

Intercultural (Bilingual) Educators' Perceptions of Non-Standardized Spanish in Ecuador:

A Model for Combatting Linguistic Discrimination in Schools

By

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To the Ward family — for everything you have taught me.

Para Esteban — por tu apoyo en cada paso de este proyecto.

Imbabura yachachikkunapak — kikinpa yachaykunata tantarishkamanta.

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List of Abbreviations and Symbols

| | |
|-----|------------------------------------|
| IBE | Intercultural Bilingual Education |
| ʎ | voiced palatal lateral approximant |
| ʒ | voiced alveopalatal fricative |
| ʃ | voiceless postalveolar fricative |
| r | voiced alveolar trill |
| ɾ | voiced alveolar tap |
| ɻ | voiced retroflex fricative |
| ɸ | voiceless retroflex fricative |

Abstract

A step toward combatting linguistic discrimination in schools worldwide, this dissertation presents an analysis of educators' perceptions of their Indigenous students' Kichwa-influenced Spanish at 16 schools in the Andean province of Imbabura, Ecuador. Putting theoretical frameworks of language ideologies and raciolinguistics approaches into conversation with research on phonetic and phonological variation in Ecuadorian Andean Spanish, this mixed-methods study was carried out in two phases. First, results of a verbal guise survey taken by 180 teachers in Imbabura revealed that fricativized variants of the Spanish voiced alveolar trill /r/ and voiced palatal lateral approximant /ʎ/—typically found in Spanish in close contact with the Indigenous language Kichwa—were perceived more negatively than their standardized counterparts. This was the case across teacher demographics, indicating (in line with existing research) that negative attitudes towards these features are widespread in Ecuadorian society and replicated within educational settings. For the first time, this dissertation compares teachers' linguistic perspectives in Ecuador in relation to the educational model in which they teach (IBE or Spanish-only). Teachers working in Spanish-only schools rated fricativized realizations even lower than Intercultural Bilingual Education (IBE) teachers did on five of seven social traits, suggesting a relationship between the educational model within which teachers work and their perceptions of non-standardized language. In a second phase of the study, language interviews with 36 of the teachers produced a corpus of Spanish language features (pronunciation, grammar, lexicon) that teachers in Imbabura said they associate with Kichwa or bilingualism and guide their inclinations to intervene pedagogically when their students use them. Regarding the theoretical contributions of the work, while hegemonic language ideologies were clearly identifiable in their responses, teachers also located Kichwa-influenced Spanish within a

complex web of larger societal concerns, and many—particularly Intercultural Bilingual Educators—identified ways in which Kichwa is a resource within the school environment and beyond. Resulting conceptual representations illustrate complex processes and allow for additional elements via future collaborative research. The goal of this dissertation is to inform workshops on eradicating linguistic discrimination at schools in Imbabura and world contexts. Teachers’ perceptions of the Kichwa-Spanish language features in this study can act as points of entry to challenge broader, systemic marginalization of non-standardized language in schools and society internationally.

Keywords: linguistic diversity, Intercultural Bilingual Education, Educación intercultural bilingüe, teacher language ideologies, Kichwa, Ecuador, raciolinguistics, fricativization

Chapter 1: Introduction

Beyond its Spanish-speaking mestizo¹ majority, as well as considerable Afro-Ecuadorian and Montubio populations, Ecuador has 14 Indigenous nationalities² and 13 Indigenous languages³ represented within its borders (Eberhard et al., 2023; Gómez et al., 2022; Haboud, 2019; International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, 2023). As such, classrooms in Ecuador are racially, culturally, and ethnically diverse, as well as multilingual, and many students use non-standardized⁴ language varieties. Many Indigenous bilingual students in the Andean region, for example, employ Spanish varieties characterized by contact with the country's most widely-spoken Indigenous language, Kichwa⁵ (Gómez, 2022; Limerick, 2018; Lipski, 2015; Stewart, 2020; Toapanta, 2016).

Yet, similar to monolingual-English schooling in the U.S. and dominant-language schooling in many world contexts, Ecuador's educational policies are envisioned from a monolingual perspective—in this case, where standardized Spanish acts as the default (Haboud, 2019; Limerick, 2018; Manresa, 2022; Walsh, 2010). Even in Ecuador's nation-wide Intercultural Bilingual Education (IBE) program, which aims to center Indigenous languages and worldviews, educators are predominantly monolingual, non-Indigenous mestizos, and Spanish is used as the main medium of instruction (Illicachi et al., 2019; Perino, 2022; Román et al., 2022).

¹ Meaning 'mixed' in Spanish, the term mestizo is used throughout Latin America to describe people of European and Indigenous ancestry. Mestizo is an ethnoracial and cultural classification in Ecuador referring generally to people who do not self-identify as Indigenous or Afro-Ecuadorian.

² These are: Achuar, Andoa, Awá, Chachi, Cofán, Épera, Kichwa, Secoya, Shiwiar, Shuar, Siona, Tsáchila, Waorani, and Zápara (International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, 2023).

³ These include: Awapit, Cha'palaa, Tsa'fiki, Sia pedee, Achuar, Shuar, Shiwiar, Baikoka, Paikoka, Sapara, A'i, Waotodedo, and Kichwa (Haboud, 2019).

⁴ Following other language-in-education scholarship (e.g., Charity Hudley et al., 2022), I use *(non-)standardized* to highlight the active processes by which powerful people and institutions determine the so-called standards for language.

⁵ Kichwa is the generally adopted name for the Ecuadorian variety within the larger Quechua language family (Muysken, 2022), and the spelling appears this way in Unified Kichwa (Ministerio de Educación, 2009) and the Ecuadorian constitution.

Reflecting linguistic discrimination that takes place in schools globally (Charity Hudley & Mallinson, 2015; Hornberger & Dueñas, 2019; Zavala, 2015) and contextualized in centuries of deep-rooted social inequities in the Andes, many teachers in Ecuador—some who even use non-standardized Spanish varieties themselves—perceive the monolingual Spanish of mestizos as the standard or unmarked, while Kichwa and Spanish characterized by language contact are racialized and subordinated. In other words, the sociocultural hierarchies in Ecuador, marked by colonial power structures, are reproduced in educational linguistic policies that, when translated into everyday pedagogical practices, have harmful ramifications for linguistically minoritized students (Juanatey & Rodríguez, 2019; Manresa, 2022; Román et al., 2019). Eradicating deficit-based perceptions of bilingual and diverse language use in Ecuadorian school contexts is a priority in IBE research today (Manresa, 2022). Accordingly, more studies exploring teacher perceptions of and responses to linguistic phenomena in diverse classrooms like those in Ecuador are urgently needed. What specific features of language are salient to and targeted by teachers of minoritized students? Local, concrete examples of minoritized language features can serve as entry points for engaging in discussion of larger structural and sociopolitical issues in the project of combatting linguistic discrimination in schools worldwide.

In response to that need, this dissertation aims to understand the attitudes of teachers toward specific minoritized Spanish language features in the classrooms of the Andean province of Imbabura, Ecuador. It places two primary theoretical lenses—(1) language ideologies approaches (Gal & Irvine, 1995; Kroskrity, 2004; Milroy, 2001; Rosa & Burdick, 2016; Schieffelin et al., 1998) and (2) literature seeking to dismantle linguistic discrimination in schools (Charity Hudley & Mallinson, 2015; Ladson-Billings, 2014; McCarty & Lee, 2014) [particularly raciolinguistic approaches (Alim et al., 2016; Flores, 2020; Flores & Rosa, 2015)]

into conversation with essential literature on phonetic and phonological variation in Ecuadorian Andean Spanish (Argüello, 1978; Gómez Rendón, 2022; Haboud & de la Vega, 2008; Lipski, 2015; Stewart, 2020; Toscano Mateus, 1953). Building on my training in linguistics and bilingual education, as well as my background in Ecuador and collaborations with local linguists and Indigenous language activists, this study asks the following research questions:

(RQ1) Does the presence of fricativized variants in recorded speech predict the social characteristics (e.g., education, place of residence, bilingualism) that teachers in Imbabura perceive of speakers?

- a. Realization of the voiced alveolar trill /r/ as a voiced retroflex fricative [ʀ]
- b. Realization of the voiced palatal lateral approximant /ʎ/ as a voiced alveopalatal fricative [ʝ]

(RQ2) To what extent do these perceptions vary based on teachers' own demographic characteristics (i.e., self-identified Indigeneity, degree of bilingualism, rurality of residence, and type of school in which they work)?

(RQ3) What (other) features of Kichwa-associated Spanish do teachers identify among students in their classrooms?

(RQ4) What value judgments do teachers make regarding these features in their students' Spanish?

To answer these questions, first I employed an online verbal guise survey completed by 180 teachers in 16 schools in Imbabura—a region with one of the highest proportions of Kichwa speakers in Ecuador (Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos, 2010). After answering demographic questions (e.g., self-identified ethnicity/race, bilingual language proficiencies), teachers listened to samples of locally-recorded speech containing both the Kichwa-associated

Spanish features highlighted in (RQ1)—typically found in rural and bilingual Spanish (Stewart, 2020)—and their respective standardized-Spanish variants. Teachers were told that the speech samples were from eight students and were asked to report: (a) the sociolinguistic characteristics they associated with the speech of each student (socioeconomic status, education, place of residence, bilingualism); (b) the perceived accuracy, contextual style, and appeal of the speech; (c) what characteristics of the speech stood out to them; and (d) what feedback they would give the student on their language use.

Next, I carried out language interviews with a subgroup of 36 of the 180 teachers to learn more about what Spanish language features (pronunciation, grammar, lexicon) they associate with Kichwa or bilingualism and their inclinations to intervene pedagogically when their students use them in their speech and writing. The interviews also asked about episodes of linguistic discrimination that teachers have witnessed inside and outside of the classroom, as well as teachers' perspectives on their own Spanish. Findings from this research can inform the creation of meaningful content for workshops aimed at eradicating linguistic discrimination at the 16 participating schools in Imbabura. Following a model of *liberatory linguistics* (Charity Hudley et al., 2022)—which reframes formerly minoritized language features as resources in academic settings—teachers' perceptions of the minoritized language features as seen in the survey and interviews can act as points of entry to reflect on broader, systemic inequity in schools and society. While the research is based on the Kichwa-Spanish Ecuadorian educational experience, the approach is intended to be informative for sociolinguistic situations outside of Ecuador and replicable wherever non-standardized language varieties are marginalized in classrooms internationally.

Based on the objectives outlined above, this dissertation is organized in the following way: the remainder of Chapter 1 sketches out the multilingual and multicultural context where the research was carried out—the canton of Otavalo in the province of Imbabura, Ecuador. It also provides an overview of the Intercultural Bilingual Education (IBE) program in Ecuador. The chapter closes with a brief account of how my life and work experiences brought me to this research topic.

Chapter 2 presents the two primary theoretical lenses used to approach this work: (1) language ideologies and (2) dismantling linguistic discrimination in schools (highlighting *raciolinguistic* approaches). It then considers the complexities of applying external theoretical lenses and literature to the specific sociolinguistic context of Imbabura, Ecuador. In light of those considerations, the following section reviews essential literature on Kichwa-Spanish linguistic contact in Ecuador, with special attention to the social perceptions of phonetic and phonological variation (particularly the phenomenon of fricativization) in Ecuadorian Andean Spanish in school contexts. The chapter closes with a description of my positionality and subjectivities as a researcher and reflections on my efforts to approach fieldwork ethically in Imbabura.

Chapter 3 describes the methodology of the study, beginning by providing hypotheses for each of the four research questions. It then details the procedure carried out for the elicitation of the speech data (including a descriptive summary of production data for each of three speech communities recorded in Imbabura) and the extraction of stimuli from that data for use in a verbal guise survey. Next, it illustrates how the verbal guise survey, language interviews, and classroom observations were conducted in the 16 participating schools in Otavalo and describes the demographics of teacher participants. The final section of Chapter 3 depicts the methods used to analyze the collected survey and interview data, including the statistical analysis performed on

the survey data and qualitative structural and values coding applied to the interviews and observation notes.

Chapter 4 presents the results of the analysis of survey and interview data in response to each of the four research questions and hypotheses proposed at the outset of the study. It begins by reporting the results of statistical analysis of the verbal guise survey, followed by findings from the open-ended survey questions. Next, it presents the corpus of Kichwa-associated non-standardized Spanish language features generated via structural coding of teacher interviews. Finally, it presents results of values coding of interviews and trends identified in teachers' evaluations of their students' Kichwa-influenced Spanish.

Chapter 5 is dedicated to a discussion in which I consider the major findings of this study and their implications for both linguistics and education. It begins by summarizing the four principal findings of the dissertation and then locates them in relation to existing literature on Kichwa-Spanish language contact, language ideologies, and dismantling linguistic discrimination in schools (namely, raciolinguistics perspectives). Each section highlights points of new knowledge generated by confirming, challenging, and extending existing work.

Chapter 6 concludes the dissertation with a brief summary of the research, recommendations in light of its findings for Kichwa reclamation efforts and professional development for teachers, and orientations for future research.

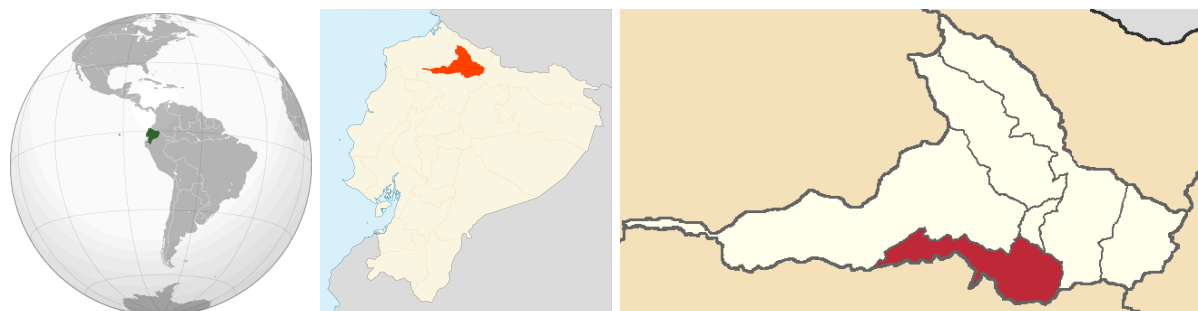
1.1. Multilingual and Multicultural Context: Otavalo, Imbabura, Ecuador

While Ecuador also has large Afro-Ecuadorian and Montubio populations, as well as those who identify as white or other, mestizo and Indigenous populations are the two largest ethnic groups in the country, are often contrasted, and are the two populations in question for this study. The Kichwa nationality is the largest of the 14 Indigenous nationalities in Ecuador

(representing about 800,000 individuals and 85.87% of the country's Indigenous population), and Kichwa is the Indigenous language with the largest number of speakers in the country (International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, 2023). Estimations have been made between 730,000 and one million total speakers of Kichwa in Ecuador, with about eight million speakers of the larger Quechua language family throughout the Andean region (Haboud, 2010-2016; WorldData.info, n.d.). Despite a fairly large number of speakers, like many Indigenous languages around the world, Kichwa is undergoing processes of language loss and shift toward the dominant language—in this case, toward Spanish monolingualism, as the number of Kichwa-speakers declines from generation to generation (Gómez et al., 2022; Haboud & King, 2007; Palacios Alcaine, 2005).

Figure 1.1

Maps Highlighting Ecuador, the Province of Imbabura, and the Canton of Otavalo



Note. The globe is freely licensed under Creative Commons [CC BY-SA 3.0](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/). The map highlighting Imbabura is freely licensed under Creative Commons [Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/). The map highlighting Otavalo is freely licensed under Creative Commons [Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/).

The province of Imbabura (see Figure 1.1), where this dissertation research was carried out, has one of the highest proportions of Kichwa speakers in Ecuador (Andronis, 2003; Cachimuel, 2005; King & Haboud, 2002; Lipski, 2016). A Kichwa-speaking population of approximately 150,000 has been estimated in the past for Imbabura (Büttner, 1993; Gómez-Rendón, 2007). Although specific data on language was not obtained, 102,640 people

self-identified as Indigenous in Imbabura in the most recently published census (Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos, 2010)—with the majority of Indigenous people in Imbabura belonging to the Kichwa nationality.⁶ Considering the relative endurance of Kichwa in Imbabura, but also that not all members of the Kichwa nationality are Kichwa-speakers due to patterns of language shift, we can estimate that around 100,000 people speak Kichwa in Imbabura.

Table 1.1

Indigenous and Mestizo Populations in Ecuador, Imbabura, and Otavalo

| Region | Indigenous | mestizo |
|---------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| Ecuador (country) | 7.03% (1,018,176 people) | 71.93% (10,417,299 people) |
| Imbabura (province) | 25.77% (102,640 people) | 65.71% (261,684 people) |
| Otavalo (canton) | 57.24% (60,032 people) | 40.30% (42,260 people) |

(Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos, 2010)

In contrast with demographic patterns at the national and provincial levels, the canton of Otavalo has an Indigenous majority (see Table 1.1 for comparative population data). There are even larger Indigenous populations in the parishes of González Suárez (71.76%), Eugenio Espejo (Calpaquí; 74.31%), San José de Quichinche (77.10%), San Juan de Ilumán (88.02%), Dr. Miguel Egas/Peguche (89.45%), and San Rafael (91.31%), where several of the target schools selected to participate in this study are located⁷ (Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos, 2010). It is also important to note that, as with the Kichwa nationality as a whole and other Indigenous nationalities from across Ecuador, Otavalo Kichwas have a history of migration, both intranationally (largely rural-urban) and internationally (principally to the U.S. and Europe) in

⁶ The four major Kichwa groups of Imbabura are: the Kichwa Otavalo, Kayambis, Karankis, and Kichwas Natabuela (A. Cachimuel, personal communication, July 7, 2022).

⁷ To protect confidentiality, school names are not specified.

search of opportunities for work and study (Jokisch & Pribilsky, 2002; Ruiz Balzola, 2015; Suárez-Navaz, 2012).

The constitution of Ecuador describes the country as “intercultural” and “plurinational,” and while it recognizes Spanish as the official language, it names Spanish and the Indigenous languages Kichwa and Shuar as “official languages of intercultural relations” (Constitución de la República del Ecuador, 2008). Though Spanish continues to be the official and socially dominant language, Kichwa-Spanish bilingualism thrives in many ways in Ecuador—principally in the Andean and Amazonian regions—often in a diglossic situation, in which Spanish is used for public and institutional functions (including schooling) and Kichwa is used in home and community spaces. Kichwa-Spanish bilingualism in Ecuador is characterized by great diversity, and many types of bilingualism lie along a continuum⁸ from Kichwa-dominant through Spanish-dominant, with bilinguals exhibiting a wide array of receptive and productive skills. Though in the province of Imbabura Kichwa monolinguals are now few in number (Limerick & Hornberger, 2021), there are many L1 Kichwa-L2 Spanish bilinguals, simultaneous 2L1 bilinguals, and bilinguals who have not received continued Kichwa language support and are Spanish-dominant (Büttner, 1993; Escobar, 2011; Gómez-Rendón, 2007). Many Kichwa-Spanish bilinguals use Kichwa only in restricted domains (e.g., home, church, neighborhood) and do not have formal or literacy education in Kichwa. Meanwhile, due to language contact, many monolingual Spanish speakers in Imbabura and across Ecuador also have knowledge of and use Kichwa words and phrases that have been incorporated to varying degrees into the regional vernacular (Haboud & de la Vega, 2008). Finally, Kichwa heritage learners and L2 Kichwa learners are also represented among Kichwa bilinguals (Escobar, 2011; Tambaco & Floyd, 2022).

⁸ Muysken (2022) also presents a linguistic continuum throughout the Ecuadorian highlands, ranging from standardized Kichwa to highland Spanish.

Like in other Andean regions and as a result of Indigenous movements, the Kichwa language has been used in more public functions in Ecuadorian education and government in recent decades, and the presence of Kichwa-Spanish bilinguals and the use of Kichwa in politics has also increased (Haboud, 2019; Limerick, 2018). It is important to note that many Indigenous people in Ecuador have historically participated in Indigenous rights organizations at the local, regional, and national levels, such as the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador (CONAIE), the National Federation of Indigenous and Black Organizations (FENOCIN), and the Federation of Evangelical Indigenous People (FEINE), which—as seen in the social protests in June of 2022, for example⁹—are politically influential and well-organized in their mass mobilizations and collective actions and demands.

Correspondingly, in the last few years, there has been a new wave of Indigenous-led grassroots efforts—particularly by Kichwa youth via radio, universities, and social media—to reclaim, revitalize, and elevate the social status of the language (Garcés, 2022; Pazmiño, 2022). As seen with Quechua in Peru (Zavala, 2023), the indexical meanings and social values of the Indigenous language are changing. While historically, speaking Kichwa has been devalued and discriminated against, the language is now gaining more social prestige thanks to young activists. Along with continued tendencies of Indigenous activism and resilience, there has been a taking up of (previously) discriminated cultural and linguistic traits as symbols of identity and self-empowerment (M. Haboud, personal communication, Sept. 9, 2022). Indigenous youth in Imbabura are occupying alternative educational spaces for the teaching and learning of Kichwa, holding related cultural events, and producing their own pedagogical materials (see Figure 1.2 below). Without discrediting the decades of Indigenous struggle for rights to their own education and languages, the development of these new identity dynamics through the transformation of

⁹ For example, see: <https://nacla.org/ecuador-indigenous-national-strike>.

the social status of Kichwa has been hereto unseen and is very positive relative to the language's historical marginalization. Social media have become a space for Indigenous agency and Kichwa language activism, and it appears to be having an effect on the number of people learning Kichwa (including Indigenous Kichwa heritage learners and international L2 Kichwa learners). The online Kichwa language and Andean philosophy course, Ñuka Kichwa (2025), for example, has over 21,800 members in its Facebook group. Only time will tell if these initiatives have a lasting impact on the increased use of the language.

Figure 1.2

Indigenous Grassroots Kichwa Movements on Social Media

ÑUKA KICHWA
Plataforma Digital de Enseñanza Kichwa
4to Curso de KICHWA BÁSICO Y FILOSOFÍA ANDINA
Duración: 5 de junio al 31 de agosto. (80 HORAS)
Inversión: 50 dólares
Incluye: Certificado, Materiales Digitales
Días: Lunes - Miércoles - Jueves
De 6 p.m. a 8 p.m.
Modalidad: VIRTUAL zoom
¡Comunicate ya! 0994040876 (Cupos limitados)

CURSO: Formación de Comunicadores Kichwa
Inicio de clases 03 junio 2023
Uyay Killkay Rimay
Escucha Escribe Comunica
Kichwa para Niños: 40 Horas
Kichwa para Adultos: 120 Horas
METODOLOGÍA
* Gramática a través de juegos y dinámica
* Muchas imágenes
* Muy divertido
Gad parroquial de San Pablo
Casa Comunal San Isidro de Cajas
Inscripciones abiertas hasta 31 de mayo 2023
Certificado con el aval de:
0995550904
0995393764
Cupos: Limitados

KICHWA LLIKA KILLKAKUNA - Alfabeto kichwa
Alfabeto kichwa: 18 killkaka, shinkallak 2 killkaka. Kichwa shinkallak 1 killkaka shinkallak. Shinkallak 3 qayayak, shinkallak 18 qayayak shinkallak.
El alfabeto kichwa tiene 26 grafías: 2 vocales y 24 consonantes.
a, ch, i, h, k, l, ll, m, n, ñ, p, r, s, sh, t, ts, u, w, y, z.
Shinkami killkakatata kanchik (diferencia de sonidos)
a - ch - i - h - ka - la - ll - ma - na - ña - pa - ra - sa - sha - ta - ts - u - w - y - z

| | | | | | |
|----|---------|----|----------|---|-----------|
| A | antanka | CH | chaki | I | inti |
| H | hampatu | K | kamu | L | lampa |
| LL | llama | M | makinchu | N | nina |
| Ñ | ñakcha | P | palanta | R | rumi |
| S | sapallu | SH | shunku | T | talkitupu |
| U | ushuta | W | wara | Y | yakuypu |
| TS | tsawar | Z | zampu | | |

(Comunicadores Kichwa, 2025; Ñuka Kichwa, 2025; Wiñay Kawsay Digital, 2025)

However, such initiatives occur within a broader context of continued language shift and ongoing processes of racialization and social and economic inequality. As Zavala (2023) notes for Peruvian Quechua, the increased social value of Kichwa by young activists appears to be contingent upon its use alongside practices associated with social prestige or privilege, including completing higher education, being of the financially solvent middle class, holding an urban job, knowing standardized Spanish as an L1, knowing some English, and mastering technology and social media. Zavala reports that Quechua is now being incorporated into individual and national

branding before the “foreign neoliberal eye” (p. 4)—comparable to the “white gaze” (Flores & Rosa, 2015; Paris & Alim, 2014) concerning outsider perceptions of the linguistic and cultural practices of racialized communities. Zavala argues that these young Quechua speakers and learners inadvertently distance themselves from and erase from the discourse the more subaltern, vulnerable, and racialized Quechua speakers, who do not benefit from elite networks and continue to suffer social and economic disparities. Considering the similar context of Kichwa in Ecuador, Limerick (2015, 2018) argues that there is a recently accepted way of presenting Kichwa language use (sometimes even inaccurately) that foregrounds Indigenous identities only inasmuch as they align with the existing national political project. In other words, only certain forms of speaking Kichwa (and forms of presenting oneself as Indigenous) are considered acceptable in Ecuador’s current sociopolitical climate. In Imbabura, initiatives led by educated, transnational Kichwa youth of relatively high socioeconomic status to reclaim and expand the boundaries of Indigenous knowledge are laudable, yet often do not reach poorer, marginalized Kichwa communities or connect with Ecuador’s public school system.

1.2. Ecuadorian Intercultural Bilingual Education

Since the 1980s, Ecuador’s national education system consists of Intercultural Education (previously *Sistema Hispano*: the majority, Spanish-only education) and Intercultural Bilingual Education (IBE)—an educational model building on Indigenous initiatives from the first half of the 20th century and instantiated throughout Latin America since the 1970s (López, 2020, 2021; López & Sichra, 2008; Zavala, 2018). As a whole, the purpose of IBE is to center Indigenous languages, histories, and worldviews—including community life and reciprocity, unified notions of time and space, and traditional ecological knowledge—which historically have been excluded from formal education (Haboud & Limerick, 2016; López, 2006; Oviedo & Wildemeersch,

2008). The IBE model currently represents 9.6% of Ecuador’s educational institutions, with a larger percentage of IBE schools in the province of Imbabura and in the canton of Otavalo, reflecting the higher proportions of Indigenous people living in these regions (Ministerio de Educación, 2023). Nearly half of Otavalo’s children and youth receive their education at IBE schools, which have great potential to sustain the languages and cultures of Kichwa communities, though the questions remain as to how well IBE is serving these populations.

