés?

B.2. Sobre el español

- 4- ¿Te parece fácil la materia lengua?
- 5- ¿Te gusta?
- 6- ¿Notas alguna diferencia entre el castellano que hablan en tu casa y el que te enseñan en la escuela?
- 7- ¿Te sirve estudiar castellano en la escuela? Si sí, ¿para qué? Si no, ¿por qué?

Sección C: Sobre ser warpe

C.1. Sobre la relación entre comunidad y entorno

- 1- ¿Colaborás en las actividades organizadas por gente de Cienaguita?
- 2- ¿Alguna vez ayudaste en alguna fiesta del pueblo organizada por gente de Cienaguita?
- 3- ¿Tus amigos y compañeros saben que colaborarás en las fiestas?
- 4- ¿Te dicen/dirían algo tus compañeros por colaborar en las festividades?
- 5- ¿Charlaron sobre estas fiestas en la escuela alguna vez? Si no, ¿te gustaría hablarlo un poco más en la escuela?
- 6- El año pasado se hizo la fiesta de la Pachamama o Pekné Tetá ¿Estuviste? Si no, ¿por qué? ¿Te hubiese gustado poder estar?

C.2. Sobre la lengua y costumbre warpes

- 1- ¿Sabés algunas palabras en una lengua warpe? Si sí, ¿cuáles?
- 2- ¿Te gustaría hablar una lengua warpe? Y, ¿saber algunas palabras de la lengua?
- 3- ¿Es importante para vos mantener las costumbres warpes?
- 4- ¿Te gustaría que enseñen una lengua warpe en la escuela?
- 5- ¿Te parece que sería posible que la escuela enseñe la lengua ancestral?
- 6- ¿Quién podría ser el maestro?

APPENDIX B: Interview protocol for teachers

Sección A: Información demográfica y personal

- 1- Entonces, su nombre es...
- 2- ¿En qué ciudad estudió?
- 3- ¿En qué año empezó a trabajar en esta escuela?
- 4- ¿Es de la ciudad o de algún pueblo por acá?
- 5- ¿Qué año tiene a cargo?

Sección B: Sobre inglés

- 1- ¿Usted cree que es útil que los chicos de la escuela aprendan inglés? ¿Por qué?
- 2- ¿Con qué relaciona el inglés?

Sección C: Sobre el español

- 1- ¿Nota alguna diferencia entre el castellano que hablan los alumnos y el que enseñan en la escuela?
- 2- ¿Le parece importante que los alumnos aprendan castellano? ¿Por qué?

Sección D: Sobre la identidad warpe

- 1- ¿Sabe si tiene chicos warpes?
- 2- ¿Alguna vez trabajó con el tema de ser aborigen en clase?
- 3- ¿Hay lineamientos para trabajar temas de identidad en clase?
- 4- ¿Los chicos hablan sobre ser de pueblos originarios?
- 5- El año pasado se hizo la fiesta de la Pachamama en Cienaguita, ¿sabía?
- 6- ¿Se enteró que estaban invitados los profesores y alumnos de la escuela?
- 7- ¿Por qué cree usted que no fueron?
- 8- ¿Le hubiese gustado asistir?

D.1: Sobre la lengua ancestral

- 9- ¿Qué opina de enseñar una lengua warpe en la escuela?
- 10- ¿Cree que hay posibilidades?
- 11- ¿Cree que es útil que los chicos aprendan la lengua de sus ancestros?

Sección E: Para docentes de inglés

- 1- En las clases, ¿le parece que los chicos están interesados por aprender inglés?
- 2- ¿Alguna vez escuchó que los chicos mencionaran que el inglés es importante? Y, ¿que no es importante?
- 3- ¿Cuáles le parece a usted son las razones para aprender inglés?
- 4- ¿Cuáles son las quejas sobre el inglés más comunes que escucha entre los alumnos?
- 5- Cuando se encuentra con chicos poco motivados o “sin ganas de aprender”, ¿usted cree que les pasa solo con inglés?
- 6- ¿Cómo cree que se podría conectar el inglés con la vida actual de estos alumnos?

APPENDIX C: Interview protocol for parents

Sección A: Información demográfica y personal

Entonces, su nombre es... y ¿cuántos años tiene?...¿trabaja?...¿en qué?

Sección B: Sobre la comunidad

- 1- ¿Suele asistir a ceremonias o fiestas de la comunidad de Cienaguita?
- 2- ¿Colabora en las ceremonias o fiestas de alguna manera (organizando, llevando comida, decorando)?
- 3- El fin de semana se hizo la fiesta de la Pachamama o Pekné Tetá, ¿estuvo? Si estuvo, ¿qué le pareció? Si no, ¿le hubiese gustado asistir?
- 4- ¿Usted se considera miembro de la comunidad warpe de Cienaguita?
- 5- ¿Hay alguna comida que sepan preparar bien los que tienen madres y abuelas de la comunidad warpe?
- 6- Hay alguna canción de cuna o de niños que sepan los que tienen madres y abuelas de la comunidad warpe?
- 7- ¿Recuerda el nombre de algún utensilio de cocina o herramienta de la casa que tenga un nombre warpe? ¿y alguna verdura?
- 8- ¿Hay alguna exclamación que usen los que han tenido parientes warpes? Y ¿otra palabra común?
- 9- ¿Hay algún insulto que no conozcan los que no vengan de warpes?
- 10- ¿Sus amigos y compañeros de trabajo saben que colabora en la comunidad? Si no, ¿por qué?
- 11- Cómo cree que lo ven/verían sus compañeros por ser parte de la comunidad?
- 12- ¿Qué piensa de que su hijo/a forme parte de la comunidad?
- 13- ¿Sabe si alguna vez charlaron este tema en la escuela? Si no, ¿le gustaría que se hable en la escuela? Si no, ¿le gustaría que se hable en la escuela?
- 14- ¿Qué significa para usted ser warpe?

Sección C: Sobre las lenguas

- 1- ¿Conoce alguien que hable o que sea algunas palabras en alguna lengua indígena? Y ¿usted?
- 2- ¿Le gustaría saber algunas palabras de la lengua? y ¿hablar la lengua?
- 3- ¿Es importante para usted mantener las costumbres warpes? ¿Y la lengua?

Sección D: Sobre la escuela

- 4- ¿Le parece importante que sus hijos sepan inglés?
- 5- ¿Con qué actividades relaciona el inglés?
- 6- ¿Le gustaría que sus hijos aprendan una lengua warpe en la escuela? ¿Cree que es posible?
- 7- ¿Nota alguna diferencia entre el castellano que sus hijos aprenden en la escuela y el que hablan en la casa? Si es así, ¿cuáles?
- 8- ¿Considera importante que sus hijos aprendan castellano en la escuela?