Table 1.2

Schools by Educational Model in Ecuador, Imbabura, and Otavalo

| Region | Educational Model | Number of Schools |
|---------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Ecuador | Intercultural (<i>Hispano</i>) | 262,481 (90.4%) |
| | Intercultural Bilingüe | 27,829 (9.6%) |
| | Total | 290,310 |
| Imbabura | Intercultural (<i>Hispano</i>) | 4,891 (81.2%) |
| | Intercultural Bilingüe | 1,134 (18.8%) |
| | Total | 6,025 |
| Otavalo | Intercultural (<i>Hispano</i>) | 700 (50.5%) |
| | Intercultural Bilingüe | 686 (49.5%) |
| | Total | 1,386 |

(Ministerio de Educación, 2023)

The constitution of Ecuador recognizes the right to learn in one’s own language and cultural environment, and Intercultural Bilingual Education (IBE) is guaranteed by state legislation with the proposed goal of care and preservation of Indigenous identities (Constitución de la República del Ecuador, 2008). As in other Latin American countries, a progressive political discourse of multilingualism contrasts sharply with a pattern of Indigenous language loss and shift (Crevels, 2012). Despite a strong legal backing—including the Organic Law on

Intercultural Education (Ministerio de Educación, 2011)—the Ecuadorian IBE model faces issues common to multilingual and multicultural education throughout Latin America (e.g., Quesada Pacheco, 2008), including shortage of human resources (many teachers are not Indigenous and/or do not have necessary linguistic or cultural knowledge), lack of bilingual materials and professionalization opportunities for Indigenous language instructors, and most problematically, limited actual use of Indigenous languages in IBE schools (Haboud, 2019; Haboud & King, 2007).

The Intercultural Bilingual Education System Model (Ministerio de Educación, 2013) includes a language use progression in which the Indigenous language is to be used in classrooms from preschool through high school, with the Indigenous language used 100% of the time in the first years of schooling. However, in the day-to-day reality of the in-name bilingual schools, Spanish is usually the main medium of instruction, and Kichwa may or may not be offered even as an elective or content course (Haboud, 2019; Illicachi et al., 2019; Limerick, 2018). The challenges facing Intercultural Bilingual Education have been voiced repeatedly, with the supposed intercultural relationship described as unidirectional—from Indigenous toward mestizo Spanish society, and not vice versa. In this sense, IBE unfortunately represents a transitional model from Indigenous languages to the dominant, official language, promoting a subtractive bilingualism, at best (Haboud & King, 2007; Hornberger, 2000; Walsh, 2010). A historical review shows that, despite its best intentions, Intercultural Bilingual Education has tended toward Hispanicization and acculturation, displacing Indigenous languages in favor of Spanish (Andronis, 2003; Conejo Arellano, 2008; Haboud, 2019; Haboud & King, 2007; Haboud & Limerick, 2016; López, 2020; Walsh, 2010). Racist practices and linguistic discrimination in schools (including within IBE) have contributed to Ecuadorians being ashamed of non-dominant

languages, cultures, and identities and accelerated the desire of minoritized groups to be part of the prestigious and the unmarked (Haboud, 2019).

Insecurity and reluctance toward speaking Indigenous languages in the Andes have been well documented (Hornberger, 1988; Hornberger & King, 2001; Limerick, 2018; Zavala, 2014, 2015). As in other multilingual settings, linguistic and cultural assimilation are commonly portrayed as necessary for social success, and families' perceptions of the advantages of the dominant language result in challenges in passing on minoritized languages to their children—i.e., language shift (Fuller, 2012). In reality, some Kichwa-speakers themselves view Kichwa as an obstacle to learning Spanish, the language often viewed as more valuable as it is spoken by society at large and perceived as facilitating access to socioeconomic advantages and social mobility (Cachimuel, 2005; Cotacachi, 1997; Gómez, 2022; Illicachi et al., 2019; King, 2000; Limerick, 2018; Tambaco & Floyd, 2022). Reflecting internalized historic colonial discourses, Kichwa is sometimes referred to as *yanka shimi* (Kichwa for “useless language”) by speakers themselves (Illicachi et al., 2019). Doubts have been expressed across groups about the appropriateness of Kichwa for transmitting academic content (Haboud & King, 2007), and explicit efforts have been made to stretch the language to cover the terminology of Western science and technology (Fundación KISTH, 2023). In general, Kichwa speakers tend to associate formal schooling experiences principally with mestizo teachers and with acquiring Spanish and English, rather than Kichwa, and many have experienced ethnoracial and linguistic discrimination by teachers, peers, and school structures (Manresa, 2022).

This complex situation of IBE and schooling is not unique to Ecuador. In the far-reaching situation of linguistic discrimination in schools, the multilingual and multicultural context of the Andean province of Imbabura is a microcosm. Shifting teachers' reactions to minoritized

Kichwa language-contact features here acts as a case study—one example illuminating the larger need to encourage and facilitate teachers’ reflections on language use contextualized within broader social and political issues, such as economic and educational inequalities and processes of racialization. The present research, with its aims of promoting meta-linguistic awareness and offering replicable pedagogical strategies around minoritized language phenomena, can help educators combat language discriminatory processes, not only in Ecuador, but also in other world contexts.

1.3. How I Came to this Work

I lived and worked in Otavalo from 2012-2018, first as an English language teacher, and later as National Relations Coordinator for Universidad Técnica del Norte in Ibarra (the capital city of Imbabura). In these capacities, I worked with many students, teachers, administrators, and policymakers in the field of education across the region, which allowed me to hear popular opinions about “(in)correct” Spanish language usage and observe instances of how Indigenous communities in Ecuador are racialized and discriminated against based on their linguistic practices in school contexts. Consequently, my linguistic work is motivated by a concern for challenging systemic injustices towards linguistically minoritized populations in education and a commitment to exploring how the linguistic richness of bilingual communities can better be sustained and leveraged in education programs in Latin America and the U.S.

At UW-Madison, collaborations with Dr. Diego Román (Román et al., 2022, 2023)—who is Ecuadorian and also advisor for my PhD minor in Curriculum and Instruction—inspired the present study surrounding the language practices of multilingual and minoritized communities in school contexts. Our work surveying Latinx dual language teachers’ inclinations to correct their bilingual students’ Spanish in Texas schools (Román et al., 2023) uncovered the complex

motivations behind apparent internal linguistic discrimination (i.e., linguistic discrimination directed at Spanish speakers by Spanish speakers themselves). Drawing parallels between the dilemmas faced by U.S. Latinx teachers regarding their students' Spanish and those faced by Ecuadorian IBE teachers, I extend that work to the Ecuadorian context, complexifying it even further, in a setting where dominant Spanish language ideologies and raciolinguistic hierarchies impact the Indigenous languages—principally Kichwa. My experience and sustained contact with educational authorities in Ecuador, along with my training in Spanish linguistics, bilingual education, and Kichwa, have converged to allow me to carry out this transdisciplinary research.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.0. Introduction

The linguistic, cultural, and ethnoracial diversity of Ecuador is unmistakably reflected in the classrooms of Otavalo. A large population of Indigenous students and educators in the canton, whose relationship to the Indigenous language Kichwa is complex and evolving, experience the daily realities and challenges of an education envisioned from a monolingual-Spanish perspective. Reproducing the raciolinguistic hierarchies and colonial power structures existent in Ecuadorian society at large, Spanish varieties characterized by language contact with Kichwa are racialized and subordinated inside and outside schools. Current education research—particularly surrounding Latin America’s Intercultural Bilingual Education (IBE) model—has placed priority on eradicating deficit-based perceptions of bilingual and linguistically diverse language use. The present dissertation aims to contribute to an understudied area of that research by exploring the perceptions and responses toward diverse linguistic phenomena by educators, specifically.

To establish the need for this study, this chapter synthesizes existing theoretical and empirical work from several interrelated disciplines. Specifically, the dissertation uses a language ideologies approach and relevant literature on dismantling linguistic discrimination in schools (especially *raciolinguistics*) as theoretical lenses through which teachers’ perceptions of language features in one linguistically diverse education context (Otavalo, Ecuador) are examined. I put that valuable language and educational scholarship into conversation with essential research on Kichwa-Spanish linguistic contact in Ecuador—particularly phonetic and phonological variation in Ecuadorian Andean Spanish—to explore the ways in which linguistics

can be used in service of teachers and students in supporting Kichwa language reclamation and combatting linguistic discrimination in schools.

2.1. Language Ideologies

Shifting the perceptual apparatus of educators toward minoritized language use in the classroom requires first understanding the ideological positions from which they perceive, making language ideologies approaches an essential conceptual framework for this dissertation. How people perceive social meaning from and stigmatize language—including associating speech forms with certain groups of people (i.e., *indexicality*; Schieffelin et al., 1998) and treating linguistic features as symbolic of the essence of speakers (i.e., *iconicity*; Gal & Irvine, 1995)—are based largely on people’s beliefs about language itself, or language ideologies.

Despite decades of sociolinguistic appreciations of the logic and legitimacy of all language varieties (e.g., Labov, 1969, 1972), pervasive sociocultural and linguistic hierarchization positions language varieties associated with poor, rural, uneducated, and racialized peoples at the bottom (Fuller, 2012; Gal & Irvine, 1995). In this way, specific linguistic features are said to *index* (Eckert, 2008; Schieffelin et al., 1998; Silverstein, 2003) particular social categories, often feeding prejudices toward speakers of minoritized language varieties and *circumstantial bilinguals* (as opposed to *elite bilinguals*—Valdés & Figueroa, 1994).

Relatedly, standard-language culture (Milroy, 2001) and the *standard language ideology* (Lippi-Green, 2012) are common in the public imagination, which envisions the prestige forms imposed by institutions to be correct and marks as incorrect the variations found in other social spaces. In the same way, an *elitist language ideology* (Briceño et al., 2018; Pimentel, 2011) perceives as inferior the language varieties outside dominant, formally educated groups.

Exonormative language ideologies (Kirkpatrick, 2007) idealize the norms established by external standards for language. Speakers of Spanish in the U.S., for example, often consider varieties from Spain or Latin America (with their respective language academies—e.g., *Real Academia Española*) as of higher quality and therefore a target for learning (Leeman, 2014).

Ideologies of *linguistic purism* (Martínez et al., 2015) often coexist with standard, elitist, and exonormative language ideologies, as they advocate preserving languages in their ideal form, protecting them from presumed corrosion via language change over time or contact with other languages. These ideas advocating linguistic purity overlap with *monoglossic ideologies* (Flores, 2013; García et al., 2008), which aim to keep languages separate in bilingual spaces, and the monoglot standard (Silverstein, 1996) or *normative monolingualism* (Leeman, 2018), that conceive of speaking only one language as the natural state for individuals and entities, despite language contact and multilingualism being the norm in the majority of the world. Likewise, in the U.S., the hegemony of English is naturalized and crystallized in media, politics, and public discourse (Fuller, 2012; Fuller & Leeman, 2020; Silverstein, 2003; Woolard, 1985).

With the common situations of multilingualism, language contact, diglossia, linguistic hierarchies, and assimilation to dominant languages and cultures across the globe, language ideologies such as these are replicated at many scales in an array of sociolinguistic contexts.

2.1.1. Language Ideologies in School Settings

Despite their repercussions, hegemonic language ideologies are widespread in society and reproduced in linguistically diverse school settings worldwide (Fuller, 2012; Fuller & Leeman, 2020; García, 2009; Valdés 2005). Schools around the world have historically focused on learning the dominant language rather than developing students' other languages (Hemphill & Blakely, 2019; Menken & García, 2010), and via monolingual education policies, one language

variety acts as default, further governed by notions of acceptable ways of using it. In that sense, schools play a key role in promoting the standard language ideology (Lippi-Green, 2012), as students who speak non-standardized varieties are considered to be at a disadvantage in schooling and tend to experience low academic achievement (Flores & Rosa, 2015; Lee & McCarty, 2017a). Traces of language contact with minoritized languages are often framed as deficient and bilingual education as compensatory (Palmer et al., 2014). Bilingual and dual language education programs also tend toward strict language separation policies, avoiding the mutual influence of languages, thus revealing adherence to monoglossic language ideologies (Fuller, 2012; Henderson, 2017; Martínez et al., 2015; Palmer et al., 2014; Román et al., 2019).

A growing body of educational research highlights cases where hegemonic ideologies are challenged and students' multilingual language practices are valued and strategically leveraged by teachers (García et al., 2017; Henderson, 2017; Palmer et al., 2014). However, even well-intentioned pedagogical approaches surrounding language varieties can reproduce the racial hierarchies of broader society (Flores & Rosa, 2015). Studies have pointed to the multiple, complex, and often conflicting language ideologies (Kroskrity, 2004) in bilingual educators' beliefs and practices, at times evidencing both hegemonic and counterhegemonic narratives across their discourse and practice, and teachers may subscribe to and internalize prevalent language ideologies without conscious awareness (Manresa, 2022; Martínez et al., 2015). Based on their own experiences with linguistic discrimination and recognition that using standardized varieties can impact their students' success, language-minoritized teachers, specifically, may maintain that their students' speech and writing is substandard or not suited for academic contexts (Charity Hudley et al., 2022; Román et al., 2023). Such negative attitudes on behalf of non-dominant groups toward the language practices of members of the same communities

represent instances of internal linguistic discrimination (Román et al., 2019, 2023). Importantly, contemporary language ideologies research acknowledges that perceptions of language are always situated within larger sociopolitical and economic factors that marginalize racialized communities (Flores, 2020).

In sum, language ideologies show great variation, represent a dynamic process contextualized by emerging power relations, and are not static or homogenous by any means. Specifically, teachers' language ideologies are equally (if not more) complex and hold great bearing, as they mediate how bilingual education and language policy are enacted in the classroom (Menken & García, 2010; Román et al., 2019). Students' willingness to continue to use the languages and varieties with which they were raised or shift to dominant language practices may be influenced by an instructor's reception of elements of linguistic diversity, bilingualism, and features resulting from language contact (Tambaco & Floyd, 2022; Zavala, 2015). Educators should be aware that their beliefs about language have both names and consequences. Examination of real linguistic examples can bring these ideologies explicitly to the surface, helping teachers to confront and potentially change their roles in perpetuating broader discriminatory and racializing processes in their classrooms.

2.2. Dismantling Linguistic Discrimination in Schools

A great deal of multilingualism-in-education scholarship has focused on the (re)framing of linguistic diversity and its treatment in schools. Accordingly, the second indispensable theoretical lens for this dissertation is the body of scholarship focusing on combatting language-discriminatory processes in education—particularly *raciolinguistic approaches*, which have examined the entanglement of race and language in U.S. schools and society.

As an alternative to *subtractive* approaches to language education, which aimed to replace non-standardized varieties with prestige forms, *additive approaches*, which seek to expand the entire (bilingual) range or *repertoire*, emerged as the leading paradigm in U.S. and European language educational scholarship beginning in the 1990s and 2000s (Cummins, 2000; Delpit, 2006; Valdés, 1995, 2005; Valenzuela, 1999). In a similar way, orientations toward *language as a resource* as opposed to a problem (Ricento, 2018; Ruiz, 1984); pedagogies capitalizing on *funds of knowledge* (Moll et al., 1992, 2013; Moll & Gonzalez, 1994) and *community cultural wealth* (Yosso, 2005; the linguistic and cultural resources of communities that students bring to the classroom); and asset-based views of *emergent bilingual students* (García et al., 2008), as opposed to the deficit-based classification of English Language Learners, have all become integral to multilingual education scholarship.

Many resource pedagogies, central to the support of multilingualism in schools, have developed from the diverse student population (largely Spanish-speaking) in U.S. bilingual education. Some of these contributions include: research on the positioning of *heritage language learners* (Valdés, 2000) and subsequent problematization of that term as evoking the past (García, 2005); uncovering and challenging reproductions of societal *monoglossic language ideologies* and *normative monolingualism* in schools (Flores, 2013; Fuller, 2012; Fuller & Leeman, 2020; García, 2009); interrogating notions of *standard language* (Lippi-Green, 2012) and *academic language* (Flores, 2020; MacSwan, 2020); and promoting *translanguaging* and flexible classroom methodologies (García & Kleyn, 2016; García & Wei, 2014; García et al., 2017).

While additive approaches represent great strides from the subtractive schooling impacting multilingual learners historically, several lines of educational scholarship propose that

(merely) *adding* or including minoritized languages and varieties into existing unjust educational structures is not enough, expressing the need for *transformative*¹⁰ pedagogies. Extending and complementing the above body of work, education researchers have advocated for educators to adopt *culturally and linguistically relevant, responsive, sustaining, and revitalizing* pedagogies in their many iterations (Alim et al., 2020; Gay, 2018; Hollie, 2015; Ladson-Billings, 1995, 2014; McCarty & Lee, 2014; Paris, 2012; Paris & Alim, 2017). These pedagogies move beyond merely valuing the richness of students' language varieties or including them in education, to instead center students and communities of color in education and transform historically colonizing and oppressive processes of schooling. Similarly, *critical* frameworks, such as *critical language awareness*, in which the power relations and ideologies behind language usages are explicitly discussed in education (Alim, 2005; Leeman, 2018), *social justice* in language teaching (Hawkins, 2011), *decolonizing language in education* (Macedo, 2019; Pennycook & Makoni, 2019), and models of anti-racism and *liberatory linguistics* (Charity Hudley et al., 2022) are frameworks that now centrally inform multilingualism-in-education research.

2.2.1. Raciolinguistic Approaches

Scholars of multilingualism in education now critically engage topics of linguistic discrimination related to the racialization of speakers. One school of thinking that particularly informs the present dissertation is *raciolinguistic approaches*, which highlight the consequences of racist assumptions around school-“appropriate” and “academic” language that undergird even additive approaches (Alim et al., 2016; Flores, 2020; Flores & Rosa, 2015; Von Esch et al., 2020). Ideas favoring monolingualism in and outside schools are often compounded with *raciolinguistic ideologies* (Flores & Rosa, 2015), in which the privileged, white perceiver,

¹⁰ Much of the theorizing around *transformational* approaches in the U.S. and Europe builds off of Freire's (1970) transformative proposals based in Brazilian and Latin American education.

conflating language and race, interprets the linguistic practices of racialized speakers as deficient, regardless of how closely they follow what is believed to be standard language. Flores and Rosa (2015) point to an example in which an educator perceives the linguistic practices of U.S. African American high school students—specifically the use of “was”—as non-normative, regardless of the objective linguistic forms that were used. Similarly, Chun and Lo (2015) refer to *linguistic racialization*, or the ways through which race is imagined and naturalized through language practices. Raciolinguistic approaches explicitly shift the focus from the linguistic practices of the racialized speaker toward the perceiving practices of the hegemonic listener (Alim et al., 2016; Flores, 2020; Flores & Rosa, 2015), something that is necessary and relevant both in the U.S. context and beyond.

Considering the raciolinguistic hierarchies and remaining colonial power structures in the Ecuadorian context, we might extend Flores and Rosa’s (2015) ideological notion of the *white listening subject* to include a *mestizo listening subject*. From a position of relative privilege and power, the mestizo listening subject in Ecuador perceives Kichwa and Spanish characterized by Kichwa language contact as sub-standard, and inextricably associates certain language features with Indigenous speakers, who continue to be racialized and subordinated regardless of their actual language use.¹¹ The compound nature of language and race—with race perceived based on language usage and vice versa—is central to the present dissertation.

As in raciolinguistic approaches, research in Intercultural Bilingual Education (IBE) in Latin America has also placed the onus for critical consciousness on the hegemonic sectors of society regarding the systemic conditions that have led to Indigenous groups having lost their sovereignty in education (Haboud, 2019; Hornberger & Dueñas, 2019; López, 2020; Walsh,

¹¹ Guion et al. (2000), for example, found that monolingual Spanish listeners in Otavalo, Imbabura perceived Kichwa-Spanish bilinguals’ speech as “accented” with no reference to specific language features.

2010). For example, Walsh (2010) exposes the continued conflation by IBE administrators of the term *intercultural* with *Indigenous*, and Haboud (2019) notes, similarly, “the innumerable times that Indigenous and minoritized populations are given the responsibility to be intercultural” (p. 14; my translation), as opposed to challenging the hegemony of dominant society. Consequently, current IBE scholars argue that Indigenous sectors should not be the sole target of IBE, but rather the non-Indigenous sectors, who must not only recognize the value of Indigenous cultural and linguistic resources, but also transform existing power relations in Latin American schools (Conejo Arellano, 2008; Haboud, 2019; Haboud & Limerick, 2016; Hornberger, 2000; Hornberger & Dueñas, 2019; López, 2020; Román et al., 2022; Walsh, 2010; Zavala, 2015).

Taking a *raciolinguistic approach* to examine teachers’ perceptions of minoritized language in Ecuador means shifting the focus from the bilingual Indigenous speaker to the perceiving processes of the hegemonic listener—perhaps monolingual mestizo teachers in urban sectors—highlighting the ethnoracial devaluing of Indigenous Kichwa speakers that, while often targeting language use, goes far beyond language itself.

2.3. Kichwa-Spanish Linguistic Contact in Ecuador

The varieties of Spanish in the highland area of the central Andes—stretching from southern Colombia, across Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia to northern Chile and northwestern Argentina—have been in contact with Indigenous languages since the beginnings of colonization (Aleza Izquierdo & Enguita Utrilla, 2010). Extensive social bilingualism between Spanish and the Indigenous languages—principally Quechua¹² and Aymara—conditioned the emergence of the variety known as Andean Spanish, distinguishable from other Spanish varieties, in the 20th century (Escobar, 2011). In Ecuador, Kichwa and Spanish have been in contact since at least the

¹² Many pre-Incan tribes adopted the Quechua language as a result of the expansion of the Inca Empire prior to the Spanish invasion.

sixteenth century, resulting in a wide variety of contact-induced phenomena documented in the Ecuadorian Sierra—including Spanish-influenced Kichwa, Kichwa-influenced Spanish, and *Media Lengua* (literally “half-language”)¹³, which consists of Spanish lexical roots and Kichwa morphosyntactic structures (Gómez-Rendón, 2007; Lipski, 2017; Muysken, 1979, 2019; Stewart, 2020). Indigenous residents in a few small communities in the province of Imbabura (Angla and Casco Valenzuela in San Pablo; Pijal in González Suárez) continue to use *Media Lengua* today (Lipski, 2017).

Despite the origins of individual features being contested, many of the recognizable characteristics of Ecuadorian Andean Spanish have been proposed to be the result of direct or indirect Kichwa influence at every linguistic level—words, sounds, affixes, syntax, semantics, and pragmatics (Gómez Rendón, 2022; Haboud & de la Vega, 2008; Lipski, 1994; Muysken, 2019; Palacios Alcaine, 2005). While the most salient features of Ecuadorian Andean Spanish are attested to be more present in rural varieties and those spoken by bilingual Indigenous speakers, monolingual Spanish speakers in the Andes also employ many of these traits (Gómez Rendón, 2022).

Descriptions of Ecuadorian Andean Spanish include: the restructuring of the direct and indirect object system in favor of *le* via *leísmo* (Gómez Rendón, 2022; Lipski, 2007; Narváez, 2022; Palacios Alcaine, 2005); distinct periphrastic constructions using the gerund to indicate anteriority (e.g., *Vengo comiendo*. Lit. ‘I come eating’ I’ve just eaten, or *Sabiendo no me iba*. Lit. ‘Knowing I wouldn’t have gone.’ If I had known [...]) (Gómez Rendón, 2022; Haboud & de la Vega, 2008; Lipski, 2016; Muysken, 2022; Olbertz, 2003); use of future tense verbal forms and

¹³ It is important to recognize that while the term *Media Lengua* or *Chawpi Lengua* (the Kichwa word for ‘half’) in popular usage has been employed derogatively connoting incomplete or deficient language practices of Kichwa-Spanish bilinguals, it has also been used to highlight the autonomy of *Media Lengua* as its own, highly systematic language (Lipski, 2017).

dar ‘give’ + gerund as ways to attenuate imperative commands (e.g., *Darásme pasando el pan*. Lit. ‘You will give me passing the bread.’ Please pass [...]) (Espinosa Apolo, 2008; García, 2021; Guerra, 2020; Haboud & Palacios, 2017); use of *saber* ‘know’ + infinitive to express habituality (e.g., *Sabe pasar*. Lit. ‘It knows to happen.’ It tends to [...]) (Enríquez, 2021); use of perfect constructions to indicate modality or evidentiality (e.g., *Rico ha sido*. Lit. ‘It’s been delicious.’ It turns out to be [...]) (Haboud & de la Vega, 2008; Muysken, 2019, 2022; Puma, 2018); use of /f/, a reduced form of *pues* ‘then,’ as a discourse marker (Guerra & Bradley, 2022; Haboud, 2022; Jesberger, 2017); morphological borrowing of the Kichwa topicalizer *-ka* (e.g., *Aquí-ka*. ‘Here’) and the enclitic *-tan*, a reduced form of *también* ‘also’ (reminiscent of the Kichwa suffix *-pish* ‘and’; Muysken, 2022); use of the mitigating particle *no más* ‘just’ (Muysken, 2022); extended use of the diminutive; elision of clitics (Gómez Rendón, 2022); pragmatic usage of the second person singular pronoun *vos* in addition to *tú* (Gómez et al., 2022); distinct gender and number agreement; changes in word order with the verb often occurring at the end (Muysken, 2022); and abundant Kichwa lexical borrowings and calques (e.g., *minga* ‘cooperative work’, *wawa* ‘baby’, *chaki ñan* ‘foot path’, *suko* ‘blonde’, *yapa* ‘extra’, *shunsho* ‘stupid’; Estrella Santos, 2022; Gómez Rendón, 2022; Haboud & de la Vega, 2008; Tambaco & Floyd, 2022; Zúñiga, 2019). Nearly all of these traits of Ecuadorian Andean Spanish have been linked in some way to Kichwa influence, with forms being attributed to existing parallel morphosyntactic and related structures in that language (Gómez et al., 2022; Muysken, 2022; Narváez, 2022).

2.3.1. Phonetic/Phonological Variation in Andean Ecuadorian Spanish

In addition to significant syntactic, morphological, and lexical variation, many features of phonetic and phonological variation characterize Andean Spanish in Ecuador.

2.3.1.1. Vowels. Characteristic features of Andean Ecuadorian Spanish pronunciation include modifications to the vocalic system, such as: the reduction and devoicing of unstressed /e/ and /o/ (known as *vocales caedizas* ‘falling vowels’) in the post-tonic position or in contact with /s/ (Boyd-Bowman, 1953; Gómez Rendón, 2022; Klee & Lynch, 2009; Lipski, 1994; Toscano Mateus, 1953)—e.g., *los zapatos* [lo.sa.'paʃs]¹⁴ ‘shoes’ (Haboud & de la Vega, 2008)—the tendency to place stress on the penultimate syllable (Cerrón Palomino, 1990; Godenzzi, 1996; Mendoza, 2008)—e.g., *páramo* [pa.'ra.mo] ‘tundra’ (Lipski, 2015), and most notoriously, the neutralization of Spanish mid and high vowels /e-/i/ and /o-/u/ (Carvajal, 2022; Guion, 2003; Haboud & de la Vega, 2008; Lipski, 2015; Muysken, 2022; Pérez Silva et al., 2008; Zavala, 1999)—e.g., *mesa* ['mi.sa] ‘table,’ *oso* ['u.su] ‘bear’ (Cerrón-Palomino, 2003). As this is one of the most-studied elements of phonological variation in the Andes and a common target of linguistic discrimination, it is developed in more detail below.

2.3.1.2. Neutralization of Spanish Mid and High Vowels /e-/i/ and /o-/u/. Depictions of Andean Spanish, historically, include words containing alternations between Spanish high /i, u/ and corresponding mid /e, o/ vowels in literary and folkloric interpretations (Lipski, 2015), such as Alfonso Andrade Chiriboga’s (1920) poem *La huelga del indio*, where we see for example, *mel* ‘mil’ *thousand*, *electrecedad* ‘electricidad’ *electricity*, and *intiro* ‘entero’ *whole* (Muysken, 2022). Likewise, in Jorge Icaza’s (1934) *Huasipungo*, we see, *di dundi* ‘de dónde’ *from where*, and *socres* ‘sucres’ *previous currency of Ecuador*. Toscano Mateus (1953) attributes this “vocalic instability” (p. 50) to substrate—or the influence of Kichwa on Spanish—given that in Kichwa, the vowels /e/ and /o/ are phonologically non-existent. According to this explanation, L1 Kichwa bilinguals, applying the Kichwa sound system to Spanish, pronounce mid vowels as

¹⁴ The symbols [] designate phones or the pronunciation of sounds; < > designate graphemes or letters; and // designate phonemes or the mental representations of sounds.

they would Kichwa high vowels, which has then extended to the Spanish of the region. Toscano Mateus (and other linguists to follow—e.g., Cerrón Palomino, 1990) highlights principally vowel raising (e.g., *vila* for ‘vela’ *candle*; *pur qui* for ‘por qué’ *why*), though he provides examples of many instances of vowel lowering as well (e.g., *me veda* ‘mi vida’ *my life*; *dolsora* ‘dulzura’ *sweetness*; *asé* ‘así’ *in that way*). Similarly, Cole (1982) notes that highland Ecuadorian Kichwa has only three vowels, usually transcribed as <i, a, u>, though Guion (2003) and Lipski (2015) represent the three vowel system as /i/-/a/-/u/, with Kichwa front /i/ and back /u/ vowels extending across the Spanish mid and high vowel spaces. Other linguists also note three phonemes in Quechua (/a/, /i/, /u/), though with five phones ([a], [e], [i], [o], [u]), with /i/ and /u/ approximating Spanish [e] and [o] as allophones, principally when in proximity to /k/ (Haboud & de la Vega, 2008; Juanatey & Rodríguez, 2019; Limerick & Hornberger, 2021). Importantly, regarding perceptions, the wider allophonic dispersion of Kichwa vowels as compared to Spanish often leads monolingual Spanish speakers to hear the unexpected vowel and perceive Kichwa speakers’ vowel production as off-target or chaotic (Haboud & de la Vega, 2008; Lipski, 2015).

Zamora and Guitart (1988) note that vowel raising is one of the only phenomena in Andean Spanish that has been studied enough to confidently attribute it to Quechua influence. However, Haboud and de la Vega (2008) suggest that the notorious vowel “instability” found in Ecuadorian Andean speech was already present in the Spanish that arrived to Ecuador due to internal causes. We see this, for example, in the elimination of the hiatus—e.g., *tiatro* teatro ‘theater,’ *máistro* maestro ‘teacher,’ *pior* peor ‘worse’—found in the varieties not only of the highland Americas but also in northeastern Spain and other regions (Aleza Izquierdo & Enguita Utrilla, 2010; Quilis, 1993). This feature, existing in Spanish previously, may have merely been

reinforced in Ecuadorian Andean Spanish by Kichwa phonetics, representing a case of linguistic convergence, rather than substrate.

Alternations between the Spanish vowel pairs /e, i/ and /o, u/ are heavily stigmatized and have been referred to pejoratively as *motosidad* or *motoseo* (as noted for Peru by Cerrón-Palomino, 1990, 2003; Pérez Silva et al., 2008; Pérez Silva & Zavala Cisneros, 2010). Regarding the social distribution of this phenomenon in Ecuador, Toscano Mateus (1953) notes vowel raising among the “uneducated,” “vulgar,” and “popular classes” of the Ecuadorian Sierra, above all among the Indigenous population and bilinguals, arguing that vowel changes diminish as one moves from the Indigenous to mestizo and white populations. Boyd-Bowman (1953) writes, “Due to the influence of Quichua, the Indians and *chagras* (mestizos) of the Sierra tend to confuse, when speaking Spanish, the vowels *e-i, o-u*” (p. 231; my translation). Many scholars acknowledge that such production of vowels is widespread and evidenced among non-Indigenous and non-Kichwa speakers, even in the educated classes (Boyd-Bowman, 1953; Caravedo, 1992; Cerrón-Palomino, 2003; Zamora & Guitart, 1988), though Muysken (2022) notes this blending of high and mid vowels only in the pronunciation of bilinguals (and not in Spanish monolinguals).

While the phenomenon has been documented for many decades, Guion (2003) was one of the first experimental studies, analyzing the vowels of bilinguals in the province of Imbabura in the Ecuadorian Sierra. Results revealed that bilinguals with lower Spanish proficiency and later age of Spanish acquisition showed greater variability in Spanish vowel production. Also in rural Imbabura, Lipski (2015) examined acoustic vowel data from older late bilinguals who had not attended school, finding their vowels to show a much broader range of allophonic dispersion for Spanish than for Kichwa [supporting findings of Pérez Silva and Zavala Cisneros (2010) for

Peru]. Most recently, Carvajal (2022) has found evidence, extending Lipski (2015), of broadly dispersed vowel space also among Kichwa-Spanish bilinguals in urban Ambato, regardless of age of acquisition of Spanish. Taking these studies as a whole, the neutralization of Spanish mid and high vowels has been evidenced among older, rural, Kichwa-dominant bilinguals, yet has also been attested across all Andean Spanish-speaker backgrounds, including in more urban settings.

Toscano Mateus (1953) and Boyd-Bowman (1953) note clear geographic divisions for the pronunciation of vowels in Ecuador, with highlanders in the Andes tending to “close” them and pronounce them less distinguishably. Shown acoustically to be present in the speech of Kichwa-dominant bilinguals in Imbabura, where one of the highest percentages of Kichwa-speakers resides (Guion, 2003; Lipski, 2015), the neutralization of high and mid vowels likely extends throughout the Quechua-speaking Andean region, as many examples have also been given in the Peruvian Andes (Cerrón-Palomino, 1990, 2003; Cutts, 1973; Pérez Silva et al., 2008).

2.3.1.3. Consonants. Ecuadorian Andean Spanish is described as presenting strong consonantism (Gómez Rendón, 2022; Haboud & de la Vega, 2008; Rataj, 2005; Schmid, 2015), with the retention of syllable- and word-final /s/ and intervocalic /d/, which are frequently aspirated or deleted throughout coastal Latin America (Aleza Izquierdo & Enguita Utrilla, 2010; Boyd-Bowman, 1953; Escobar, 2011; Toscano Mateus, 1953). Additionally, Andean Spanish (at least in some regions) maintains phonemic distinction between /k/ and /j/ (i.e., lack of *yeísmo*—e.g., *calló* [ka.'kɔ] ‘was quiet’ vs. *cayó* [ka.'jo] ‘fell’), while this contrast has been lost in the majority of Latin America and the Spanish speaking world (Aleza Izquierdo & Enguita Utrilla, 2010; Hualde, 2005; Klee & Lynch, 2009). Some modifications to the consonantal

system in Ecuadorian Andean Spanish, specifically, include: intervocalic voicing of /s/ (Chappell, 2011; García, 2019; Lipski, 1989)—e.g., *las aguas* [la.'za.was] ‘the waters’; /f/ realized as a voiceless bilabial fricative [ɸ]—e.g., *información* [in.ɸor.ma.'sjon] ‘information’—; and omission of word-initial and post-vocalic /g/, as well as /g/ before a diphthong (Haboud & de la Vega, 2008)—e.g., *agua* ['a.wa] ‘water’.

Centralmost to this dissertation, Ecuadorian Andean Spanish also shows substitution of the Spanish voiced alveolar trill [r] with fricativized or so-called *assibilated* forms, principally voiced retroflex fricative [ʒ] or its voiceless variant [ɕ] (Haboud & de la Vega, 2008; Lipski, 1994; Stewart, 2020)—e.g., *carro* ['ka.ʒo] ‘car,’ *terreno* [t̪e.'ʒe.no] ‘plot of land’; as well as substitution of the voiced palatal lateral approximant [ʎ] with the voiced alveopalatal fricative [ʒ] (Gómez, 2003; Stewart, 2020)—e.g., *caballo* [ka.'βa.ʒo] ‘horse’. These two phonetic features (both examples of fricativization) were selected to form part of the linguistic stimuli for Phase I (verbal guise survey) of this dissertation because they are attested by extensive research as highly productive in Ecuador—particularly in the northern Andean region and in the province of Imbabura. As existing research has found such fricativized realizations to be frequent among Ecuadorian varieties of Spanish with greater contact with Kichwa (Stewart, 2020) and as stigmatized for their association with rural speech and Indigenous bilinguals (Gómez, 2003, 2022; Haboud & de la Vega, 2008; Toapanta, 2016), the orientations of teachers toward the use of these speech forms will be especially illuminating as to the treatment of Kichwa-Spanish linguistic diversity in the classroom and are discussed in more detail below.

2.3.1.4. /ʎ/ Fricativization (/ʎ/ > [ʒ]). As stated previously and as in other highland regions of Latin America, including parts of Colombia, Peru, Bolivia, and Paraguay, speakers in Andean Ecuador maintain phonemic distinction between the palatal lateral /ʎ/ and mid palatal

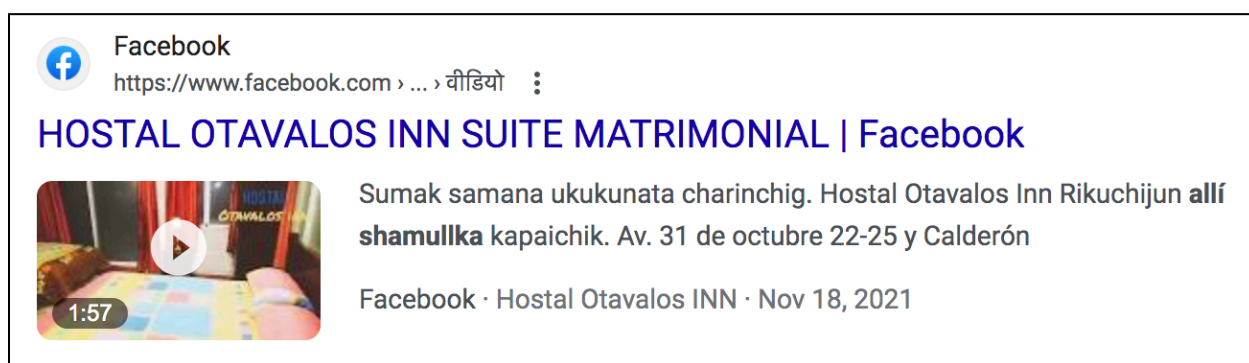
/j/—orthographic <ll> and <y>, respectively. In other words, in Andean Ecuador, /ʎ/ and /j/ are separate phonemes (i.e., there is not *yeísmo*; Klee & Lynch, 2009). Given it has been eliminated in many parts of the Spanish-speaking world, the preservation of this distinction in the Andes has been attributed to substrate influence, as the contrast between /ʎ/ and /j/ exists in both Quechua and Aymara (Hualde et al., 2010; Rosenblat, 1967). In Ecuadorian Kichwa, for example, /ʎ/-/j/ is an important phonemic distinction with many examples of minimal pairs: e.g., *kayana* [ka.'ja.na] ‘to call’ and *kallana* [ka.'ʎa.na] ‘to toast’; *yuya* [.'ju.ja] ‘idea’ and *llulla* [.'ʎu.ʎa] ‘lie’; *puyu* [.'pu.ju] ‘cloud’ and *pullu* [.'pu.ʎu] ‘fold’. The argument in support of substrate draws attention to the fact that this distinction appears in Spanish approximately in the zones where Quechua and Aymara are present (Boyd-Bowman, 1953; Canfield, 1962).

Interestingly, as opposed to the standardized pronunciation of the phoneme /ʎ/ (as a palatal lateral [ʎ]), many speakers in the northern Ecuadorian Andes maintain the Spanish /ʎ/-/j/ phonemic distinction differently, with /ʎ/ realized as a voiced alveopalatal fricative [ʒ], or its voiceless variant [ç] (Alonso, 1953; Argüello, 1980; Boyd-Bowman, 1953; Canfield, 1962; Lipski, 1994; Lope Blanch, 1966; Rosenblat, 1967; Toscano Mateus, 1953)—e.g., *ella* ‘she’ [.'e.ʒa]; *calló* [ka.'ʒo] ‘was quiet.’ This phenomenon has been referred to as *rehilamiento* (Alonso, 1953; Navarro Tomás, 1934; Rosenblat, 1967; Toscano Mateus, 1953), *žeísmo* (Argüello, 1978), and *zeísmo* (Gómez, 2003). Such *zeísmo*, or fricativized realizations of the Spanish palatal lateral, have been attested in the Ecuadorian highlands in word-initial and word-medial syllabic onset position, such as in *millonarios* [mi.ʒo.'nar.jos] ‘millionaires,’ *llave* [.'ʒa.βe] ‘key,’ and *llorando* [ʒo.'raŋ.ðo] ‘crying’ (Haboud & de la Vega, 2008; Stewart, 2020). This *zeísmo* has also been attributed to the influence of Kichwa (Boyd-Bowman, 1953), especially Imbabura Kichwa, in which [ʒ] is highly productive in many linguistic contexts and

has replaced phonemes found in other dialects of Kichwa (e.g., /k/; Cole, 1982; Moya, 1981; Rosenblat, 1967; Toapanta & Haboud, 2012; Toscano Mateus, 1953). For example, we see in Figure 2.1 an ad for a hotel in Otavalo (Imbabura) the spelling *alli shamullka* ‘welcome’, where we would expect *alli shamushka*, (*-shka* being the Unified Kichwa¹⁵ spelling of the past participle suffix).

Figure 2.1

Hotel Ad Evidencing /k/ to /z/ Transition in Imbabura Kichwa



(Hostal Otavalos INN, 2021)

Figure 2.2

Classroom Poster Evidencing /k/ to /z/ Transition in Imbabura Kichwa



¹⁵ Unified Kichwa is a standardized variety of Kichwa, developed by comprising various local Kichwas, with a unified orthography, officialized by the Ecuadorian government and incorporated into public education (Limerick & Hornberger, 2021; Muysken, 2019; Tambaco & Floyd, 2022).

Likewise, we see in Figure 2.2 a photograph of a classroom poster in Otavalo with the spelling *kishkana pirka* ‘chalkboard’, where we would expect *killkana* (the unified spelling of the Kichwa verb ‘to write’). Such examples are ubiquitous in online and non-standardized writing sources, indicating that in the Kichwa of Otavalo and the surrounding region of Imbabura, /k/ (orthographic <ll>) is produced as [ʒ], or in these cases, [ʃ] (equivalent of <sh>).

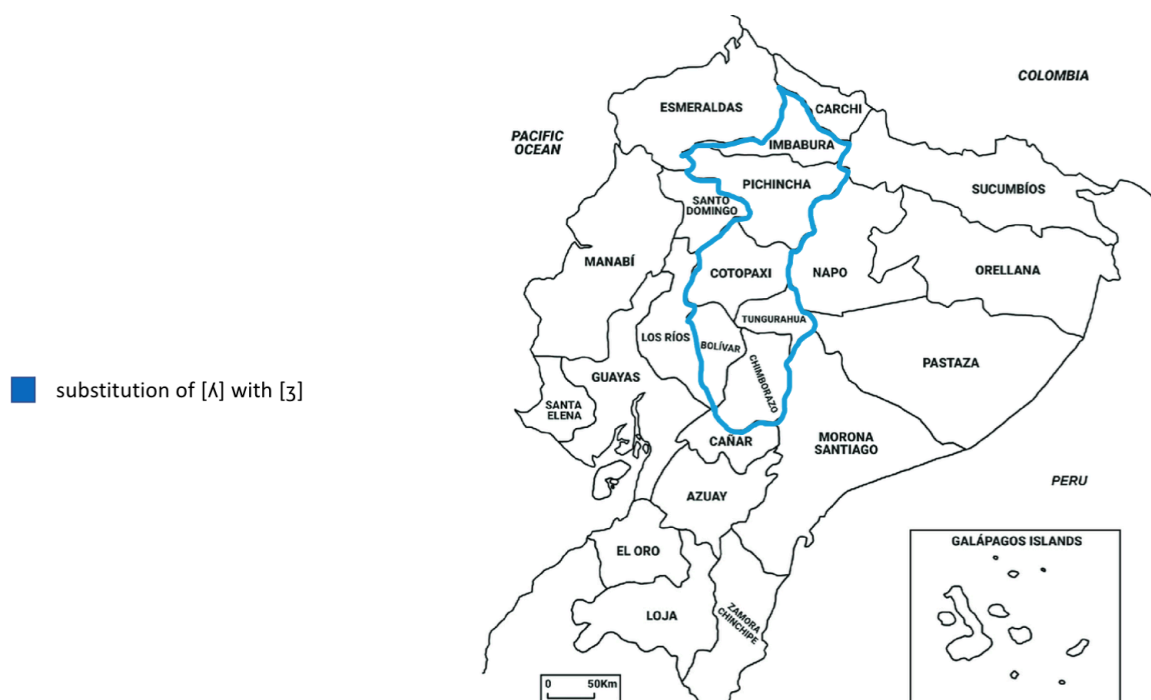
As such, several researchers have pointed out that northern varieties of Kichwa, like Imbabura Kichwa, appear to have also undergone the transition, as occurred with Spanish, from historic /k/ to /ʒ/, thus showing an instance of Kichwa-Spanish phonetic convergence—where the sounds of two languages spoken in a region grow to be similar without unidirectional effect of one on the other (Adelaar & Muysken, 2004; Gómez Rendón, 2022; Muysken, 2019)—or parallel development in each of the two languages (Gómez, 2003; Haboud & de la Vega, 2008; Toscano Mateus, 1953). The fact that [ʒ] is present in both Kichwa and Spanish within the same region (the northern Andes), and absent in both Kichwa and Spanish of the other regions of Ecuador and the Andes, supports this convergence argument.

The traditional linguistic divide of Ecuador is coast, Andean highlands, and Amazonian basin, and Ecuadorian Spanish pronunciation roughly follows these lines (Canfield, 1988; Lipski, 1994). Within the Highlands region, there is a proposed further dialectal division between the North-central Sierra (Carchi, Imbabura, Pichincha, Cotopaxi, Tungurahua, Bolívar, and Chimborazo) and the Southern Sierra (Cañar, Azuay, and Loja; Gómez Rendón, 2022). True to this division, Toscano Mateus (1953) delineates the southernmost Andean Ecuadorian provinces of Loja, Azuay, and Cañar as distinguishing /k/ and /j/ (still unlike the *yeísmo* of the coast) via [k]-[j], while the rest of the Sierra distinguishes via [ʒ]-[j]. Quilis (1993) adds the contingent southern provinces of El Oro and Zamora Chinchipe to those that do not use [ʒ] and identifies

the central northern highland provinces (excluding only the northernmost province of Carchi) from Imbabura—through Pichincha (Quito), Cotopaxi, Tungurahua, Bolívar—ending in Chimborazo as exhibiting fricativized realizations. Gómez (2013) identifies this same region as forming a *zeísta* dialect, though earlier, Canfield (1988) had identified the [ʒ]-using region as smaller—roughly from Quito (Pichincha) to Ambato (Tungurahua). Most recently, Cole (2022) confirms with acoustic evidence that [ʒ] is not present in the Spanish of the southern Andean provinces of Cañar or Azuay, which are now showing extended *yeísmo* (merger of /k/ with /j/) among both Spanish monolinguals and Kichwa-Spanish bilinguals in these provinces.

Figure 2.3

Map of Ecuador Showing zeísta Region



The map is freely licensed and adapted under Creative Commons [Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/).

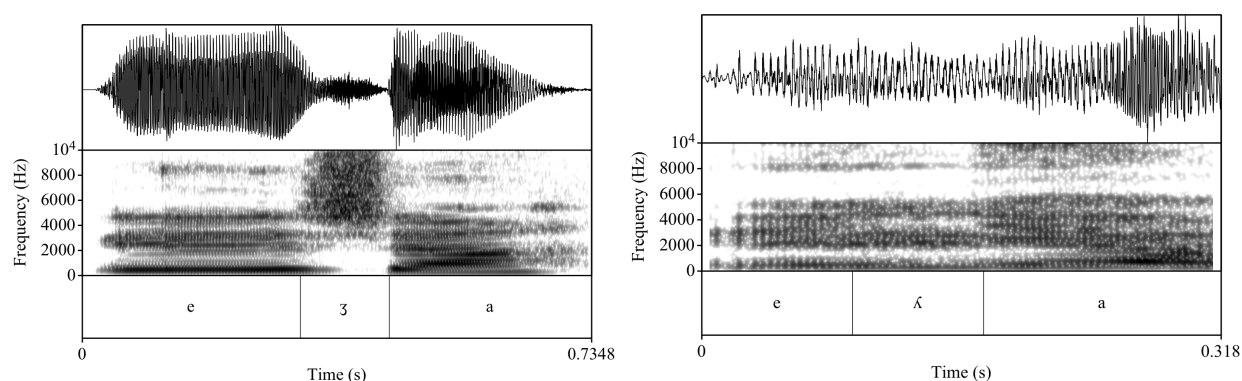
In essence, the *zeísta* region represents a stretch of highland provinces in the northern-central Ecuadorian Andes (Figure 2.3), with its nucleus around the capital, Quito, and

popular imagination holds that <ll> is pronounced this way from Riobamba (Chimborazo) northward.

Standardized Spanish voiced palatal lateral /ʎ/ (i.e., [ʎ]) is formed by a complete closure between the tongue dorsum and the mid-palatal region of the hard palate, with air leaving through the sides of the tongue. In contrast, the fricative realizations of /ʎ/ described above (e.g., [ʝ]), generate audible friction by partially blocking airstream with the mouth. Fricativization can be identified on the spectrogram by showing longer duration than [ʎ], little energy at the bottom of the spectrum, dispersion in the higher formants in the upper regions of the spectrum caused by lateral “noise,” and striations between F1 and F2 formant paths (Stewart, 2020). Figure 2.4 contrasts /ʎ/ produced as a voiced alveopalatal fricative [ʝ] by a female L1 Kichwa-L2 Spanish bilingual speaker from the rural Larcacunga community (participant MOA in the present study), as opposed to /ʎ/ produced as a voiced palatal lateral approximant [ʎ] by a female Spanish monolingual from urban Ibarra (participant PB in this study).

Figure 2.4

Voiced Alveopalatal Fricative [ʝ] vs. Voiced Palatal Lateral Approximant [ʎ] in the Word Ella ('She')



The realization of /ʎ/ as [ʝ] in the Ecuadorian Sierra, though somewhat widespread, has historically been viewed negatively and associated with Kichwa, which uses this sound

abundantly. Early accounts of Ecuadorian Spanish state that in Quito and the rest of the Sierra, the “educated” classes pronounce the grapheme <ll> *no arrastrada* ‘without dragging it out,’ while in the “rustic” and “vulgar” speech of the “uneducated” classes it becomes a voiced or voiceless fricative, assibilated to the point that it is confused with an assibilated pronunciation of <rr> (Bès, 1964; Rosenblat, 1967; Toscano Mateus, 1953). Regarding /ʎ/, Toscano Mateus (1953) writes, “To better explain or complete the Sierran panorama of the pronunciation of ll it is indispensable to refer to Quichua,” describing the feature as a marker of “rustic” speech and stating, “The vulgar ll of the Sierra is a voiced fricative” (p. 100; my translation).

Argüello (1978, 1980, 1984, 1987) found almost categorical use of [ʒ] among all social classes in Quito, reasoning that the lower classes (including many Indigenous Ecuadorians) had introduced these vernacular forms into the mainstream as they gained more social and political access. Contrastingly, Gómez (2003, 2013) found that [ʒ] was not constant in Quito and that *yeísmo* (neutralization of /ʎ/ and /j/ as seen on the coast and elsewhere in Latin America) was entering the system among the upper and middle classes, especially young women in formal conversation (see also Klee & Lynch, 2009). Correspondingly, at that time, [ʒ] continued to be used predominantly by older, middle and lower class speakers, by men, and in informal situations. Gómez (2003, 2013) proposes that *zeísmo* in Ecuador may be undergoing a leveling process with the *yeísmo* presented on the coast and Latin America in general. Gómez (2003) found that formal speech styles favored normative production, while free speech favored assibilated variants, maintaining that a “rigid” class structure in Ecuadorian society—based on education, occupation, and ethnicity—influences this linguistic behavior, and that some upper class speakers used intermediate values to avoid “non-standard” [ʒ] and stigmatized [ʝ] variants.

Haboud and de la Vega (2008) also note that while the [ʒ]-[j] distinction is stable in speakers over 25 years of age, stigmatized perceptions of [ʒ] and [j] have led middle and upper class speakers to try to produce more normative sounds. They note: “The prestige that the realization [ʎ] has maintained, and the stigmatization of the voiced and voiceless fricative variants [ʒ] and [j] make speakers of the middle and high sectors try to realize [ʎ], especially in formal situations” (p. 169; my translation). Similarly, Stewart (2020) noted a shift away from [ʒ] among rural L1 Spanish speakers in the province of Imbabura, toward other variants, potentially as a mechanism for group disassociation.

Argüello (1978) found some use of [ʎ]-[j] distinction among speakers of the lower-middle class in Quito, considering this to be an effort to position themselves as more socially appropriate to interlocutors, highlighting that this distinction was taught in schools. Likewise, Gómez (2003) suggests that [ʎ] may continue to be used by some speakers to distance themselves from realizations that lack prestige, such as [ʒ] and [j], noting use of [ʎ], particularly in careful or read speech, due to its being taught as lexically contrastive in schools. There is no existing evidence regarding whether schools in Ecuador continue to teach this contrast today, or as to teachers’ beliefs about the “correctness” of the various palatal pronunciations. The present dissertation aims to contribute to that area of knowledge.

2.3.1.5. /r/ Fricativization (/r/ > [ʒ]). Another characteristic and minoritized feature of Ecuadorian Andean Spanish is the fricativization of the Spanish rhotic trill /r/. Through this phenomenon, as opposed to the “normative” Spanish voiced alveolar trill sound [r], some speakers of Spanish in Andean Ecuador realize the phoneme /r/ as a fricative (principally, the voiced retroflex fricative [ʒ]). An example of this appears in the word *terreno* ‘plot of land’ being pronounced as [ʒe. 'ʒe.no] rather than [ʒe. 're.no]. Such fricativized realizations of /r/—often

referred to as *assibilated* for their whistle-like quality—have been attested in the Ecuadorian highlands beginning with the earliest linguistic descriptions of the region (Bès, 1964; Boyd-Bowman, 1953; Toscano Mateus, 1953). Assibilated realizations of the Spanish rhotic trill /r/ have been identified in word-initial (e.g., *rico* ['zi.ko] ‘delicious’) and word-medial intervocalic position (e.g., *carro* ['ka.zo] ‘car’). As the Spanish tap /r/ and trill /r/ contrast preceding a vowel but are in free variation preceding a consonant, assibilated realizations of <r> have also been identified in syllabic coda position preceding <d, l, n, t> (e.g., *tarde* ['taz.ðe] ‘late,’ *Carlos* ['kaz.los] ‘Carlos,’ *carne* ['kaz.ne] ‘meat,’ *torta* ['toz.ta] ‘cake,’) and may appear preceding other consonants. There has also been documentation of assibilated realizations of word-final <r> before a pause (e.g., *dañar* [ða.'naz] ‘break,’), of the sequence /tr/ (e.g., *trabajo* ‘work’), as well as /dr/ when preceded by /n/ or /l/ (e.g., *pondré* [pon.'ze] ‘I will put,’ *saldrá* [sal.'za] ‘she/he/it will leave,’ *tendrá* [ten.'za] ‘she/he/it will have,’ *Andrés* [an.'zes] ‘Andres,’ *Andrade* [an.'za.ðe] ‘Andrade’; examples adapted from Haboud & de la Vega, 2008). The counterpart to the voiced retroflex fricative [ʒ] is its voiceless variant [ʃ], which is realized by some speakers as an allophone in the same contexts mentioned. In sum, it has been attested that the phonemic contrast maintained by [r]-[r̄] in standardized Spanish in Ecuadorian Andean Spanish is maintained by [r]-[ʒ].

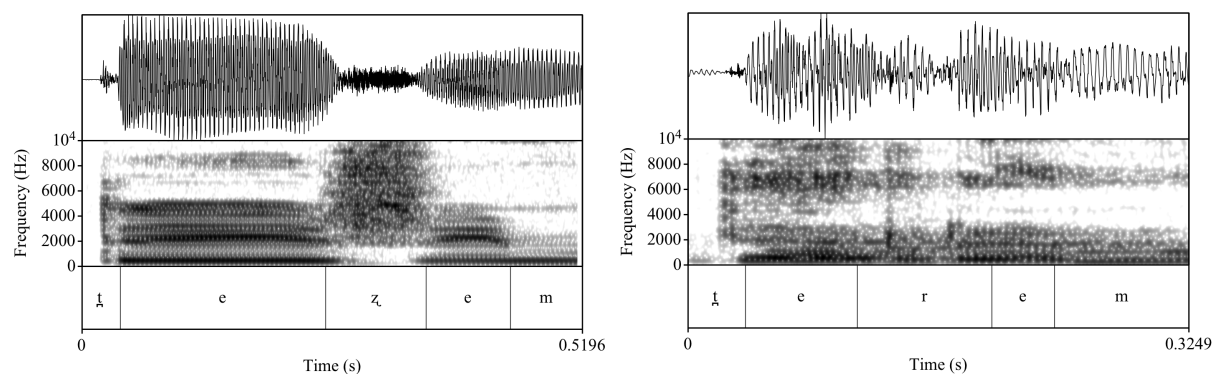
Unlike a tap [r], a trill [r̄] is not a voluntary muscular movement but depends on adequate airflow being forced through a properly sized aperture (Johnson, 2008). A prototypical Spanish apical trill is produced with multiple occlusions between the tongue apex and the alveolar ridge. On the spectrogram, a trill contains multiple periods of vibration (minimum of two), each with a clear closure and aperture phase, with only the aperture phases showing vowel-like formant regions. Alternatively, (and as seen in the previous section for [ʒ]), fricatives are consonant

sounds that generate audible friction by partially blocking airstream with the mouth.

Fricativization of /r/ (e.g., [z]) can be identified on the spectrogram by showing longer duration than a trill, no vibrations or occlusions, little energy at the bottom of the spectrum, and fricative “noise” in the upper regions of the spectrum (Stewart, 2020). Figure 2.5 contrasts /r/ produced as a voiced retroflex fricative [z] by a female L1 Kichwa-L2 Spanish bilingual speaker from the rural community of Larcacunga (participant MOA in the present study) and /r/ produced as a trill [r] by a female Spanish monolingual in urban Ibarra (participant SPEC in this study).

Figure 2.5

Voiced Retroflex Fricative [z] vs. Voiced Alveolar Trill [r] in the Word Terremoto (‘Earthquake’)



Both [z] (the substitute for [r] in Ecuadorian Andean Spanish) and [ʒ] (the substitute for [ʎ] in Ecuadorian Andean Spanish) are pre-palatal voiced coronal fricatives, differing only in tongue position, with [z] showing some sub-apical curling (retroflex) and greater retraction of the tongue body (Stewart, 2020). Stewart (2020) used spectral location of the frication noise and lowering of the third formant (F3) during the preceding vowel-to-retroflex transition to identify the voiced retroflex fricative [z] as opposed to the voiced palatal fricative [ʒ]. However, these

two sounds are relatively similar, and existing literature suggests that the two are historically, geographically, socially, and perceptually linked¹⁶ (Toscano Mateus, 1953; Stewart, 2020).

Though many features of Andean Ecuadorian Spanish have been attributed to instances of substrate influence of Indigenous languages, and despite popular belief, fricativized (or *assibilated*) /r/ has been consistently argued *not* to have originated in Kichwa itself (Adelaar & Muysken, 2004; Gómez, 2003; Toscano Mateus, 1953). Toscano Mateus (1953) notes the existence of the feature in Latin American countries (as does Alonso, 1953) with different substrate languages, also stressing the fact that the trill of any kind is not found in Kichwa—which would be necessary for a substrate argument. Argüello (1978) notes assibilated realizations in Spanish loanwords in Kichwa containing /r/, arguing that the feature passed from Spanish to Kichwa, and not vice versa. As shown with vowel raising, fricativized realizations of /r/ and consonant clusters (particularly /tr/) are attested in other regions of the Americas and in Spain, leading scholars to attribute this feature to linguistic convergence rather than direct Kichwa substrate (Aleza Izquierdo & Enguita Utrilla, 2010; Argüello, 1978; Haboud & de la Vega, 2008; Toscano Mateus, 1953). Another explanation for the existence of fricativized /r/ in Ecuadorian Andean Spanish may be that earlier generations of L1 Kichwa speakers, to produce /r/ when speaking L2 Spanish, resorted to fricativization as an articulatory strategy, given the sound does not exist in their L1 and is articulatorily challenging (as do L1 English learners of Spanish, for example; Johnson, 2008). This pronunciation on behalf of bilinguals would have then had to extend to the speech of Spanish monolinguals.

As with /ʎ/ fricativization, studies of fricativized /r/ in Ecuador have located the feature among rural, poor, less educated, older, bilingual, and Indigenous speakers. Toscano Mateus

¹⁶ As noted earlier, “confusion” between <rr> and <ll> was noted by Toscano Mateus (1953), and Stewart (2020) found realizations of as /ʎ/ as [z] and [ʂ] (the expected local realizations for /r/) among speakers of Kichwa and Media Lengua in Imbabura.

(1953) notes that “in the Sierra of Ecuador, almost all of the Indians that speak Kichwa use the assibilated *rr*” (p. 95; my translation), identifying this “defect” as frequent in rural areas and lacking in prestige as a marker of popular or “vulgar” speech (p. 95). Argüello (1978, 1980, 1984) points to generalized assibilated /r/ across social classes in northern Ecuador, though with higher rates of standardized forms among the middle and upper classes (as in Klee & Lynch, 2009), particularly those employed in education and related professions. Argüello (1984) asserts that assibilated /r/ has always been considered sub-standard, and that educational institutions have fought constantly to eradicate it without success.

The highest percentage of occurrence of prestige variants in the speech of individuals whose occupation is the educational field reflects the attitude of society toward them. Educational institutions have the obligation to promote the value system of the prestigious group, and, in the case of language, they have to inculcate or reinforce the linguistic forms considered correct. As teachers, they feel an obligation to provide the model for their students and the rest of the community, and by dint of habit it becomes habit for many. (p. 231; my translation)

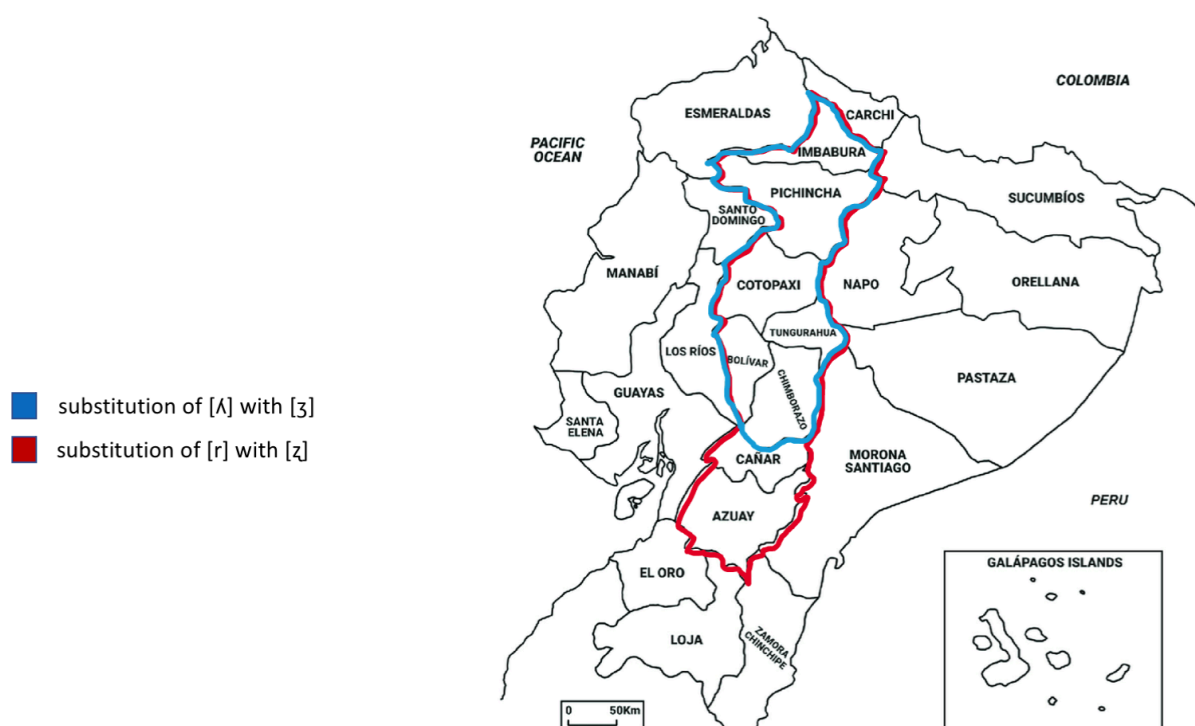
Argüello (1984) proposed that the lack of prestige that fricativized realizations carry is in part explained by their association with the Kichwa language (p. 155), though Argüello (1980) proposed that (as with [ʒ]) assibilated realizations of /r/ were gaining prestige in professional, political, and intellectual contexts. Haboud and de la Vega (2008) state that assibilated realizations (especially voiceless variants) of both /r/ and /ʎ/ are stereotypes of rural speech and that of Indigenous bilinguals, and that some speakers consider Quiteño speech “incorrect” for the fact that /r/ is “drawn out” (*arrastrado*), idealizing Loja or coastal Spanish as superior and often invoking the pronunciation of /r/ as evidence for this evaluation. In this sense, perceptions have not changed much since Toscano Mateus (1953) similarly noted:

Due to intonation¹⁷ and the correct pronunciation of ll and rr, the speech of Loja tends to be considered the most elegant of Ecuador. In that province, even peasant Indians, who wear their particular garb, speak surprisingly correct Spanish. (p. 37; my translation)

Haboud and de la Vega (2008) argue that the low prestige of these variants generates linguistic insecurity¹⁸ (Labov, 1963) and instability in their realization.

Figure 2.6

Map of Ecuador Showing zeísta and zeísta Regions



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Toscano Mateus (1953) states that /r/ is pronounced as a very assimilated fricative in both Spanish and Kichwa (he proposes, in parallel) from the province of Azuay northward, excluding the southernmost provinces of Loja and El Oro, as well as the northernmost province of Carchi.

¹⁷ Beyond individual sounds, language preferences and discrimination may extend to prosodic features found in this contact region (e.g., O'Rourke, 2010; Rao & Sessarego, 2018).

¹⁸ Estrella Santos (2022) notes that one of the main challenges in recruiting informants for the Linguistic Atlas of Ecuador project was linguistic insecurity: "most of them thought that they spoke bad Spanish and, therefore were not 'useful' to do this interview" (p. 75).

Argüello (1978) locates /r/ assibilation in the northern Andean region, extending from the Chota River (northern limit of Imbabura) in the north to the mountainous limits of the Azuay province in the south. Toapanta (2016) also found that /r/ assibilation was associated with geographic regions falling within this dialectal region. In sum (and curiously), fricativization of /r/ corresponds geographically to the fricativization of /ʎ/, with its nucleus in the central Andean highlands, though extending somewhat farther south along the Andes (Figure 2.6).

In a social perceptions study, Toapanta (2016) found that the normative trill [r] was associated with the upper social class, who were presumed to avoid the assibilated variant to distinguish themselves or for fear of being mocked. In that study, assibilation was found to be associated with Indigenous, poor, or uneducated persons and reported to be used in the market, non-urban places, and in casual conversations. Toapanta's (2016) respondents noted that high and middle classes use a normative trill [r] and avoid fricativized /r/ for its being "disrespectful," "inadequate," "inappropriate," "associated with poor people," "uneducated," certain geographic locations, and Indigenous and illiterate populations. People who pronounce /r/ as a fricative were said to be of "low standards," "low academic preparation," and "low income." Using a matched-guise technique, García (2018) found that fricativization of /r/ was associated with lower status (if heard as Quiteño speech), older (female) speakers, and central highlands Cuenca (Azuay). Stewart (2020) found that although this realization was produced widely among speakers of all dialects, speakers with close contact with Kichwa (rural L1 and L2 Spanish) favored [z]. Stewart (2020) mentions that speakers of Ibarra Spanish (capital of the northern province of Imbabura) are often stigmatized for their extensive use of [z] for /r/, which may explain their high number of idealized trills [r] in their recording sessions. Similarly, native

speaker consultants suggested exaggerated trill production may have been attempts by participants to sound “more refined” (Stewart, 2020).

Most recently and perhaps most relevantly to this dissertation, Gómez’ (2022) matched guise experiment with university students in Quito revealed that fricativized variants of /r/ consistently elicited negative attitudes relative to standardized trill realizations across a wide range of traits. An open-ended questionnaire showed that students associated fricativized variants with Indigeneity, rurality, and lack of education, and the young respondents expressed a strong aversion to fricativized /r/ overall. Gómez’ study suggests continued stigmatization of fricativized variants and their users in today’s Ecuador and can lead us to hypothesize that these negative perceptions are likely replicated within school settings.

2.3.2. Consequences of Linguistic Discrimination

The research in Ecuadorian Andean Spanish phonetic/phonological variation reviewed above represents the many descriptive and empirical accounts linking fricativized /r/ and /ʎ/ with Kichwa, rural speech, and Indigenous bilinguals. Even if not attributed directly to Kichwa substrate (as many linguists agree), these speech forms continue to be associated—at least in popular understanding—with Kichwa and Kichwa-speakers. The fact that features of Kichwa-associated Spanish are also subject to negative language attitudes has great consequences for the people who use them, particularly language-minoritized students within education models envisioned from a dominant, monolingual Spanish perspective.

Students whose home or community language practices do not align with those valued and supported by the school curriculum face language-based discrimination in the enforcement of the linguistic norm in the classroom. Features such as these may be marked as incorrect by a teacher, and students may receive negative feedback—such as *No se dice* ‘Don’t say...’—or

be judged by their peers for speaking a certain way. As a result, students' confidence can suffer, and they may become more reserved in class or internalize a false belief that they have some sort of linguistic deficit. Linguistic insecurity, a sense of shame toward their language use, and the desire to conform to unmarked language and dominant culture may result in students' discontinuing use of their community varieties and languages. Teachers' biases and negative feedback on students' speech and writing can push students to alter their linguistic practices and even abandon their language varieties completely. Teachers' negative responses to certain language features can also impact home and community attitudes toward the variety, and families may encourage children to assimilate linguistically in order to be more acceptable to teachers and to succeed academically. Charity Hudley and colleagues (2022) describe negative messages about language in the form of *linguistic microaggressions*, perpetuated by more structurally powerful individuals, such as teachers, and are—often unintentionally—offensive and harmful to students, labeling their marginalized language practices as inappropriate or uneducated. The devaluation of language practices such as the phonetic/phonological variation reviewed above is a form of linguistic discrimination or linguistic racism that leads to educational inequalities, supports unequal systems of power, and upholds racial domination.

When these effects apply to Indigenous language speakers, the consequences are compounded. The way teachers perceive and potentially attempt to remedy students' pronunciation has academic and social consequences for students, as well as implications for language maintenance or shift, such as discontinuing their use of the Indigenous language in an attempt to avoid discrimination and choosing to use only the dominant language instead (Tambaco & Floyd, 2022). Through common pedagogical responses to linguistic diversity (e.g., viewing the features as deficient, intervening to “correct” a student's language, treating Spanish

as default in bilingual classrooms), teachers may be unknowingly contributing to broader Indigenous cultural and language loss. A student's decision whether to use the Indigenous language at school and elsewhere may be influenced by an instructor's framing of elements of linguistic diversity in the classroom. In this sense, educators—especially non-Indigenous educators—hold an influential role in either perpetuating the educational system's historic processes of Hispanization or utilizing knowledge about language contact phenomena to promote language maintenance and improve the social meaning of the unique languages and variants found in the Andes.

2.4. Applying U.S./European Language and Education Lenses in World Contexts

In undertaking this work, I have reflected upon whether educational perspectives advocated in the U.S. and Europe are applicable to all situations of multilingualism and how educational and linguistic work should be contextualized to specific locations. While much of the language and education research presented in this chapter focusing on the role of schooling in the maintenance and development of bilingualism has been produced in the United States and Europe, many of the issues scrutinized in that scholarship are encountered worldwide (Blommaert, 2010; Canagarajah, 1993, 2014; Gal, 2006; García-Sánchez, 2016; Groff, 2018; Hornberger, 2014; Lee & McCarty, 2017a; Makalela, 2015; Wilson & Kamanā, 2009). Thus, given its potential to improve the educational experiences of language-minoritized students and support language reclamation (Leonard, 2017) in communities marked by shift to dominant languages, as well as its apparent universality in advocating contextualized, liberatory, and decolonizing instruction, that research has been taken up around the world (e.g., for Latin America: *plurilingual repertoires* in Argentina - Unamuno & Maldonado, 2012; *raciolinguistics* and *translanguaging* in Ecuador - Manresa, 2022, Wroblewski, 2021; and *emergent bilinguals* in

Peru - Zavala, 2015, 2018). By applying these critical pedagogies, teachers can upturn existing power relations and language hierarchies in schools internationally—e.g., promoting Quechua as the default language instead of Spanish in bilingual classrooms in the Peruvian Andes (Zavala, 2015). The positive academic and social results when students are allowed to draw on all of their linguistic repertoire in their academic work have been evidenced in the U.S. context (Flores & García, 2013; Martínez, 2010; Velasco & García, 2014), and multilingual students worldwide can benefit in similar ways.

However, while multilingualism-in-education research circulating in the U.S. and Europe addresses sociolinguistic configurations replicated throughout the world, it often does so through perspectives of bilingualism linked to the racial and ethnic hierarchies in those locations—e.g., for the U.S., regarding immigration and Spanish-English dual language education (García et al., 2017; Henderson, 2017; Martínez, 2010; Palmer & Martínez, 2013; Palmer et al., 2014). While research produced out of that experience is valuable, language and education research should reflect the specific realities, needs, and expectations of the communities who speak minoritized languages. For example, Lee and McCarty (2017b) argue that any attempt at Indigenous language revitalization should show “relentless commitment to community-based accountability” (p. 78) grounded in the goals, beliefs, resources, and commitment of communities themselves. In this sense, minoritized multilingual populations should be intellectually independent and have sovereignty and autonomy in their education and transmission of languages.

Importantly, community-internal and -external viewpoints may differ. For instance, although U.S./European research champions centering minoritized languages in schools, speakers of minoritized languages themselves often place importance on learning the dominant language (as we saw above within the Kichwa-Spanish context in Ecuador)—the so-called *codes*

of power (Delpit, 2006)—for questions of upward social mobility, which their communities have likely been long denied (King, 2000; Lee & McCarty, 2017a). Accordingly, as Indigenous modes of education focus on passing on skills, knowledge, and values within the community-family nexus (Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006), some of the most successful language reclamation efforts have taken place outside of formal schools—e.g., taught by local resource people or through *elder pedagogies* and intergenerational apprenticing in workplaces and homes (Hermes et al., 2012; Holmes & González, 2017; Olthuis et al., 2013; Wilson & Kamanā, 2009).

Another area where community-internal and -external understandings may differ concerns language purity. While European and U.S. research on multilingualism problematizes language purism and language separation, in contexts of Indigenous and minoritized languages, an element of strictness or “strong” language education is often advocated to protect the language and culture from disappearing (Lee & McCarty, 2017a; Manresa, 2022; Wilson & Kamanā, 2009; Zavala, 2015). For example, though not uncontested (Tambaco & Floyd, 2022), the creation of Unified Kichwa, or the standardized Kichwa applied in schooling in Ecuador since the 1990s (Montaluisa, 2019), was an attempt to advocate for Kichwa, formally establish it as an independent entity, separate it from ongoing Spanish influence, and create a shared linguistic code to facilitate education and intergenerational transmission of the language. Additionally, Western visions of language (traditionally viewing languages as objectifiable, emphasizing structure and number of speakers) is often misaligned with beliefs about language in Indigenous knowledge systems, which view language as spiritually-centered and unable to be separated from the environment, landscape, and cultural practices—i.e., as a subject in a classroom (Leonard, 2017). Despite U.S./European multilingualism scholarship having increasingly social views, it still generally assumes Western notions of language and schooling.

Education research in prestigious and widely circulated journals represents principally work carried out in the *Global North*, erasing theories of language and education from the *Global South*¹⁹. Privileged Western scholarly publication has historically excluded and imposed itself on the rest of the world via the geopolitics of academic publishing and inequalities in global knowledge production (Canagarajah, 2002; Curry & Lillis, 2018). In this way, widely-known educational research upholds the unjust social and academic systems it disavows and can be a continued form of colonization. For these reasons, there are major limitations of applying Global North multilingualism scholarship in the Global South, where people are often preoccupied with basic struggles for economic, political, and social transformation (Pennycook & Makoni, 2019).

2.4.1. Researcher Positionality and Subjectivities

As a non-Indigenous, white, U.S. scholar, I acknowledge my status as an outsider in the communities where I conduct this work and recognize the history of researchers (especially linguists) who have entered Indigenous communities, extracted data, and used it for their own professional advancement. I agree that it is the social responsibility of linguists to explicitly discuss the social and educational implications of our work and, as white allies, not to be complicit in, but challenge institutional racism (Charity Hudley et al., 2020, 2022).

In the years that I lived and worked in education in Imbabura, I formed relationships with colleagues who are now fundamental to the research—principally Alfonso Cachimuel, Indigenous Kichwa speaker and research professor in language and ancestral knowledge revitalization at Universidad Técnica del Norte (Ibarra, Imbabura). Professor Alfonso Cachimuel has graciously invited me into his community and helped me develop the alliances and

¹⁹ Pennycook and Makoni (2019) offer a definition of this taxonomy: “The Global South refers to the people, places, and ideas that continue to be occluded from the narratives of whose languages, ideas, and cultures count in the modern world. It combines a focus on both those regions of the world that have been systematically deprived of wealth, status, and freedom - many of which are indeed in the geographical South - with a broader focus on other histories of exclusion and disenfranchisement (Indigenous communities in many parts of the world are an obvious example).” (p. 122)

knowledge to approach the project through endemic lenses as much as possible. I consider it essential to recognize and compensate him and other collaborators and participants, but also to give back to their communities—as a minimum, by translating and sharing the research findings with them. It is important to make an effort to include and increase participation of community members in the production of knowledge, using institutional power to create access pathways, and collaborate by co-authoring publications and undertaking joint language projects. We can also contribute to local efforts with academic, economic, and other forms of support when possible. I intend to maintain my friendship with Professor Cachimuel and continue collaborating with him and other community members via workshops and co-authorship in future related publications.

Additionally, I aim to engage with alternatives to Global North research—in the case of Ecuador, in the form of lesser-cited undergraduate and graduate dissertations and non-academic literature in languages other than English—that give better insight into local perspectives. My study of the Kichwa language has also been essential to understanding some of its ontologies regarding what language and education mean locally.

One of my goals is to represent participating teachers supportively using a *teacher solidarity lens* (Philip et al., 2016), recognizing that their responses in a survey or interview are not necessarily representative of their beliefs. Debriefing and providing opportunities for teachers to expound on their answers via open-ended questions and interviews can represent their perspectives more holistically, though I acknowledge that my interpretations will always be biased. Finally, as an external researcher in Indigenous contexts, I commit to a constant “inward gaze” (Alim et al., 2020; Paris & Alim, 2014), challenging colonizing influences and questioning my responsibilities as I transition into professional roles and produce future scholarship.

2.5. Conclusion and Contribution to the Field

The review of literature presented in this chapter shows the extensive and valuable work that has been carried out in two disciplines: in educational research—regarding the language ideologies that exist in educational settings and dismantling the linguistic discrimination that takes place in schools worldwide—as well as in linguistics research—regarding the social perceptions of Kichwa-Spanish linguistic contact and its effects in Andean Ecuadorian Spanish. This dissertation yields new insights at the intersection of these two fields that can contribute greatly to each other in improving educational conditions for language-minoritized children. On the one hand, inquiries in education engage seriously with race and social justice; on the other hand, linguistics provides tangible examples of language that teachers encounter in their classrooms and that can initiate conversations around these larger topics. This project is grounded in and integrates these two disciplinary perspectives to advance needed research in achieving linguistic justice in schools.

Of the literature reviewed above, relatively few studies have examined how specific linguistic features—particularly fricativized /r/ and /ʎ/—are perceived by Ecuadorians (García, 2018; Gómez, 2022; Toapanta, 2016). Due to the productivity of fricativization among varieties in greater contact with Kichwa (Stewart, 2020), as well as its proposed stigmatization (Gómez, 2003; Haboud & de la Vega, 2008; Toapanta, 2016), social perceptions studies of this phenomenon, specifically, have great potential to effect change in language attitudes.

Most importantly, none of the work on perceptions of phonetic/phonological variation reviewed above has taken place within school settings. Existing research does not address perceptions of Kichwa-associated Spanish language features by educators, specifically, or the ramifications of imposing standardized forms on their students, particularly in IBE classrooms.

Therefore, it is imperative to carry out a close analysis to better understand teachers' orientations toward these and other non-standardized Spanish language features. This dissertation addresses that gap in the research by taking one minoritized phonetic phenomenon (i.e., fricativization) as an example in the much larger struggle to combat linguistic discrimination in schools.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.0. Introduction

In the previous chapter, the theoretical lenses of language ideologies and dismantling linguistic discrimination in schools (highlighting *raciolinguistics* perspectives) were presented and applied to Intercultural (Bilingual) Education in the multilingual context of Imbabura, Ecuador, where Spanish is characterized by Kichwa language contact. Two Andean Spanish phonetic features productive and salient in highland Ecuador—substitution of the voiced alveolar trill [r] with the voiced retroflex fricative [ʐ]; and substitution of the voiced palatal lateral approximant [ʎ] with the voiced alveopalatal fricative [ʒ]—were traced regarding the social evaluations that surround them, motivating research on educators' responses to such features in their classrooms and the potential impact of those responses on students' language maintenance and development.

3.1. Research Questions and Hypotheses

In light of the context outlined in the previous chapters, this dissertation is guided by the following research questions and hypotheses:

(RQ1) Does the presence of fricativized variants in recorded speech predict the social characteristics (e.g., education, place of residence, bilingualism) that teachers in Imbabura perceive of speakers?

- a. Realization of the voiced alveolar trill /r/ as a voiced retroflex fricative [ʐ]
- b. Realization of the voiced palatal lateral approximant /ʎ/ as a voiced alveopalatal fricative [ʒ]

(H1) Based on existing literature and first-hand experience, I hypothesize that teachers will associate the fricativized variants of both sounds with lower levels of education, lower socioeconomic status, rurality, and Kichwa-dominance. I also predict that teachers will evaluate

the fricativized variants as less accurate, more informal, and less appealing than standardized variants.

(RQ2) To what extent do these perceptions vary based on teachers' own demographic characteristics (i.e., self-identified Indigeneity, degree of bilingualism, rurality of residence, and type of school in which they work)?

(H2) I hypothesize that non-Indigenous (mestizo) teachers, teachers with less Kichwa knowledge (Spanish monolinguals), teachers residing in urban parishes of Imbabura, and teachers working in Spanish-only schools will more strongly associate fricativized variants with lower levels of education, lower socioeconomic status, rurality, and Kichwa-dominance. I also predict that they will rate fricativized variants as significantly less accurate, more informal, and less appealing than will Indigenous teachers, those with more Kichwa knowledge (Kichwa-Spanish bilinguals), those living in rural parishes, and those working in Intercultural Bilingual Education schools.

(RQ3) What (other) features of Kichwa-associated Spanish do teachers identify among students in their classrooms?

(H3) I hypothesize that many features proposed in the literature to be the result of Kichwa-Spanish language contact—e.g., distinct gender and number agreement; changes in word order; Kichwa borrowings and calques; unexpected use of high and mid vowels /i/-/e/ and /u/-/o/—will be reported by teachers as present in their bilingual students' Spanish.

(RQ4) What value judgments do teachers make regarding these features in their students' Spanish?

(H4) I hypothesize that language ideologies will be invoked by teachers that *index* (Schieffelin et al., 1998) or *iconize* (Gal & Irvine, 1995) the minoritized linguistic features mentioned in relation to social evaluations of students' and their families' race/ethnicity and socioeconomic status (demographics).

3.2. Procedure

3.2.1. Elicitation of Speech Data

To answer (RQ1) and (RQ2), this study made use of speech data recorded locally in Imbabura, Ecuador. The objective of speech data collection was to obtain tokens of both standardized and non-standardized (fricativized) pronunciations of the two sounds under investigation as produced by real speakers in Imbabura in order to design a verbal guise experiment in which teachers would react and provide feedback to hypothetical “students.” The aim of this experiment was to test whether the presence of fricativization—[z] and [ʒ]—in a student’s speech predicted the social characteristics that teachers perceived in the student. In a *verbal guise* paradigm (Davies & Elder, 2004), real speakers conform the stimuli, as opposed to the feigned or digitally manipulated speech used in a *matched guise* paradigm (Lambert et al., 1960). Though the verbal guise approach yields somewhat less controlled language for stimuli, this experimental design was best suited to answer the research questions given the project has an educational grounding and aims to understand how teachers perceive their students’ real language use. As such, the speech was recorded from local speakers via a reading task—emulating language use teachers might hear as students read aloud in class.

During Summer 2022, I recorded Kichwa-Spanish bilingual speakers ($n = 20$) in Otavalo (from the rural community of Larcacunga and the semi-rural community of Monserrath) and from Spanish monolinguals ($n = 10$) from the urban city center of Ibarra. The Indigenous Kichwa-Spanish bilingual speech data was recorded with the help of Professor Alfonso Cachimuel (Universidad Técnica del Norte, Ibarra); Spanish monolinguals were recorded with the help of Guillermo Benavides (Televisión Universitaria, UTN). Speech data populations were selected based on existing literature and personal experience regarding the regions and

populations in which the sounds in question might be found in Imbabura. I expected fricativized realizations to be produced more frequently by speakers of Spanish varieties in closer contact with Kichwa (e.g., rural Indigenous bilinguals' L2 Spanish) and that standardized forms would be produced more frequently by urban mestizo Spanish speakers in Ibarra, particularly among university radio employees, who are more concerned with their speech. Speakers' real social demographics were less important, however, than the features being present in the speech for inclusion in the verbal guise survey. Procedures for the elicitation of speech data in each of the three communities are described briefly below.

Figure 3.1

Map of the Three Locations in Imbabura where Speech Data was Gathered



This map is freely licensed and adapted under the Open Data Commons Open Database License (ODbL) by the OpenStreetMapFoundation (OSMF).

3.2.1.1. Larcacunga Community. After attending a Catholic Mass given in Kichwa in the Otavalo city center, a group of Indigenous bilingual parishioners held a weekly pastoral visit,

in which the group visits the home of one of the members to discuss religion and Indigenous culture in Kichwa. Professor Cachimuel, a leader in the Kichwa community in Otavalo, gave a sermon at the Mass and invited me to attend the pastoral visit in the rural community of Larcacunga (see Figure 3.1 for map), where I attended the group's *Inti Raymi* ceremony (ritual in reverence to the sun). After the ceremony and after Professor Cachimuel explained the research to the group in Kichwa, I recorded 9 parishioners (aged 18-78; 6 female and 3 male), individually, inside a parked vehicle to isolate ambient noise. As a whole, these participants are Indigenous L1 Kichwa–L2 Spanish bilinguals of lower socioeconomic status and education (most completed the elementary or high school level), and employed in work such as construction, clothing confection, and homemaking. They were born and raised in the surrounding Larcacunga region and have never resided outside the region. (Appendix A shows speech data participant demographics; Table 3.3 in the section on selection of stimuli shows the demographics of the speech data participants whose recordings were ultimately selected for use in the verbal guise survey).

3.2.1.2. Monserrath Community. A second group of Indigenous Kichwa-Spanish bilinguals was recorded adjacent to the Otavalo city center, in the semi-rural community of Monserrath—of which Professor Cachimuel was president at the time of the study. During a community association meeting held at a local daycare center, I was invited to share the aims of the research, and I then recorded 11 community leaders (aged 18-70; 7 female and 4 male), individually, in an adjoining classroom. This group includes L1 Kichwa and L1 Spanish bilinguals who use Spanish in more contexts than the previous group, though most continue to use Kichwa in home and family contexts. This group also represents mostly lower education and

socioeconomic status, and work as craftspeople, merchants, and teachers, among other professions.

3.2.1.3. Ibarra. Finally, 10 mestizo Spanish-speaking monolinguals (aged 20-54; 5 female and 5 male) were recorded at Universidad Técnica del Norte (UTN) in Ibarra. These monolingual participants are my former colleagues, employed by the radio and television station at UTN. Each participant was recorded individually in one of the station's recording studios. Participants in this group do not self-identify as Indigenous, do not have any Kichwa language knowledge, and are principally of middle socioeconomic status. All hold at least one university degree and are employed as journalists, radio announcers, secretaries, and technicians.

3.2.1.4. Reading Task. All speech data participants in the three populations mentioned above were audio-recorded as they read a list of 50 sentences aloud in Spanish via a reading task. After their expected participation was explained to them, all speech data participants gave informed consent (see Appendix B for speech data participant consent form) and provided their demographic information. Each of 40 target sentences contained one instance of orthographic <r>/<rr> or <ll> in linguistic contexts where fricativization has been attested in Ecuador—e.g., *Mi terreno está muy bonito*. ‘My yard is very nice.’; *Por favor, me pasas el cuchillo* ‘Please pass me the knife.’. 25 sentences contained <r>/<rr>, and 15 sentences contained <ll>. An additional 10 distractor sentences did not include these sounds. (See Appendix C for the list of sentences elicited.)

The 50 sentences were randomized and appeared in isolation on Powerpoint slides that I advanced one at a time as the participant, sitting next to me, read each aloud. All recordings were made at 44100 Hz in PRAAT speech analysis software (Boersma & Weenink, 1999–2005) using the built-in internal microphone of a MacBook Pro in a quiet setting (parked car, classroom,

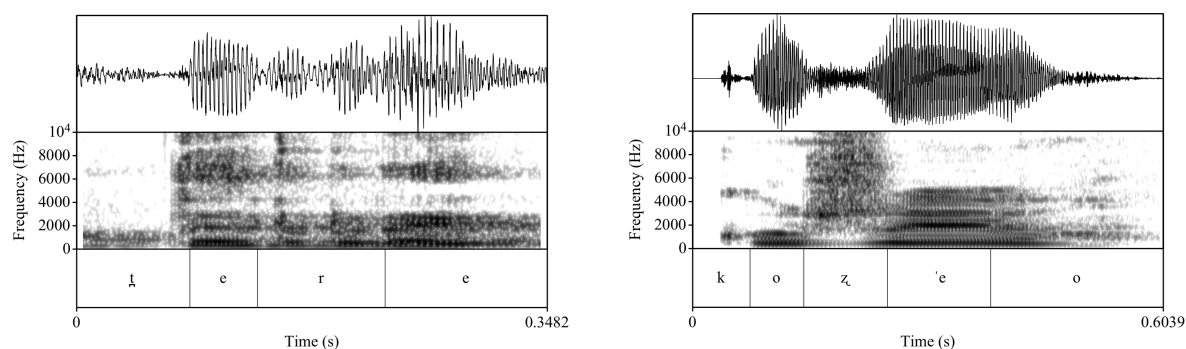
radio studio). The reading task lasted from 15 to 30 minutes, and each participant received 10 dollars cash for their contribution of speech data.

3.2.2. Analysis of Speech Data

Tokens of individual sounds were extracted from the sentences recorded from participants during the reading task and analyzed based on their acoustic properties as observed in PRAAT speech analysis software (Boersma & Weenink, 1999–2005). Considering the sounds sought for the verbal guise survey, tokens were classified based on acoustic evaluation as: voiced alveolar trill [r]; voiced retroflex fricative [ʐ]; voiced palatal lateral approximant [ʎ]; voiced alveopalatal fricative [ʒ]; or other variations (e.g., clusters, other sounds), which were not considered for inclusion in the verbal guise.

Figure 3.2

Voiced Alveolar Trill [r] in the Words ‘Te Reconoci’ (I Recognized you) and Voiced Retroflex Fricative [ʐ] in the Word ‘Correo’ (Mail)

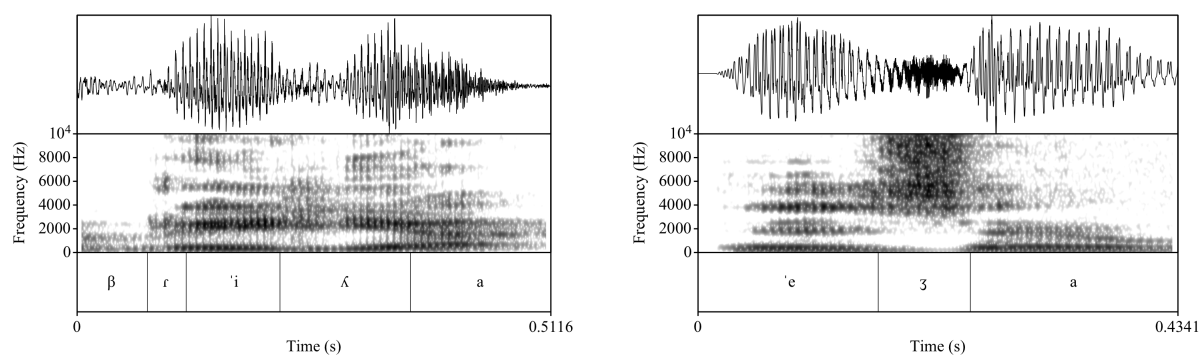


Acoustic correlates and impressionistic identification were used when classifying variants. For example, on the left hand side of Figure 3.2, a voiced alveolar trill [r] produced by a female speaker from Ibarra (participant SPEC in this study) shows multiple periods of vibration, each consisting of a closure and aperture phase. The spectral energy is reduced during the closure phases, corresponding to lingual contacts, whereas the aperture phases show more vowel-like

formants in the spectrum and voicing in the waveform. Contrastingly, the voiced retroflex fricative [ʒ] on the right hand side, produced by a female speaker from Larcacunga (participant MOA in this study), shows no vibrations or occlusions, friction noise in the upper region of the spectrum, little energy in the bottom of the spectrum, and an aperiodic, bunched waveform. Voiced retroflex fricatives were also identified by a relative center of spectral energy between 3,000 and 5,000 Hz (Stewart, 2020).

Figure 3.3

Voiced Palatal Lateral Approximant [ʎ] in the Word ‘Brilla’ (Shines) and Voiced Alveopalatal Fricative [ʒ] in the Word ‘Ella’ (She)



Likewise, Figure 3.3 shows a voiced palatal lateral approximant [ʎ] produced by a male speaker from Ibarra (participant FT) on the left hand side. Continued airflow around the sides of the tongue is reflected by continued formants through the spectrogram and a periodic waveform. Fainter formant structure in the first half of the segment corresponds to lateral constriction, followed by darker formant structure in the second half of the segment, continuing into the following vowel (Cole, 2022). Alternatively, on the right hand side, the voiced alveopalatal fricative [ʒ], produced by a male speaker in Larcacunga (participant JG), (as in the voiced retroflex fricative [ʒ]) shows frication noise in the upper region of the spectrum, little energy in the bottom of the spectrum, and an aperiodic waveform. Relative center of spectral energy for the

voiced alveopalatal fricatives is between 7,500 and 10,000 Hz (Stewart, 2020). Voicing was identified using the glottal pulses feature in PRAAT, visible as blue vertical lines through the waveform (not shown here) indicating when vocal cords are vibrating. Segment duration was measured by taking the time interval manually in milliseconds.

3.2.3. Descriptive Summary of Speech Data

This dissertation is not intended as a variationist analysis across communities; however, the results of the speech data obtained via the reading task confirmed the predicted distribution of variants, providing a small descriptive survey of rhotic and approximant variation in Imbabura and are thus summarized below.

Acoustic analysis revealed a range of allophones for orthographic <r-/<rr> and <ll> across the three speech communities, in line with existing evidence of extensive allophonic variation for these sounds in the region (Cole, 2022; Stewart, 2020). Drawing from a sample of 750 tokens of /r/ and in linguistic contexts where fricativization has been attested in Ecuador, all three communities produced sounds classified as “other” more frequently than either a prototypical trill [r] or voiced retroflex fricative [z]. Numerous intermediate variants were found in the data, including within-speaker variation, with varying degrees of frication present in the signal. For /r/, other variants included taps [ɾ], voiceless retroflex fricatives [ɕ], and complex clusters (e.g., tap-fricative, tap-approximate). Upon comparison, data for the rural bilingual community of Larcacunga showed high incidences of the voiced retroflex fricative [z], the number of tokens of which decreased when moving to the semi-rural bilingual community of Monserrath, and even more so moving to the urban monolingual community of Ibarra. In a corresponding fashion, the frequency of use for the trill [r] increased when moving from Larcacunga, to Monserrath, to Ibarra. While both bilingual communities (Larcacunga and

Monserrath) tended to favor the voiced retroflex fricative over the trill, the most commonly used of the two allophones in the urban community of Ibarra was the trill. Few trills were identified in Larcacunga, and inversely, few fricatives were identified in Ibarra. Allophonic distributions can be seen in Tables 3.1 and 3.2.

Table 3.1

Allophonic Variations of /r/ Across Each Speech Community

| Community | Variation of /r/ <r->/<rr> (Spanish) | | | Total |
|--------------|--------------------------------------|------------|------------|------------|
| | [r] | [ʀ] | other | |
| Larcacunga | 11 | 104 | 135 | 250 |
| Monserrath | 32 | 75 | 143 | 250 |
| Ibarra | 76 | 7 | 167 | 250 |
| Total | 119 | 186 | 445 | 750 |

Note. Numbers refer to the quantity of tokens present in the data.

Table 3.2

Allophonic Variations of /ʎ/ Across Each Speech Community

| Community | Variation of /ʎ/ <ll> (Spanish) | | | Total |
|--------------|---------------------------------|------------|------------|------------|
| | [ʎ] | [ʝ] | other | |
| Larcacunga | 2 | 80 | 68 | 150 |
| Monserrath | 36 | 75 | 39 | 150 |
| Ibarra | 27 | 65 | 58 | 150 |
| Total | 65 | 220 | 165 | 450 |

Within-speaker variation and many intermediate variants were also found in the data for /ʎ/ (including voiceless palatal fricatives [ç], some instances of the voiced palatal fricative [j] or *yeísmo*, and complex clusters—e.g., [ʝç]), though less so than for /r/. In contrast to patterns in

rhotic production, regarding /ʎ/ the fricativized variant ([ʒ]) was the most commonly produced variant across all three speech communities. Fricativized variants were most frequent in Larcacunga and decreased only slightly in number when moving from rural to urban communities. Regarding the prestige variant, the speech community that produced the most voiced palatal lateral approximants [ʎ] was semi-rural Monserrath, with a comparable number produced by speakers in Ibarra. Meanwhile, production of that sound was almost nonexistent in Larcacunga.

Based on the dataset here, the tendency to favor [ʒ] for /ʎ/ across all three groups indicates that this pronunciation is quite extended and common across social groups in the region (based on the data obtained here and anecdotal evidence, [ʒ] may be used regardless of socioeconomic status, sector of residence, bilingual status). It appears that [ʎ] coexists with [ʒ] in Imbabura, though perhaps most frequently among speakers residing in more urban areas. That speakers in Otavalo-adjacent Monserrath produced the highest number of tokens of [ʎ] in this sample may align with existing accounts that [ʎ] is used by some middle class speakers in an attempt to sound more educated, formal, or to elevate their social status (Haboud & de la Vega, 2008; Stewart, 2020). The data presented for rhotics here appears to be distributed more clearly along social lines regarding production, where [r] and [z] are favored in an inverse fashion: in social groups where [z] increases, [r] decreases, and vice versa. Although [z] is also famously widespread in Imbabura and Andean Ecuador, this distribution may lead us to expect [z] to be more salient and potentially more stigmatized than [ʒ]. Fricativization of the palatal lateral /ʎ/ to [ʒ] may be considered more acceptable in all registers—considering that the radio personnel produced [ʒ] during the reading task, yet apparently avoided fricativization of /r/ to [z], even if they may use the sound in their daily vernacular. The findings of this small-scale variationist

survey raise the question of whether the retroflex fricative [ʐ] is more associated with the Indigenous language Kichwa and its influence upon Spanish than is [ʒ] (which also appears, for example, in Spanish in Argentina and Uruguay), and thus more highly stigmatized, reflecting the historical and sociocultural marginalization of Indigenous speakers in the Andes.

3.2.4. Selected Stimuli and Design of Verbal Guise Survey

Speech data from eight participants (one man and one woman for each of the four sounds) was used to construct the verbal guise survey. From the larger dataset described above, stimuli for the verbal guise were selected based on the quantity and quality (length, clarity) of target tokens each participant produced. In other words, to be selected for inclusion in the verbal guise, a speaker needed to produce at least 5 sentences containing strong, clear target tokens in one of the allophonic categories—[r], [ʎ], [ʐ], or [ʒ]—(either word-initially or intervocalically and not in orthographic consonant clusters), as well as 3 distractor sentences, without reading problems, stuttering, or using other salient phonetic features that could give away the speakers' region of residence, education, or bilingual status (e.g., vowel raising).

Ultimately, stimuli for the verbal guise experiment consisted of audio recordings from eight “students.” Each student was a different speech data participant, who represented one allophonic category. Four students represented standardized pronunciations, while the other four represented fricativized pronunciations. One man and one woman produced each sound. In some instances, the same sentence was spoken by multiple “students,” based on the availability of the tokens produced. Table 3.3 below shows the demographic characteristics of the participants whose speech data was selected to be included in the verbal guise survey.

Table 3.3

Demographic Characteristics of Participants Whose Speech Data Was Included in the Verbal Guise Survey

| Participant | Age | Sex | Residence | Sector | Ethnicity | Languages | Profession | Education | Socioeconomic Status |
|---|-------|-----|-------------------------------|------------|------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|----------------------|
| Tokens of voiced alveolar trill [r] | | | | | | | | | |
| STUDENT 1 (SPEC) | 39 | F | Ibarra | Urban | Mestizo | Spanish | Communications / Journalist | Graduate Degree | Middle |
| STUDENT 2 (RANC) | 35-54 | M | Ibarra | Urban | Mestizo | Spanish | Social Communications | Graduate Degree | High |
| Tokens of voiced palatal lateral approximant [ɭ] | | | | | | | | | |
| STUDENT 3 (PB) | 35-54 | F | Ibarra | Urban | Mestizo | Spanish | Secretary | University | Upper-Middle |
| STUDENT 4 (FT) | 35-54 | M | Ibarra | Urban | Mestizo | Spanish | Technical Operations (AV) | University | Middle |
| Tokens of voiced retroflex fricative [ʐ] | | | | | | | | | |
| STUDENT 5 (MEGS) | 35-54 | F | Asama, Patalanga | Rural | Indigenous | L1 Kichwa L2 Spanish | Homemaker | Elementary School | Low |
| STUDENT 6 (LM) | 34 | M | Monserath, Otavalo | More Rural | Indigenous | L1 Kichwa L1 Spanish | Construction | High School | Low |
| Tokens of voiced alveopalatal fricative [ʒ] | | | | | | | | | |
| STUDENT 7 (MIAA) | 20-34 | F | San Francisco de la Rinconada | Rural | Indigenous | L1 Kichwa L2 Spanish | University Student | University | Preferred not to say |
| STUDENT 8 (HRRP) | 25 | M | La joya, Cuatro esquinas | Rural | Indigenous | L1 Kichwa L2 Spanish | Tailor | High School | Low |

The verbal guise was constructed using the survey software *Qualtrics* (Provo, UT, 2023). The survey first asked demographic questions of participant teachers: age, gender, birthplace, current residence and years lived there, ethnicity, languages, and self-ratings of proficiency. Next, teachers were prompted to listen to the embedded audible recordings for each “student” (each set of recordings appeared under the heading of Student 1, Student 2, etc.). The design of the verbal guise is detailed in Table 3.4 below. The exact sentences and characteristics of tokens selected as stimuli are presented in Appendix D.

Table 3.4*Verbal Guise Design*

| Standardized Tokens | | | |
|--------------------------------|------------------------|--|------------------------|
| voiced alveolar trill [r] | | voiced palatal lateral approximant [ʎ] | |
| STUDENT 1 (woman) | STUDENT 2 (man) | STUDENT 3 (woman) | STUDENT 4 (man) |
| 5 sentences with [r] | 5 sentences with [r] | 5 sentences with [ʎ] | 5 sentences with [ʎ] |
| 3 distractor sentences | 3 distractor sentences | 3 distractor sentences | 3 distractor sentences |
| Fricativized Tokens | | | |
| voiced retroflex fricative [ʒ] | | voiced alveopalatal fricative [ʒ] | |
| STUDENT 5 (woman) | STUDENT 6 (man) | STUDENT 7 (woman) | STUDENT 8 (man) |
| 5 sentences with [ʒ] | 5 sentences with [ʒ] | 5 sentences with [ʒ] | 5 sentences with [ʒ] |
| 3 distractor sentences | 3 distractor sentences | 3 distractor sentences | 3 distractor sentences |

After hearing a set of recordings, teachers were asked to rate the student on a four- or five-point Likert scale for perceived sociolinguistic characteristics: (1) socioeconomic status (high/low), (2) level of education (high/low), (3) place of residence (rural/urban), and (4) bilingualism (does not speak Kichwa/speaks Kichwa). Because this study also aimed to understand instructors' language ideologies, teachers were instructed to rate each student's language for (5) accuracy (correct/incorrect); (6) contextual style (formal/informal); and (6) appeal (pleasant/unpleasant). In addition to the Likert scale ratings, two open-ended survey questions asked teachers to (a) identify any specific characteristics of each student's language that informed their choices and (b) provide feedback regarding language use as if the student were their own. (See Appendix E for the verbal guise survey layout.)

3.2.5. Interview Design

In the context of regional and social language varieties in Ecuador and Imbabura, an interview was designed with the aim of forming a corpus of non-standardized Spanish language features that teachers perceive as originating in Kichwa and have witnessed among students in

their classrooms. A semi-structured interview format facilitated evolving recall, segues, and follow-up questions that were valuable given this topic. The interview sought insight into the popular salience of Kichwa-Spanish bilingual linguistic structures and the ideologies that are invoked to evaluate them, pedagogically (e.g., through “correcting” students’ language practices).

After initial questions confirming teachers’ biographical information and language background, I asked teachers whether and how they can tell if a student is a Kichwa-speaker by the way they speak Spanish—as exemplified in their bilingual students’ pronunciation, grammar, choice of words, and expressions. I then asked teachers what their opinions are about these non-standardized Spanish features in students’ speech and writing and how they address them in the classroom. Further questions touched upon social perceptions of Kichwa and bilingualism in society at large, any episodes of language-related discrimination that teachers have witnessed, and teachers’ opinions of their own language use. (See Appendix F for interview questions.)

3.2.6. *Participants*

A total of 180 teachers from 16 primary and secondary schools (*Educación General Básica*; approximate U.S. equivalent: 1st–10th grade) in the canton of Otavalo took part in this study [91 teachers at eight Intercultural Bilingual Education (IBE) System schools in rural communities; 89 teachers at eight Spanish-only schools in urban sectors]. The demographics of participating teachers are presented in Table 3.5 below.

Table 3.5*Demographics of Participating Teachers*

| Teacher Demographic | School Type | | | | | | Total (<i>N</i> = 180) |
|---------------------------|----------------------------------|---------|--------------------------|--|---------|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| | IBE Teachers (<i>n</i> = 91) | | | Spanish-only Teachers (<i>n</i> = 89) | | | |
| Age | | | | | | | |
| < 20 | | | 1 | | | 0 | 1 |
| 20–34 | | | 15 | | | 14 | 29 |
| 35–54 | | | 59 | | | 62 | 121 |
| 55 + | | | 15 | | | 13 | 28 |
| Preferred not to say | | | 1 | | | 0 | 1 |
| Gender | | | | | | | |
| Woman | | | 49 | | | 56 | 105 |
| Man | | | 42 | | | 33 | 75 |
| Ethnicity | | | | | | | |
| Mestizo | | | 47 | | | 68 | 115 |
| Indigenous | | | 43 | | | 18 | 61 |
| Afro-Ecuadorian | | | 1 | | | 2 | 3 |
| Montubio | | | 0 | | | 1 | 1 |
| Kichwa Proficiency | | | | | | | |
| Mother Tongue | 21 | 21 0 | Indigenous Non-Indig. | 11 | 11 0 | Indigenous Non-Indig. | 32 |
| Bilingual | 4 | 4 0 | Indigenous Non-Indig. | 0 | 0 0 | Indigenous Non-Indig. | 4 |
| Advanced | 5 | 5 0 | Indigenous Non-Indig. | 0 | 0 0 | Indigenous Non-Indig. | 5 |
| Intermediate | 7 | 6 1 | Indigenous Non-Indig. | 3 | 3 0 | Indigenous Non-Indig. | 10 |
| Basic | 20 | 4 16 | Indigenous Non-Indig. | 10 | 3 7 | Indigenous Non-Indig. | 30 |
| No knowledge | 14 | 0 14 | Indigenous Non-Indig. | 32 | 1 31 | Indigenous Non-Indig. | 46 |
| Left Blank | 20 | 3 17 | Indigenous Non-Indig. | 33 | 0 33 | Indigenous Non-Indig. | 53 |
| Residence | | | | | | | |
| Rural Parishes | | | 57 | | | 31 | 88 |
| Urban Parishes | | | 34 | | | 58 | 92 |

Note. Mestizo, Afro-Ecuadorian, and Montubio participants were grouped as non-Indigenous, according to locally-understood distinctions.

A subgroup of 36 teachers participated in the interviews—20 from Intercultural Bilingual Education (IBE) System schools in rural communities and 16 from Spanish-only schools in urban sectors (see Tables 3.6 and 3.7).

Table 3.6

Characteristics of IBE Teachers Interviewed

| No. Teacher | Age | Sex | Ethnicity | Kichwa language proficiency | Subject | Years of Teaching Experience | Residence |
|----------------------|-----|-----|------------|-----------------------------|---|------------------------------|-----------|
| 1 AERP ²⁰ | 51 | F | Mestizo | Basic | Chemistry, Biology, Natural Sciences | 25 | urban |
| 2 CEN | 44 | F | Mestizo | Basic | Kichwa, Language Arts (currently Principal) | 18 | rural |
| 3 JGN | 54 | M | Mestizo | Left blank (basic) | Math (currently Vice Principal) | 24 | urban |
| 4 LPDR | 39 | F | Mestizo | No knowledge | Math | 14 | urban |
| 5 LWRB | 51 | M | Mestizo | Left blank | Physics | 16 | urban |
| 6 PBGO | 33 | F | Mestizo | Left blank | Elementary (all subjects) | 10 | rural |
| 7 SRMR | 32 | F | Mestizo | Basic | Language Arts | 10 | rural |
| 8 GCA | 58 | M | Indigenous | Mother Tongue | Kichwa, Language Arts | 34 | rural |
| 9 JESP | 61 | M | Indigenous | Mother Tongue | Math, Kichwa | 33 | rural |
| 10 JJAM | 43 | M | Indigenous | Mother Tongue | Elementary (all subjects) | 23 | urban |
| 11 JMCN | 64 | M | Indigenous | Mother Tongue | Elementary (all subjects) | 35 | rural |
| 12 JCRM | 38 | M | Indigenous | Basic | Biology, Art | 10 | rural |
| 13 JPC | 43 | M | Indigenous | Mother Tongue | English, Tourism | 20 | rural |
| 14 LACF | 55 | M | Indigenous | Bilingual | Language Arts, Social Studies, Math | 24 | rural |
| 15 LEV | 39 | M | Indigenous | Mother Tongue | Kichwa, English | 14 | rural |
| 16 LHL | 51 | M | Indigenous | Basic | Chemistry, Biology | 20 | rural |
| 17 LTYC | 45 | M | Indigenous | Intermediate | Kichwa | 14 | rural |
| 18 MHLC | 55 | M | Indigenous | Mother Tongue | Kichwa, Philosophy | 13 | urban |
| 19 NAQV | 32 | F | Indigenous | Advanced | Elementary (all subjects), Kichwa | 11 | urban |
| 20 VJTQ | 39 | F | Indigenous | Left blank | Elementary (all subjects), Kichwa | 12 | rural |

²⁰ All names are coded pseudonyms.

Table 3.7*Characteristics of Spanish-only Teachers Interviewed*

| No. | Teacher | Age | Sex | Ethnicity | Kichwa proficiency | Subject | Years of Teaching Experience | Residence |
|-----|---------|-----|-----|-----------------|--------------------|--|------------------------------|-----------|
| 1 | MTC | 42 | F | Afro-Ecuadorian | Left blank | 7 th Grade (all subjects) | 14 | urban |
| 2 | CVMM | 54 | M | Mestizo | No knowledge | Citizenship | 36 | urban |
| 3 | GAAB | 50 | F | Mestizo | Left blank | Language Arts (currently Principal) | 25 | rural |
| 4 | JMCO | 41 | M | Mestizo | No knowledge | Art (currently Vice Principal) | 9 | urban |
| 5 | LFFV | 33 | M | Mestizo | No knowledge | Biology | 13 | urban |
| 6 | MAAM | 35 | M | Mestizo | No knowledge | Elementary (all subjects) | 10 | urban |
| 7 | NJ | 55 | F | Mestizo | Left blank | 7 th Grade (all subjects) | 28 | urban |
| 8 | PC | 38 | F | Mestizo | Left blank | Elementary (all subjects) | 17 | urban |
| 9 | AEGG | 41 | F | Indigenous | Basic | English | 11 | urban |
| 10 | AVL | 29 | M | Indigenous | Mother Tongue | Math, Physics (currently Vice Principal) | 8 | rural |
| 11 | BISS | 26 | M | Indigenous | Mother Tongue | Science | 2 | rural |
| 12 | GAAF | 41 | F | Indigenous | Basic | Math (currently Principal) | 16 | urban |
| 13 | LACA | 34 | M | Indigenous | Mother Tongue | Biology, Chemistry | 8 | rural |
| 14 | MBMC | 31 | M | Indigenous | No knowledge | Art | 6 | rural |
| 15 | MBQM | 60 | F | Indigenous | Basic | Language Arts | 25 | urban |
| 16 | ORMF | 36 | M | Indigenous | Mother Tongue | Electronics, Technical Drawing | 7 | rural |

3.2.6.1. Target School Selection and Recruitment. The 16 target schools that participated in the research were selected using public information published by Ecuador's Ministry of Education as representative of the populations and experiences of IBE and Spanish-only teachers and students in Otavalo. As mentioned in Chapter 1, about half of the schools in Otavalo follow the IBE model, most of which are located in rural zones of the canton (Ministerio de Educación, 2023). Thus, the eight target IBE schools were selected from the rural parishes of Otavalo and provided the school had at least 10 teachers to participate in the study.

The original design of this dissertation included only the eight IBE schools. As such, teachers from these schools participated in the survey and interview first. However, that work with rural educators began to reveal a common issue facing Intercultural Bilingual Education as a whole: the educational migration of Indigenous students from schools in rural communities to schools in urban sectors. Additionally, IBE teachers voiced in their interviews that episodes of discrimination were more common for Indigenous students in urban settings. It was determined during data collection in the field that the participation of teachers in urban, Spanish-only schools could provide a rich avenue for comparative analysis. The perceptions of Spanish-only teachers in urban schools regarding bilingual language phenomena and the use of non-standardized Spanish in classrooms are particularly worthy of study, given their implications for the Kichwa language and identity maintenance of students who have migrated from rural communities to the city center for their education. Additionally, to my knowledge, a comparison of teachers' linguistic perspectives in Ecuador that takes into account the educational model in which they teach (IBE or Spanish-only) as a potential influence has never been done before. Thus, the eight largest, most emblematic Spanish-only schools in Otavalo's city center were also selected and the same methods and procedures were applied there, resulting in a total of 16 participating schools altogether.

Authorization was obtained from the Director of the Otavalo–Antonio Ante School District 10D02 to carry out the research with teachers on school campuses. Initial authorization was granted for the eight IBE schools and subsequently for the eight Spanish-only schools (see Appendix G for School District Authorizations). These authorizations were sought according to the local norms of appearing in-person at the District Directorate in Otavalo to present a formal letter, which is assigned a routing number, and several days later receiving the District Director's

written response, a document which school directors required in order to agree to the research and for me to enter school campuses. In the case of the second authorization for the urban Spanish-only schools, after an initial rejection, I appealed through the same process and was asked to justify my research personally with the District Director in a meeting, after which the petition was approved. I also participated in a short training on the mandatory reporting of situations of violence on school campuses, which was required by the District for my entry into the schools.

All teacher participants were recruited by contacting school directors and sharing the documentation and invitation to participate in the study through a WhatsApp group (school directors' contact information was facilitated by the District). Directors aided in sharing the information about the study with their teachers, and I then visited each of the schools during summer and fall of 2023 to inform teachers about the research and invite them to participate. Directors and teachers were made aware that, if possible, the study sought equal representation of Indigenous and non-Indigenous teachers. I obtained informed consent from those teachers interested in participating (8-16 teachers from each school; see Appendix H for teacher participant consent form) and carried out the verbal guise survey, interviews, and classroom observations as described below.

3.2.7. Phase I: Verbal Guise Survey

Data for Phase I of the dissertation was gathered by deploying a verbal guise survey (detailed in the section on survey design) with teachers. Upon consent, teachers at each of the 16 schools completed the survey in *Qualtrics* (Provo, UT, 2023) on computers in their school computer lab or using personal devices. Teachers were provided with AVID AE-36 on-ear stereo headphones for the listening portions. Participants were told that they were part of a study

examining how people perceive speech without seeing the speaker and were welcome to debrief about the survey once they had completed it (which some did). Teachers received ten dollars for their contribution to the research through their survey responses.

3.2.8. Phase II: Language Interview

Data for Phase II of the dissertation was gathered via 30-minute audio-recorded interviews with a subset of teachers ($n = 36$) who completed the survey in Phase I. Interviewees were selected based on availability in their schedules and interest in participating—again, with the aim of representing both Indigenous and non-Indigenous teachers when possible in order to explore whether these groups coincide in their identification and value judgments of non-standardized Spanish language features. One teacher participant was interviewed at a time in classrooms or administrative offices on the school campuses during the school day. These teachers received extra compensation (ten dollars) for their contribution to the interview phase of the research.

3.2.9. Phase III: Classroom Observations

In Phase III of the study, I observed eight IBE teachers who had already participated in the surveys and interviews as a third point of data. After obtaining consent (see Appendix I for classroom observation consent script), I visited classrooms at the eight participating IBE focal schools (one observation per school) and observed a lesson that teachers imparted to their students. Teachers carried out their class as usual, without preparing any special content or activities, and I did not participate actively in the lesson, but observed and made field notes. Including classroom observations allowed me to triangulate teachers' responses in the surveys and interviews (regarding their perceptions of bilingualism and language diversity) with their classroom practices and interactions with students. Classroom observations enriched the dataset

by contextualizing it within the daily reality of teachers and students in Intercultural Bilingual Education in Imbabura, Ecuador and contributed to a more ethical, sustained relationship with the focal schools. Teachers did not receive compensation for participating in the classroom observation.

3.3. Data Analysis

3.3.1. Preparing Survey Data

To prepare the survey data for statistical analysis, teacher participants were coded into binaries along each of four demographic variables—teacher Indigeneity (reference level = Indigenous), teacher bilingualism (reference level = bilingual), teacher rurality of residence (reference level = rural), and teacher school type (reference level = IBE)—based on the information that teachers provided in the survey. Teachers who self-evaluated their Kichwa proficiency as mother tongue, bilingual, advanced, or intermediate were coded as bilingual teachers; those who self-evaluated their Kichwa proficiency as basic, no knowledge, or left the field blank were coded as monolingual teachers. The demographic variable of rurality was determined by comparing teachers' disclosure of residence to rural/urban designations made by the national census institute (Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos, 2010). Teachers living in rural parishes of Imbabura were coded as rural teachers, while those residing in urban parishes were coded as urban teachers. Table 3.8 below shows how teachers were classified demographically for statistical analysis.

Table 3.8*Teacher Demographic Classification for Statistical Analysis*

| Demographic Variable | | IBE Teachers (<i>n</i> = 91) | Spanish-only Teachers (<i>n</i> = 89) | Total (<i>N</i> = 180) |
|-----------------------|----------------|----------------------------------|--|----------------------------|
| Indigeneity | | | | |
| | Indigenous | 43 | 18 | 61 |
| | Non-Indigenous | 48 | 71 | 119 |
| Bilingualism | | | | |
| | Bilingual | 37 | 14 | 51 |
| | Monolingual | 54 | 75 | 129 |
| Rurality of Residence | | | | |
| | Rural | 57 | 31 | 88 |
| | Urban | 34 | 58 | 92 |

3.3.2. Survey Data Analysis

To illustrate general trends in teachers' perceptions regarding the two phonetic features selected as examples of non-standardized Spanish (fricativized /r/ and /ʎ/), teacher participants' survey responses on the Likert scale as stored in *Qualtrics* were transformed into numerical values and analyzed via separate linear mixed-effects regression models using the *lme4* package in R Statistical Software (R Core Team 2021, v.4.2.3) for each of the seven characteristics for which teachers rated students in the survey: socioeconomic status, education, urbanity, monolingualism, accuracy, formality, and appeal. In each model, teachers' Likert scale ratings acted as the dependent variable, and independent variables/fixed effects were: for Research Question 1, speech variant; for Research Question 2, the interaction effects of the teacher demographic variables (teacher Indigeneity, teacher bilingualism, teacher rurality of residence, and teacher school type) with speech variant. Main effects (non-interactions with speech variant) of Indigeneity, rurality, bilingualism, and school type on ratings were not included in the models. Teacher participants (name) was included as a random effect, and speakers producing the variants (student) was included as an item effect in the models. First, models were run with

speech variant as a whole—standardized ([r] and [ʌ]) vs. fricativized ([z] and [ʒ]); (reference level = fricativized)—as the independent variable/fixed effect (See Figure 3.4 below). Later, further models were run with the individual phonemes as independent variables/fixed effects: /r/ (reference level = [z]) and /ʌ/ (reference level = [ʒ]), as seen in Figure 3.5 below.

Figure 3.4

Example of Linear Mixed-effects Model with Speech Variant (Reference Level = Fricativized) as a Fixed Effect

```
Education_model <- lmer(rating ~ variant + indigeneity_bin:variant
+ bilingualism_bin:variant + rurality_bin:variant + school_type_bin:variant
+ (1|NAME) + (1|Student),
data = subset(long_survey, characteristic == 'Education'))
```

Note. This model was run in R (R Core Team 2021, v.4.2.3) for the characteristic of education.

Figure 3.5

Example of Linear Mixed-effects Model with /r/ (Reference Level = [z]) as a Fixed Effect

```
Education_model <- lmer(rating ~ norm_r + indigeneity_bin:norm_r + bilingualism_bin:norm_r
+ rurality_bin:norm_r + school_type_bin:norm_r
+ (1|NAME) + (1|Student),
data = subset(long_survey, characteristic == 'Education'))
```

Table 3.9 below shows all dependent and independent variables analyzed.

Table 3.9*Dependent and Independent Variables Analyzed*

| Dependent Variables | Independent Variables/Fixed Effects |
|---|---|
| Teachers' Likert Scale Ratings 1. For Socioeconomic Status 2. For Education 3. For Urbanity 4. For Monolingualism 5. For Accuracy 6. For Formality 7. For Appeal | RQ1 |
| | 1. Speech Variant [ref = fricativized] |
| | 2. /r/ [ref = [z]] |
| | 3. /ʎ/ [ref = [ʒ]] |
| | RQ2 |
| | 4. Teacher Indigeneity*Speech Variant [ref = fricativized] |
| | 5. Teacher Bilingualism*Speech Variant [ref = fricativized] |
| | 6. Teacher Rurality*Speech Variant [ref = fricativized] |
| | 7. Teacher School Type*Speech Variant [ref = fricativized] |
| | 8. Teacher Indigeneity*/r/ [ref = [z]] |
| | 9. Teacher Bilingualism*/r/ [ref = [z]] |
| | 10. Teacher Rurality*/r/ [ref = [z]] |
| | 11. Teacher School Type*/r/ [ref = [z]] |
| | 12. Teacher Indigeneity*/ʎ/ [ref = [ʒ]] |
| | 13. Teacher Bilingualism*/ʎ/ [ref = [ʒ]] |
| 14. Teacher Rurality*/ʎ/ [ref = [ʒ]] | |
| 15. Teacher School Type*/ʎ/ [ref = [ʒ]] | |

Significance level was set at $p < 0.05$. Effect size metrics were calculated by substituting the t values and degrees of freedom (df)—generated for each model by the R software output—into Rosenthal's (1991) equation $r = \sqrt{t^2/(t^2+df)}$ to calculate the value of r (effect size). Effect size was then interpreted according to Cohen (1992): no effect ($r = < 0.1$); small effect ($r = 0.1-0.29$); medium effect ($r = 0.3-0.49$); large effect ($r = 0.5-1$).

The two open-answer survey questions were analyzed qualitatively via structural coding (Saldaña, 2009), which labels and indexes a specific type of content within the data, as framed by a specific research question or topic. In order to summarize teachers' evaluative stances toward the standardized and fricativized pronunciations, all descriptors (i.e., adjectives) that were used in teachers' written responses to describe students' speech were compiled along with the

number of times each descriptor was used. The fifteen descriptors used most by teachers were selected as representative of teachers' responses as a whole.

3.3.3. Interview Data Analysis

To explore teachers' perceptions in more depth and extend the research to features of non-standardized Spanish beyond the phonetic features included in the survey, interviews with the subgroup of 36 teachers were analyzed qualitatively. Interview transcripts were uploaded into *NVivo* qualitative data analysis software (QSR International Pty Ltd, 2018). Structural coding (Saldaña, 2009) was also used to answer Research Question 3—regarding what features of Kichwa-associated Spanish IBE teachers identify among students in their classrooms. Interviews were coded structurally for linguistic features identified, according to traditional levels of linguistic analysis as child codes: phonetic-phonological, syntactic-morphological, lexical, and pragmatic-other. From the structurally-coded interviews, a corpus was compiled of all linguistic features identified, as well as the number of teachers that mentioned each feature to help identify which features were most commonly mentioned.

Values coding (Saldaña, 2009) was used to answer Research Question 4—regarding the trends in value judgments teachers make of non-standardized features in their students' Spanish—because it captures and labels participants' values, attitudes, and belief systems, exploring their origins. This coding was also carried out using *NVivo* qualitative data analysis software (QSR International Pty Ltd, 2018). Some value codes were constructed beforehand (*a priori*) based on the literature on the hegemonic language ideologies presented in Chapter 2 (e.g., Monoglossic Ideologies, Standard Language Ideology). Emergent codes (e.g., Kichwa Language as a Resource, Web of Concerns for Young Indigenous Bilinguals) were developed and applied, first through initial descriptive coding, and then through higher-level pattern coding (Dörnyei,

2007; Saldaña, 2009), in which broader categories were generated merging similarly-coded data along an emergent theme and dropping more marginal or infrequent codes. Analytic memo writing took place before, during, and after coding. The thematic categories generated across interviews are used to interpret and present teachers' discourse about their students' language and triangulate findings with trends in the survey results as detailed in the chapter that follows.

Chapter 4: Results

4.0. Introduction

This chapter presents the results of the quantitative and qualitative analyses described in the previous chapter, guided by each of the four research questions laid out in the Introduction and Methods chapters. The chapter begins by reporting the results of statistical analyses of the verbal guise survey completed by 180 teachers in the province of Imbabura, Ecuador, followed by a summary of qualitative findings from the open-ended questions from that survey. Next, it introduces a corpus of Kichwa-associated non-standardized Spanish language features organized by linguistic level (e.g., lexical, morphosyntactic, phonetic/phonological, etc.) that was generated via structural coding of interviews with 36 of the teachers. Finally, it presents the results of values coding of the interviews—namely, trends identified in teachers’ evaluative stances toward their students’ Kichwa-influenced Spanish.

4.1. Survey Results

This section reports statistical results from the verbal guise survey concerning whether and how the presence of fricativized /r/ and /ʎ/ (i.e., the voiced retroflex fricative [ʀ] and voiced alveopalatal fricative [ʝ], respectively) in recorded speech impacts teachers’ perceptions of speakers along seven social characteristics, as well as the extent to which these perceptions vary in relation to teachers’ own demographic characteristics.

4.1.1. RQ1 Results (Perceptions of /r/ and /ʎ/ Fricativization)

(RQ1) Does the presence of fricativized variants in recorded speech predict the social characteristics (e.g., education, place of residence, bilingualism) that teachers in Imbabura perceive of speakers?

- a. Realization of the voiced alveolar trill /r/ as a voiced retroflex fricative [ʀ]

- b.** Realization of the voiced palatal lateral approximant /ʎ/ as a voiced alveopalatal fricative [ʒ]

Results of the linear mixed-effects regression models show that speech variant—grouped aggregately as fricativized ([z] and [ʒ]) vs. standardized ([r] and [ʎ]) with a reference level of fricativized—yielded a significant effect ($p < 0.05$) on teachers' ratings for all seven perceived characteristics of the speaker: socioeconomic status, education, urbanity, monolingualism, accuracy, formality, and appeal. In other words, teachers rated the speakers differently, across all seven traits, depending on which variant (standardized or fricativized) was present in the speaker's speech. We see in the results of statistical modeling (Table 4.1 below) that the effect of speech variant (seen in bold lettering) on teachers' ratings is significant for each of the seven traits.

Table 4.1

Results of Mixed-effects Models for Teachers' (N = 180) Ratings of Speech Variant and Interactions with Teacher Demographics

| Trait | Predictors | Estimate | SE | t | p |
|----------------------|--|------------------|------------------|--------------|---------------------|
| Socioeconomic Status | (Intercept) | 2.793e+00 | 1.385e-01 | | |
| | Speech Variant [ref = fricativized] | 8.638e-01 | 1.988e-01 | 4.345 | 0.003632 ** |
| | Teacher Indigeneity*Speech Variant | -9.844e-03 | 1.155e-01 | -0.085 | 0.932114 |
| | Teacher Bilingualism*Speech Variant | -5.995e-02 | 1.186e-01 | -0.506 | 0.613183 |
| | Teacher Rurality*Speech Variant | 8.659e-02 | 6.190e-02 | 1.399 | 0.162103 |
| | Teacher School Type*Speech Variant | 2.244e-01 | 5.966e-02 | 3.761 | 0.000177 *** |
| Education | (Intercept) | 2.54749 | 0.17596 | | |
| | Speech Variant [ref = fricativized] | 1.07333 | 0.25125 | 4.272 | 0.003974 ** |
| | Teacher Indigeneity*Speech Variant | 0.09190 | 0.14529 | 0.633 | 0.527146 |
| | Teacher Bilingualism*Speech Variant | -0.10255 | 0.14910 | -0.688 | 0.491703 |
| | Teacher Rurality*Speech Variant | 0.06315 | 0.07785 | 0.811 | 0.417390 |
| | Teacher School Type*Speech Variant | 0.28802 | 0.07503 | 3.839 | 0.000129 *** |
| Urbanity | (Intercept) | 2.30726 | 0.21706 | | |
| | Speech Variant [ref = fricativized] | 1.53586 | 0.31240 | 4.916 | 0.00184 ** |
| | Teacher Indigeneity*Speech Variant | 0.10177 | 0.18620 | 0.547 | 0.58478 |
| | Teacher Bilingualism*Speech Variant | -0.05226 | 0.19108 | -0.273 | 0.78452 |
| | Teacher Rurality*Speech Variant | 0.17761 | 0.09977 | 1.780 | 0.07528 |
| | Teacher School Type*Speech Variant | 0.12979 | 0.09615 | 1.350 | 0.17731 |
| Monolingualism | (Intercept) | 2.18994 | 0.14106 | | |
| | Speech Variant [ref = fricativized] | 1.18358 | 0.20170 | 5.868 | 0.000519 *** |
| | Teacher Indigeneity*Speech Variant | 0.02813 | 0.14841 | 0.190 | 0.849680 |
| | Teacher Bilingualism*Speech Variant | -0.16748 | 0.15230 | -1.100 | 0.271682 |
| | Teacher Rurality*Speech Variant | 0.07314 | 0.07952 | 0.920 | 0.357835 |
| | Teacher School Type*Speech Variant | 0.13100 | 0.07664 | 1.709 | 0.087610 |
| Accuracy | (Intercept) | 2.66061 | 0.10212 | | |
| | Speech Variant [ref = fricativized] | 0.58133 | 0.14814 | 3.924 | 0.00548 ** |
| | Teacher Indigeneity*Speech Variant | 0.06875 | 0.10200 | 0.674 | 0.50044 |
| | Teacher Bilingualism*Speech Variant | -0.09488 | 0.10468 | -0.906 | 0.36492 |
| | Teacher Rurality*Speech Variant | 0.05226 | 0.05465 | 0.956 | 0.33919 |
| | Teacher School Type*Speech Variant | 0.13541 | 0.05267 | 2.571 | 0.01026 * |
| Formality | (Intercept) | 2.35754 | 0.12218 | | |
| | Speech Variant [ref = fricativized] | 0.67004 | 0.17585 | 3.810 | 0.00672 ** |
| | Teacher Indigeneity*Speech Variant | 0.09386 | 0.11119 | 0.844 | 0.39876 |
| | Teacher Bilingualism*Speech Variant | -0.08733 | 0.11410 | -0.765 | 0.44421 |
| | Teacher Rurality*Speech Variant | 0.06358 | 0.05957 | 1.067 | 0.28605 |
| | Teacher School Type*Speech Variant | 0.17405 | 0.05741 | 3.031 | 0.00248 ** |
| Appeal | (Intercept) | 2.65642 | 0.09971 | | |
| | Speech Variant [ref = fricativized] | 0.47269 | 0.14442 | 3.273 | 0.01326 * |
| | Teacher Indigeneity*Speech Variant | 0.14741 | 0.09883 | 1.492 | 0.13608 |
| | Teacher Bilingualism*Speech Variant | -0.08255 | 0.10142 | -0.814 | 0.41582 |
| | Teacher Rurality*Speech Variant | 0.07769 | 0.05295 | 1.467 | 0.14257 |
| | Teacher School Type*Speech Variant | 0.16095 | 0.05103 | 3.154 | 0.00165 ** |

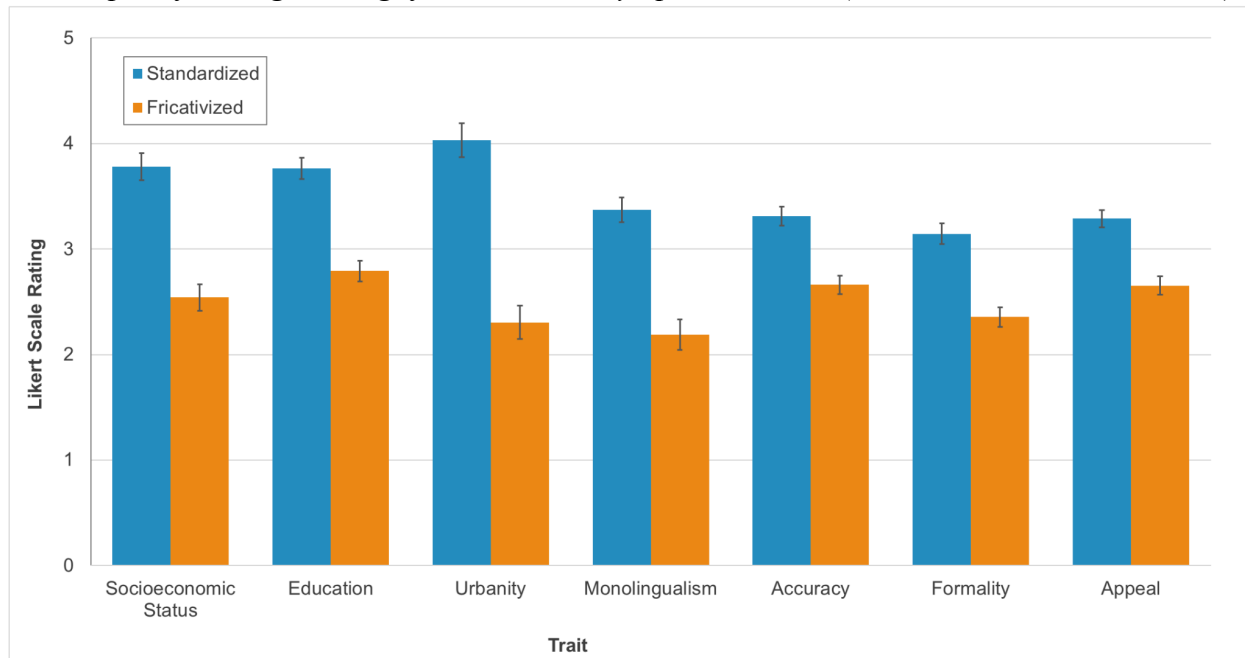
Note. Significance codes: * < 0.05; ** < 0.01; *** < 0.001

The directionality of this difference is seen in the Estimate column in Table 4.1, in which the estimate value for the effect of speech variant is positive, indicating that when the speech variant changes from fricativized to standardized, the teachers' ratings increase on the Likert scale. As expected, teachers rated speakers whose speech contained fricativized variants as of significantly lower socioeconomic status, less educated, more rural, and more Kichwa-Spanish bilingual than speakers whose speech contained standardized realizations. Likewise, speech containing fricativized variants was rated as significantly less accurate, more informal, and less appealing than speech containing standardized variants. The significant effect of speech variant on teachers' ratings for all seven traits corresponded to a large effect size (r values ranged from 0.77–0.91).

In Figure 4.1 below, bar graphs show the average ratings for each of the seven traits by speech variant (standardized vs. fricativized). Due to the nature of the questions, socioeconomic status, education, and urbanity were rated on a 5-point Likert scale, and monolingualism, accuracy, formality, and appeal were rated on a 4-point Likert scale. Results indicate that fricativized speech variants had lower average ratings from teachers across all seven perceived traits.

Figure 4.1

Bar Graphs of Average Ratings for Each Trait by Speech Variant (Standardized vs. Fricativized)



Note. Error bars = 95% CI

These results apply to the models in which speech variant was grouped as a whole—standardized ([r] and [ʌ]) vs. fricativized ([z] and [ʒ]); (reference level = fricativized). Results of subsequent models (considered below) separated that data into the two individual phonemes under investigation: /r/ (reference level = [z]) and /ʌ/ (reference level = [ʒ]).

4.1.1.1. Teachers’ Perceptions of [z]. The phoneme /r/ (reference level = [z]) yielded a significant effect on teachers’ ratings for five of the seven characteristics. These results are shown in Table 4.2. (where the effect of /r/ is marked in bold lettering) and Figure 4.2 below.

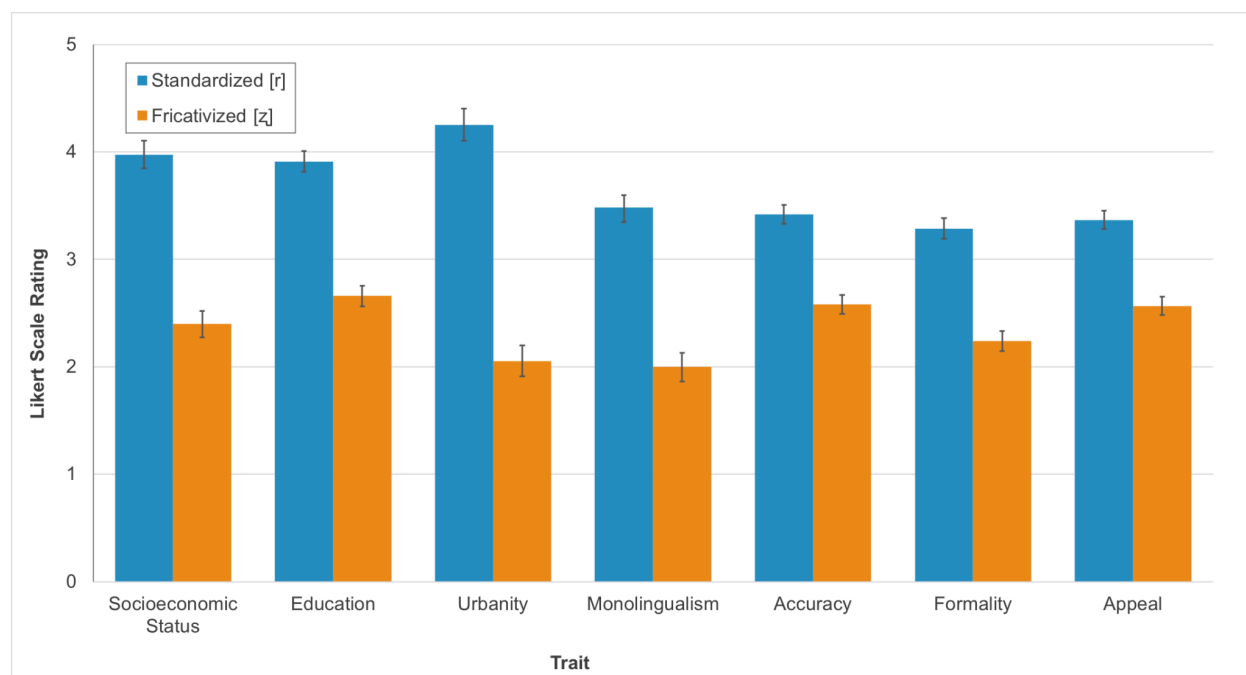
Table 4.2

Results of Mixed-effects Models for Teachers' (N = 180) Ratings of /r/ and Interactions with Teacher Demographics

| Trait | Predictors | Estimate | SE | t | p |
|----------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------|------------------|
| Socioeconomic Status | (Intercept) | 2.40223 | 0.20922 | | |
| | /r/ [ref = [z]] | 1.39822 | 0.30375 | 4.603 | 0.03280 * |
| | Teacher Indigeneity*/r/ | -0.02886 | 0.19523 | -0.148 | 0.88252 |
| | Teacher Bilingualism*/r/ | 0.03181 | 0.20035 | 0.159 | 0.87388 |
| | Teacher Rurality*/r/ | 0.04279 | 0.10460 | 0.409 | 0.68260 |
| | Teacher School Type*/r/ | 0.29675 | 0.10081 | 2.944 | 0.00335 ** |
| Education | (Intercept) | 2.65922 | 0.18933 | | |
| | /r/ [ref = [z]] | 1.12867 | 0.27338 | 4.129 | 0.04444 * |
| | Teacher Indigeneity*/r/ | 0.05762 | 0.15118 | 0.381 | 0.70323 |
| | Teacher Bilingualism*/r/ | -0.15885 | 0.15514 | -1.024 | 0.30625 |
| | Teacher Rurality*/r/ | 0.06188 | 0.08100 | 0.764 | 0.44518 |
| | Teacher School Type*/r/ | 0.33306 | 0.07807 | 4.266 | 2.27e-05 *** |
| Urbanity | (Intercept) | 2.055866 | 0.247385 | | |
| | /r/ [ref = [z]] | 1.900426 | 0.360469 | 5.272 | 0.0246 * |
| | Teacher Indigeneity*/r/ | -0.005876 | 0.229252 | -0.026 | 0.9796 |
| | Teacher Bilingualism*/r/ | 0.213278 | 0.235259 | 0.907 | 0.3650 |
| | Teacher Rurality*/r/ | 0.173486 | 0.122831 | 1.412 | 0.1583 |
| | Teacher School Type*/r/ | 0.105191 | 0.118380 | 0.889 | 0.3746 |
| Monolingualism | (Intercept) | 2.00000 | 0.22036 | | |
| | /r/ [ref = [z]] | 1.53144 | 0.31815 | 4.814 | 0.0311 * |
| | Teacher Indigeneity*/r/ | 0.14958 | 0.19050 | 0.785 | 0.4326 |
| | Teacher Bilingualism*/r/ | -0.30621 | 0.19549 | -1.566 | 0.1177 |
| | Teacher Rurality*/r/ | -0.02308 | 0.10207 | -0.226 | 0.8212 |
| | Teacher School Type*/r/ | 0.17660 | 0.09837 | 1.795 | 0.0730 |
| Accuracy | (Intercept) | 2.58101 | 0.15519 | | |
| | /r/ [ref = [z]] | 0.76314 | 0.22522 | 3.388 | 0.0643 |
| | Teacher Indigeneity*/r/ | 0.06904 | 0.13412 | 0.515 | 0.6069 |
| | Teacher Bilingualism*/r/ | -0.13588 | 0.13763 | -0.987 | 0.3239 |
| | Teacher Rurality*/r/ | 0.09769 | 0.07186 | 1.359 | 0.1745 |
| | Teacher School Type*/r/ | 0.14950 | 0.06926 | 2.159 | 0.0312 * |
| Formality | (Intercept) | 2.24302 | 0.13816 | | |
| | /r/ [ref = [z]] | 0.89910 | 0.20289 | 4.431 | 0.03273 * |
| | Teacher Indigeneity*/r/ | 0.14556 | 0.14691 | 0.991 | 0.32213 |
| | Teacher Bilingualism*/r/ | -0.15197 | 0.15076 | -1.008 | 0.31378 |
| | Teacher Rurality*/r/ | 0.14209 | 0.07871 | 1.805 | 0.07149 |
| | Teacher School Type*/r/ | 0.17348 | 0.07586 | 2.287 | 0.02252 * |
| Appeal | (Intercept) | 2.56983 | 0.14330 | | |
| | /r/ [ref = [z]] | 0.66049 | 0.20865 | 3.166 | 0.07178 |
| | Teacher Indigeneity*/r/ | 0.21027 | 0.13202 | 1.593 | 0.11170 |
| | Teacher Bilingualism*/r/ | -0.22165 | 0.13548 | -1.636 | 0.10229 |
| | Teacher Rurality*/r/ | 0.12116 | 0.07073 | 1.713 | 0.08721 |
| | Teacher School Type*/r/ | 0.18393 | 0.06817 | 2.698 | 0.00715 ** |

Figure 4.2

Bar Graphs of Average Ratings for Each Trait by /r/ (Standardized [r] vs. Fricativized [z])



As with the aggregate data, the pattern holds for the phoneme /r/ that the average ratings of the fricativized variant were lower than the standardized variant across all traits. Because analysis of /r/ by itself yields half the number of trials (i.e., survey question responses) as compared to the aggregate analysis of both phonemes, the presence of [z] in the stimuli showed a significant effect on teachers' ratings for socioeconomic status, education, urbanity, monolingualism, and formality (all corresponding to a large effect size; $r = 0.94\text{--}0.96$), but there was not enough statistical power to detect statistical significance for teachers' ratings for accuracy or appeal.

4.1.1.2. Teachers' Perceptions of [ʒ]. The effect of the phoneme /ʒ/ (reference level = [ʒ]) yielded a significant effect on teachers' ratings for monolingualism. These results are seen below in Table 4.3 (where the effect of /ʒ/ is marked in bold lettering) and Figure 4.3 below.

Table 4.3

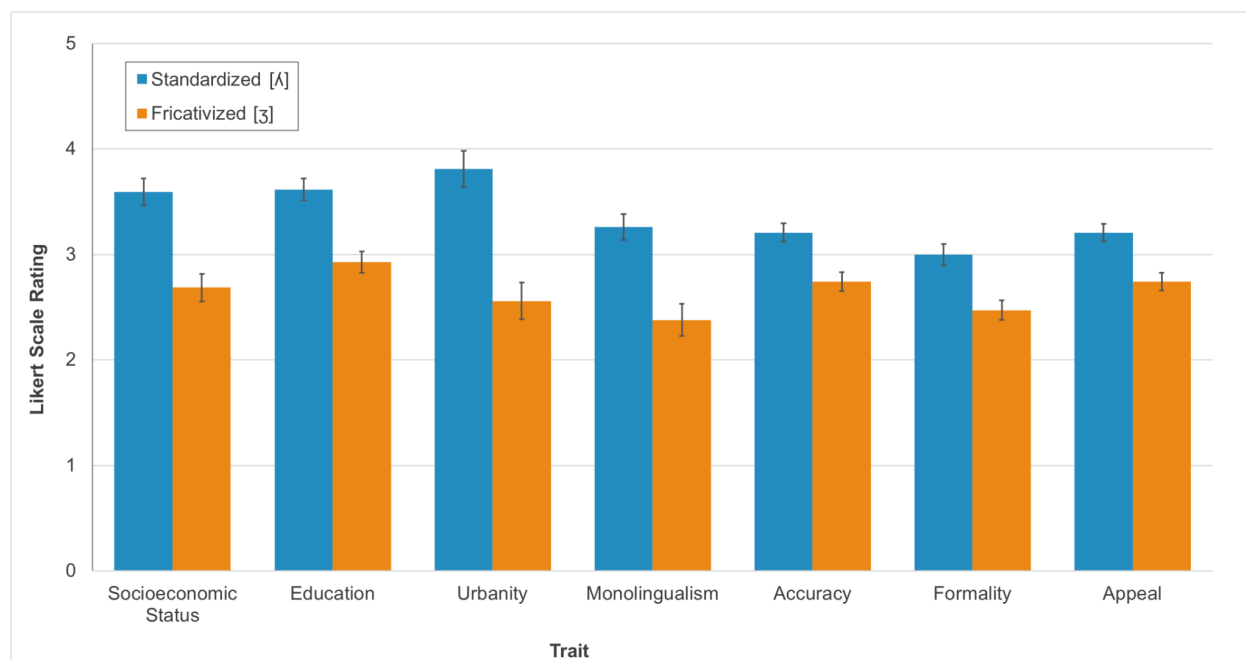
Results of Mixed-effects Models for Teachers' (N = 180) Ratings of /κ/ and Interactions with Teacher Demographics

| Trait | Predictors | Estimate | SE | t | p |
|----------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------|-------------------|
| Socioeconomic Status | (Intercept) | 2.69274 | 0.28229 | | |
| | /κ/ [ref = [3]] | 0.76178 | 0.40386 | 1.886 | 0.18968 |
| | Teacher Indigeneity*/κ/ | 0.08422 | 0.19360 | 0.435 | 0.66369 |
| | Teacher Bilingualism*/κ/ | -0.08453 | 0.19868 | -0.425 | 0.67062 |
| | Teacher Rurality*/κ/ | 0.10106 | 0.10373 | 0.974 | 0.33027 |
| | Teacher School Type*/κ/ | 0.18439 | 0.09997 | 1.844 | 0.06554 |
| Education | (Intercept) | 2.92737 | 0.19440 | | |
| | /κ/ [ref = [3]] | 0.61199 | 0.28015 | 2.185 | 0.14680 |
| | Teacher Indigeneity*/κ/ | -0.12830 | 0.15620 | -0.821 | 0.41172 |
| | Teacher Bilingualism*/κ/ | 0.11220 | 0.16030 | 0.700 | 0.48420 |
| | Teacher Rurality*/κ/ | 0.11600 | 0.08369 | 1.386 | 0.16617 |
| | Teacher School Type*/κ/ | 0.04613 | 0.08066 | 0.572 | 0.56756 |
| Urbanity | (Intercept) | 2.55866 | 0.32435 | | |
| | /κ/ [ref = [3]] | 1.16878 | 0.46823 | 2.496 | 0.1161 |
| | Teacher Indigeneity*/κ/ | 0.06437 | 0.26541 | 0.243 | 0.8084 |
| | Teacher Bilingualism*/κ/ | -0.15377 | 0.27236 | -0.565 | 0.5725 |
| | Teacher Rurality*/κ/ | 0.18789 | 0.14220 | 1.321 | 0.1868 |
| | Teacher School Type*/κ/ | 0.10898 | 0.13705 | 0.795 | 0.4268 |
| Monolingualism | (Intercept) | 2.37989 | 0.12721 | | |
| | /κ/ [ref = [3]] | 0.82633 | 0.19088 | 4.329 | 0.019827 * |
| | Teacher Indigeneity*/κ/ | -0.16687 | 0.20796 | -0.802 | 0.422584 |
| | Teacher Bilingualism*/κ/ | 0.07076 | 0.21341 | 0.332 | 0.740326 |
| | Teacher Rurality*/κ/ | 0.15137 | 0.11143 | 1.358 | 0.174745 |
| | Teacher School Type*/κ/ | 0.07721 | 0.10739 | 0.719 | 0.472365 |
| Accuracy | (Intercept) | 2.740223 | 0.141208 | | |
| | /κ/ [ref = [3]] | 0.421187 | 0.205874 | 2.046 | 0.15765 |
| | Teacher Indigeneity*/κ/ | 0.040636 | 0.137703 | 0.295 | 0.76801 |
| | Teacher Bilingualism*/κ/ | -0.019211 | 0.141312 | -0.136 | 0.89190 |
| | Teacher Rurality*/κ/ | 0.009207 | 0.073780 | 0.125 | 0.90072 |
| | Teacher School Type*/κ/ | 0.061641 | 0.071107 | 0.867 | 0.38631 |
| Formality | (Intercept) | 2.47207 | 0.18661 | | |
| | /κ/ [ref = [3]] | 0.45006 | 0.26860 | 1.676 | 0.22256 |
| | Teacher Indigeneity*/κ/ | -0.05762 | 0.14851 | -0.388 | 0.69816 |
| | Teacher Bilingualism*/κ/ | 0.06723 | 0.15241 | 0.441 | 0.65924 |
| | Teacher Rurality*/κ/ | 0.04259 | 0.07957 | 0.535 | 0.59266 |
| | Teacher School Type*/κ/ | 0.09903 | 0.07669 | 1.291 | 0.19702 |
| Appeal | (Intercept) | 2.74302 | 0.15540 | | |
| | /κ/ [ref = [3]] | 0.32921 | 0.22485 | 1.464 | 0.26676 |
| | Teacher Indigeneity*/κ/ | 0.03324 | 0.13113 | 0.253 | 0.79999 |
| | Teacher Bilingualism*/κ/ | 0.08145 | 0.13457 | 0.605 | 0.54522 |
| | Teacher Rurality*/κ/ | 0.04068 | 0.07026 | 0.579 | 0.56282 |
| | Teacher School Type*/κ/ | 0.07367 | 0.06771 | 1.088 | 0.27701 |

Note. Significance codes: * < 0.05; ** < 0.01; *** < 0.001

Figure 4.3

Bar Graphs of Average Ratings for Each Trait by /k/ (Standardized [k] vs. Fricativized [ɰ])



In a similar fashion, the pattern holds for the phoneme /k/ in that average ratings of the fricativized variant were lower than for the standardized variant across traits. As with analysis of /r/, analysis of /k/ by itself yields half the number of trials as compared to the aggregate analysis of both phonemes. As such, the presence of [ɰ] in the stimuli showed a significant effect on teachers' ratings for monolingualism (predicting the perception of the speaker as bilingual), corresponding to a large effect size ($r = 0.92$), but there was not enough statistical power to detect statistical significance for teachers' ratings for the other six traits.

4.1.2. RQ2 Results (Perceptions Based on Teacher Demographics)

(RQ2) To what extent do these perceptions vary based on teachers' own demographic characteristics (i.e., self-identified Indigeneity, degree of bilingualism, rurality of residence, and type of school in which they work)?

Returning to the results of the mixed-effects models (as seen in Table 4.1, which is duplicated below for ease of reading), there were no significant interaction effects between speech variant and teacher Indigeneity, teacher bilingualism, or teacher rurality of residence (seen as Teacher Indigeneity*Speech Variant, etc.). That is, Indigenous and mestizo teachers, bilingual and monolingual teachers, and rural and urban teachers rated students similarly in that their own demographic differences did not have significant effects on Likert ratings of the recorded speech. In essence, reflecting the results as a whole, teachers rated fricativized variants more negatively than their standardized counterparts across these demographic groups.

Table 4.1

Results of Mixed-effects Models for Teachers' (N = 180) Ratings of Speech Variant and

Interactions with Teacher Demographics

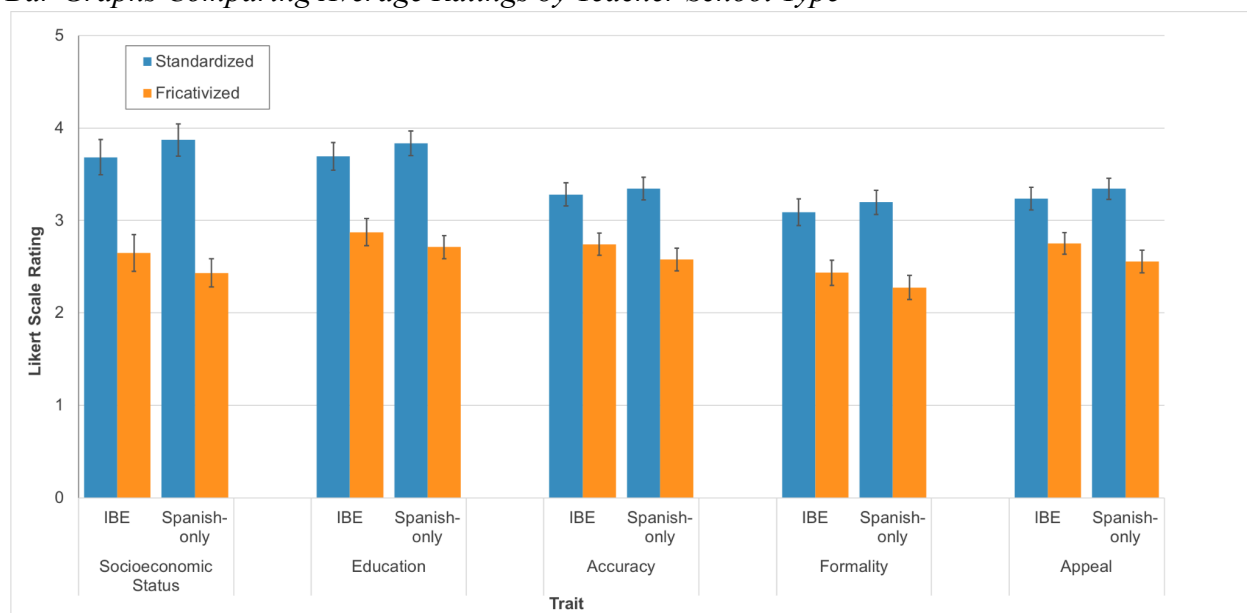
| Trait | Predictors | Estimate | SE | t | p | |
|----------------------|---|------------------|------------------|--------------|-----------------|------------|
| Socioeconomic Status | (Intercept) | 2.793e+00 | 1.385e-01 | | | |
| | Speech Variant [ref = fricativized] | 8.638e-01 | 1.988e-01 | 4.345 | 0.003632 | ** |
| | Teacher Indigeneity*Speech Variant | -9.844e-03 | 1.155e-01 | -0.085 | 0.932114 | |
| | Teacher Bilingualism*Speech Variant | -5.995e-02 | 1.186e-01 | -0.506 | 0.613183 | |
| | Teacher Rurality*Speech Variant | 8.659e-02 | 6.190e-02 | 1.399 | 0.162103 | |
| | Teacher School Type*Speech Variant | 2.244e-01 | 5.966e-02 | 3.761 | 0.000177 | *** |
| Education | (Intercept) | 2.54749 | 0.17596 | | | |
| | Speech Variant [ref = fricativized] | 1.07333 | 0.25125 | 4.272 | 0.003974 | ** |
| | Teacher Indigeneity*Speech Variant | 0.09190 | 0.14529 | 0.633 | 0.527146 | |
| | Teacher Bilingualism*Speech Variant | -0.10255 | 0.14910 | -0.688 | 0.491703 | |
| | Teacher Rurality*Speech Variant | 0.06315 | 0.07785 | 0.811 | 0.417390 | |
| | Teacher School Type*Speech Variant | 0.28802 | 0.07503 | 3.839 | 0.000129 | *** |
| Urbanity | (Intercept) | 2.30726 | 0.21706 | | | |
| | Speech Variant [ref = fricativized] | 1.53586 | 0.31240 | 4.916 | 0.00184 | ** |
| | Teacher Indigeneity*Speech Variant | 0.10177 | 0.18620 | 0.547 | 0.58478 | |
| | Teacher Bilingualism*Speech Variant | -0.05226 | 0.19108 | -0.273 | 0.78452 | |
| | Teacher Rurality*Speech Variant | 0.17761 | 0.09977 | 1.780 | 0.07528 | |
| | Teacher School Type*Speech Variant | 0.12979 | 0.09615 | 1.350 | 0.17731 | |
| Monolingualism | (Intercept) | 2.18994 | 0.14106 | | | |
| | Speech Variant [ref = fricativized] | 1.18358 | 0.20170 | 5.868 | 0.000519 | *** |
| | Teacher Indigeneity*Speech Variant | 0.02813 | 0.14841 | 0.190 | 0.849680 | |
| | Teacher Bilingualism*Speech Variant | -0.16748 | 0.15230 | -1.100 | 0.271682 | |
| | Teacher Rurality*Speech Variant | 0.07314 | 0.07952 | 0.920 | 0.357835 | |
| | Teacher School Type*Speech Variant | 0.13100 | 0.07664 | 1.709 | 0.087610 | |
| Accuracy | (Intercept) | 2.66061 | 0.10212 | | | |
| | Speech Variant [ref = fricativized] | 0.58133 | 0.14814 | 3.924 | 0.00548 | ** |
| | Teacher Indigeneity*Speech Variant | 0.06875 | 0.10200 | 0.674 | 0.50044 | |
| | Teacher Bilingualism*Speech Variant | -0.09488 | 0.10468 | -0.906 | 0.36492 | |
| | Teacher Rurality*Speech Variant | 0.05226 | 0.05465 | 0.956 | 0.33919 | |
| | Teacher School Type*Speech Variant | 0.13541 | 0.05267 | 2.571 | 0.01026 | * |
| Formality | (Intercept) | 2.35754 | 0.12218 | | | |
| | Speech Variant [ref = fricativized] | 0.67004 | 0.17585 | 3.810 | 0.00672 | ** |
| | Teacher Indigeneity*Speech Variant | 0.09386 | 0.11119 | 0.844 | 0.39876 | |
| | Teacher Bilingualism*Speech Variant | -0.08733 | 0.11410 | -0.765 | 0.44421 | |
| | Teacher Rurality*Speech Variant | 0.06358 | 0.05957 | 1.067 | 0.28605 | |
| | Teacher School Type*Speech Variant | 0.17405 | 0.05741 | 3.031 | 0.00248 | ** |
| Appeal | (Intercept) | 2.65642 | 0.09971 | | | |
| | Speech Variant [ref = fricativized] | 0.47269 | 0.14442 | 3.273 | 0.01326 | * |
| | Teacher Indigeneity*Speech Variant | 0.14741 | 0.09883 | 1.492 | 0.13608 | |
| | Teacher Bilingualism*Speech Variant | -0.08255 | 0.10142 | -0.814 | 0.41582 | |
| | Teacher Rurality*Speech Variant | 0.07769 | 0.05295 | 1.467 | 0.14257 | |
| | Teacher School Type*Speech Variant | 0.16095 | 0.05103 | 3.154 | 0.00165 | ** |

Note. Significance codes: * < 0.05; ** < 0.01; *** < 0.001

However, interestingly, one demographic variable did show a significant interaction effect with speech variant on teachers' ratings for five of the seven student characteristics: teacher school type. (The teacher school type by speech variant interaction effect is marked in bold.) For five traits, teachers working at the Spanish-only, city-center schools rated student speech differently than teachers working at the rural Intercultural Bilingual Education schools. Specifically, Spanish-only teachers perceived fricativized variants as of significantly lower socioeconomic status, education, accuracy, formality, and appeal than did IBE teachers. There was no significant interaction effect of school type and speech variant on ratings for monolingualism or urbanity. In other words, IBE and Spanish-only teachers rated fricativization similarly in terms of the feature indexing bilingual and rural, but Spanish-only teachers rated fricativization even more severely for the other five traits. These results are shown in Figure 4.4.

Figure 4.4

Bar Graphs Comparing Average Ratings by Teacher School Type



Teachers unanimously rated fricativized variants lower than standardized variants, but for the five traits included in Figure 4.4, Spanish-only teachers' average ratings of fricativized

variants were significantly lower than IBE teachers' ratings. These five interaction effects of teacher school type and speech variant were significant but corresponded to a small effect size (r ranged from 0.07–0.10), suggesting that while the teacher school type by speech variant interaction had a reliable effect, the effect should be interpreted with caution, as other factors may be involved that drive teachers' ratings.

When separated into the individual phonemes, this significant interaction between teacher school type and ratings was detected for fricativized /r/ (i.e., [z]) along the same five traits shown in the aggregate analysis (socioeconomic status, education, accuracy, formality, and appeal). As with the interaction effects of speech variant as a whole, the significant interaction effects of /r/ corresponded to a small effect size ($r = 0.08–0.16$). No significant interaction effect could be detected for fricativized /ʎ/ (i.e., [ʒ]) by itself, due to reduced statistical power. In any case, the pattern of results showed the same directionality signals—(1) lower ratings for fricativized variants, (2) lower ratings of fricativized variants from Spanish-only teachers—for both phonemes and across all seven traits.

The significant effects of teacher school type on ratings of fricativization as an aggregate category (and of [z] by itself) along five of the seven traits suggests a relationship between the educational model within which participating teachers were working and their perceptions of these non-standardized pronunciations. This apparent context-contingency will be explored in the discussion in Chapter 5.

4.1.3. Open-Ended Survey Questions Results

Extending the closed-ended survey questions considered above, two open-ended questions in the survey asked teachers (a) to identify any specific characteristics in each of the eight “students’” speech that were salient to them and (b) to provide feedback regarding the

language use as if the student were their own. The inclusion of these open-ended questions yielded a large, rich dataset that spells out teachers' perceptions of the speech data in their own words and complements the numerical responses considered above. For that reason, I present a synthesis of teachers' responses to each of the two open-ended questions below.

In response to the first open-ended question—*What aspects of the student's speech caught your attention?*—many teachers specifically stated that realizations of /r/ and /ʁ/—both those that were fricativized and those that were standardized—stood out to them in the recordings. In that sense, the verbal guise was successful in making realizations of /r/ and /ʁ/ (and not other potentially confounding features) salient, given that the majority of specific features identified by teachers in the recordings were the target features. For example, many teachers made comments about the pronunciation of <ll> by Student 3 (who produced tokens containing [ʁ]) or the pronunciation of <rr> by Student 5 (who produced tokens containing [ʒ]). Though not all teachers mentioned the target sounds specifically, teachers did not allude to other characteristics of students' language (beyond those studied here) as having informed their choices.

However, interestingly, in the case of both standardized and fricativized realizations, /r/ and /ʁ/ appear to have been associated perceptually by some teachers. Nine teachers made comments about the pronunciation of the letter <r> or <rr> in response to Students 7 and 8, whose recordings did not contain any tokens of /r/ at all. Instead, these students' recordings contained instances of [ʒ]. That is, as also occurred in Schmid (2015) in her perceptions study of Ecuadorian speakers, although a speaker did not pronounce any instances of /r/, the fact that fricativized [ʒ] was present may have caused teachers to perceive fricativized [ʒ] (though absent) as well. In light of what was suggested by the statistical survey data, the phone [ʒ] appears to be more strongly stigmatized—predicting five of seven traits, whereas [ʒ] only predicted

one—teachers’ open-ended responses suggested that when /ʎ/ was fricativized, fricativized /r/ was also “heard,” but not vice versa. That is, no teachers indicated “hearing” instances of [ʒ] when only [z] was present.

This evidence supports the proposal that beyond being linguistically similar (i.e., both fricatives, both geminate/double consonants as graphemes), these two sounds are also historically, geographically, socially, and perceptually linked, as suggested in existing literature (Stewart, 2020; Toscano Mateus, 1953). Listeners may associate fricativized /r/ and /ʎ/ as sharing a common language variety—both sounds are often referred to as *arrastrado* (‘drawn out’) in Ecuador—and could imagine that a speaker who fricativizes /ʎ/ likely also fricativizes /r/. Relatedly, in the raciolinguistics literature (e.g., Flores & Rosa, 2015), the perceptual apparatus of the hegemonic (perhaps monolingual) listening subject “hears” racialized people as speaking deficiently regardless of the linguistic forms that were actually used. Applying that literature once again to this study, and merely descriptively, more teachers (a total of eleven) working within the hegemonic Spanish-only schooling model made these comments “hearing” (and critiquing or praising) sounds that were not uttered by the speaker, as opposed to only three teachers who were working within the IBE model, potentially revealing the additional biases the Spanish-only teachers may have.

Beyond mentioning the features of speech that were salient, teachers’ responses to the first open-ended question also reflected their attitudes toward the features, which was in turn the principal aim of the second open-ended question: *If this were your student, what feedback would you give them about their way of speaking?* As such, a selection of illustrative examples from both open-ended survey questions representing teachers’ evaluations of and feedback on the speech recordings is included in Table 4.4 below.

Table 4.4*Illustrative Examples of Teachers' Open-Ended Responses*

| | Standardized Pronunciations |
|--|---|
| voiced alveolar trill [r] | |
| <i>What aspects of the student's speech caught your attention?</i> | <p>"the tone of voice and the correct pronunciation of words with rr" (Spanish-only 4)</p> <p>"the accent on the phoneme r in each word pronounced" (Spanish-only 6)</p> <p>"pronounces perfectly" (Spanish-only 8)</p> <p>"the use of rr in their communication" (Spanish-only 29)</p> <p>"highlights the correct pronunciation of the r" (Spanish-only 55)</p> <p>"has good pronunciation" (Spanish-only 61)</p> <p>"perfect Spanish" (IBE 19)</p> <p>"pronunciation of words with r and rr" (IBE 23)</p> <p>"clearly pronounces words with the letter r" (IBE 84)</p> <p>"the clear, crisp, correct pronunciation" (IBE 71)</p> |
| <i>If this were your student, what feedback would you give them about their way of speaking?</i> | <p>"keep speaking that way, since to me it's correct" (Spanish-only 17)</p> <p>"compliment their correct way of speaking" (Spanish-only 40)</p> <p>"no comments, because they express themselves correctly and in a very pleasant way" (Spanish-only 56)</p> <p>"invite them to be part of the speech club" (Spanish-only 49)</p> <p>"it's perfect and very good Spanish" (IBE 7)</p> <p>"they should share their way of speaking with other people" (IBE 20)</p> <p>"they have my congratulations" (IBE 21)</p> <p>"congratulate them for their way of speaking and the clarity" (IBE 36)</p> <p>"they would be an example to their peers" (IBE 62)</p> <p>"keep it this way" (IBE 91)</p> |

voiced palatal lateral approximant [ʎ]

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>What aspects of the student's speech caught your attention?</i> | "the correct pronunciation of the ll, since in many regions of our country there is an error in its pronunciation" (Spanish-only 4) "it's not their own pronunciation. It seems like they're trying to copy a form of pronunciation" (Spanish-only 47) "highlights the pronunciation of the ll" (Spanish-only 55) "the correct use of word with ll" (Spanish-only 78) "the pronunciation of the ll, since that type of pronunciation is used in certain parts of Ecuador" (Spanish-only 88) "the way they pronounce the letter ll" (IBE 10) "the accented pronunciation of ll" (IBE 76) "the pronunciation of ll caught my attention" (IBE 81) "the person who spoke maintains their mestizo accent, speaking correctly" (IBE 88) "the good pronunciation of ll" (IBE 78) |
| <i>If this were your student, what feedback would you give them about their way of speaking?</i> | "your pronunciation is correct, and you should maintain it" (Spanish-only 4) "none, since they are using the true sound of the letter ll" (Spanish-only 28) "good job" (Spanish-only 29) "you speak correctly, compliment them for their good pronunciation and intonation" (Spanish-only 60) "very clear Spanish. Congratulations." (IBE 7) "you're a good girl. Keep going toward a bright future." (IBE 14) "I would tell them that their pronunciation is similar to mine. Congratulations, because it is very clear Spanish." (IBE 7) "tell other people about your experience in language development" (IBE 20) "their oral expression is excellent" (IBE 61) |

Fricativized Pronunciations

voiced retroflex fricative [ʒ]

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>What aspects of the student's speech caught your attention?</i> | "the accent is typical of an Indigenous person" (Spanish-only 2) "they don't pronounce the r well" (Spanish-only 7) "the marked pronunciation of the rr" (Spanish-only 22) "in some words their accent is very closed (<i>cerrada</i>)" (Spanish-only 37) "drags out (<i>arrastra</i>) the rr a lot" (Spanish-only 44) "the student is a person who speaks Kichwa, and it is difficult for them to pronounce Spanish correctly" (IBE 37) "they drag out the rr a lot, and the pronunciation is very rustic" (IBE 44) "their exaggerated way of dragging out sounds" (IBE 67) "the dragging out of the rr" (IBE 29) "like all Sierrans, they drag out the rr sound" (IBE 25) |
| <i>If this were your student, what feedback would you give them about their way of speaking?</i> | "they should refine the pronunciation of words that contain rr and the intonation when speaking" (Spanish-only 4) "I would mention that they should read more and listen to audios on how to pronounce words correctly" (Spanish-only 12) "try to speak without marking your accent so much" (Spanish-only 28) "practice your pronunciation more, and don't mix Kichwa sounds with Spanish" (Spanish-only 69) "pronounce the words better" (IBE 50) "they should read more books to pronounce well" (IBE 53) "as my student, I would guide them to speak in a better way, without their Kichwa-speaking accent" (IBE 57) "they should improve their pronunciation, practice more" (IBE 15) "correct all the words they mispronounce" (IBE 21) "try to correct the words that have the phonemes rr and r" (IBE 37) |

voiced alveopalatal fricative [ʒ]

| | |
|--|---|
| <i>What aspects of the student's speech caught your attention?</i> | "the mispronunciation of the letter ll. In the Ecuadorian Sierra, especially in the North and central Sierra, people in rural areas do not pronounce it properly" (Spanish-only 4) "they speak in a vulgar way" (Spanish-only 43) "the accent would be that of an Indigenous person" (Spanish-only 48) "drags out the ll" (Spanish-only 86) "words with double ll have a really informal Sierran pronunciation" (Spanish-only 79) "incorrect use of the ll, which is common in people of the Sierra" (Spanish-only 4) "greatly accentuates the ll" (IBE 44) "the accent when pronouncing ll" (IBE 78) "has a slurred (<i>arrastrado</i>) tone when speaking" (IBE 42) "there is a mix of bilingualism" (IBE 62) "the pronunciation of the ll is incorrect, but even when they are corrected, they continue with the error" (Spanish-only 4) |
| <i>If this were your student, what feedback would you give them about their way of speaking?</i> | "try to use a more neutral tone without marking your accent" (Spanish-only 28) "soften the ll sound" (Spanish-only 41) "to not drag out their way of speaking" (Spanish-only 53) "improve the pronunciation of ll" (Spanish-only 55) "you should improve your pronunciation" (IBE 15) "I would recommend that they read a lot and correct their pronunciation, because it sounds really bad when they speak" (IBE 61) "speak correctly" (IBE 86) "review the pronunciation and read more, so that they can improve their vocabulary and way of expressing their thoughts" (IBE 31) "I would say that some sentences are mispronounced, so I would correct them" (IBE 57) |

Note. Each teacher's school type and individual order number in which they completed the survey appear in parentheses. All quotes have been translated from Spanish.

Reflecting the statistical survey results, responses to the second survey question (and to some extent the first as well) showed a pattern of positive evaluations of standardized pronunciations. Teachers referred to the correctness, elegance, clarity, and style of the standardized speech, as well as the confidence, education, and high socioeconomic status likely held by the speakers. Some teachers commented that they had no feedback to give, considering that it seemed perfect, and others commented that they would congratulate the student on their correct use of language. On the other hand, teachers tended to evaluate the non-standardized pronunciations negatively. Non-standardized pronunciations were described as incorrect or bad, referencing the students' apparent rurality and lack of education. Many teachers referred to fricativized sounds as *arrastrado* ('drawn out'). Some also identified a speaker as Indigenous or as a Kichwa speaker by the way they express themselves.

Given these emerging patterns, I examined descriptors (i.e., adjectives) as a way to summarize teachers' evaluative stances toward the pronunciations of the eight students. Via structural coding (Saldaña, 2009), the descriptors used by teachers in reference to the speech of each student were compiled along with the number of times used. Descriptors used most frequently for standardized pronunciations are overwhelmingly positive—for example, *óptimo* ('ideal'), *culto* ('educated'), *lindo* ('lovely'), *amigable* ('friendly'), and *seguro* ('confident'). While some positive descriptors like *bien* ('good') and *claro* ('clear') were also applied to non-standardized pronunciations, this was much less frequent and in combination with largely negative descriptors—for example, *pésimo* ('awful'), *incorrecto* ('incorrect'), *inadecuado* ('inadequate'), *entrecortado* ('choppy'), and *inseguro* ('insecure'). Table 4.5 below shows the fifteen descriptors used most by teachers to describe students' speech in the combined open-ended survey questions.

Table 4.5*Fifteen Descriptors Used Most by Teachers to Describe Students' Speech*

| Descriptor | Times Used | | | | | | |
|--|-----------------------------|-----------|---------------|-----------|-----------|---------------|------------|
| | Standardized Pronunciations | | | | | | |
| | Student 1 | Student 2 | Total for [r] | Student 3 | Student 4 | Total for [ʎ] | Total |
| good | 47 | 47 | 94 | 32 | 47 | 79 | 173 |
| correct / right / appropriate | 40 | 40 | 80 | 35 | 53 | 88 | 168 |
| clear / understandable / coherent | 33 | 34 | 67 | 22 | 26 | 48 | 115 |
| secure / firm / confident / certain | 15 | 18 | 33 | 3 | 7 | 10 | 43 |
| fluid / fluent | 16 | 7 | 23 | 1 | 7 | 8 | 31 |
| educated / cultured / learned / studied | 7 | 4 | 11 | 6 | 8 | 14 | 25 |
| excellent / great | 11 | 4 | 15 | 2 | 6 | 8 | 23 |
| formal | 5 | 6 | 11 | 4 | 7 | 11 | 22 |
| adequate / acceptable | 6 | 7 | 13 | 5 | 3 | 8 | 21 |
| pleasant / nice / pretty | 5 | 2 | 7 | 3 | 3 | 6 | 13 |
| perfect / optimal | 5 | 3 | 8 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 11 |
| colloquial / familiar / local / common | 3 | 1 | 4 | 6 | 1 | 7 | 11 |
| sociable / friendly / cordial / kind | 3 | 4 | 7 | 2 | 4 | 6 | 9 |
| elegant / eloquent / refined / subtle | 3 | 4 | 7 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 8 |
| different / striking / particular / unique | 1 | 2 | 3 | 5 | 0 | 5 | 8 |
| Fricativized Pronunciations | | | | | | | |
| | Student 5 | Student 6 | Total for [z] | Student 7 | Student 8 | Total for [ʒ] | Total |
| incorrect / inadequate / inappropriate | 13 | 7 | 20 | 6 | 28 | 34 | 54 |
| good | 5 | 14 | 19 | 24 | 10 | 34 | 53 |
| clear / understandable / coherent | 10 | 7 | 17 | 17 | 19 | 36 | 53 |
| dragged out (<i>arrastrado</i>) | 11 | 20 | 31 | 5 | 15 | 20 | 51 |
| paused / cutting / choppy / separated | 7 | 3 | 10 | 13 | 7 | 20 | 30 |
| correct / right / appropriate | 1 | 3 | 4 | 13 | 5 | 18 | 22 |
| rustic / rural / country | 7 | 4 | 11 | 1 | 7 | 8 | 19 |
| bad / awful | 5 | 1 | 6 | 4 | 6 | 10 | 16 |
| informal | 2 | 3 | 5 | 4 | 7 | 11 | 16 |
| slow / sluggish | 5 | 4 | 9 | 6 | 0 | 6 | 15 |
| colloquial / familiar / local / common | 3 | 6 | 9 | 1 | 4 | 5 | 14 |
| unsure / insecure | 4 | 2 | 6 | 3 | 5 | 8 | 14 |
| accented / marked | 3 | 2 | 5 | 4 | 1 | 5 | 10 |
| fluid / fluent | 0 | 1 | 1 | 6 | 3 | 9 | 10 |
| original / native / traditional | 1 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 6 | 8 |

Note. Descriptors have been translated from the original Spanish

In summary, the results of the verbal guise survey (including the closed- and open-answer portions) suggest that teachers' social perceptions differed depending upon whether a student's speech contained fricativized or standardized realizations. Specifically, fricativized variants were rated as of significantly lower socioeconomic status, less educated, more rural, more Kichwa-dominant, less accurate, more informal, and less appealing than standardized variants. This was the case across teacher demographics, except concerning the educational model in which teachers were working at the time of the study, with teachers in urban, Spanish-only schools rating fricativized variants even more negatively than did their IBE teacher counterparts. The open-ended responses to the survey provided a more nuanced understanding of teachers' attitudes toward the different speakers and their uses of language. Recordings containing fricativized variants were described more negatively in teachers' own words than were those containing standardized variants, and the feedback given to the hypothetical students whose speech contained fricativized variants was negative overall, whereas normative pronunciations received congratulations and praise. The important implications of these results for teachers' interactions with students in classroom settings will be considered in Chapter 5.

4.2. Interview Results

4.2.1. RQ3 Results (Linguistic Features Identified by Teachers)

(RQ3) What (other) features of Kichwa-associated Spanish do teachers identify among students in their classrooms?

Generated from the structurally-coded interviews, Table 4.6 shows the corpus of all linguistic features identified by the 20 IBE teachers and 16 Spanish-only teachers interviewed in response to the question of how they identify a Kichwa speaker or bilingual student based on their language use, as well as the number of teachers that mentioned each feature.

Table 4.6*Linguistic Features Identified by Teachers²¹*

| LINGUISTIC FEATURE IDENTIFIED ²² | IBE Teachers (n/20) | Spanish-only Teachers (n/16) | Total (n/36) |
|--|---------------------|------------------------------|--------------|
| Phonetic / Phonological | | | |
| Distinct intonation | 3 | 1 | 4 |
| Fricativization | | | |
| Of the voiced palatal lateral approximant /ʎ/ as [ʒ] | 1 | 5 | 6 |
| Of the voiced alveolar trill /r/ as [z] | 5 | 7 | 12 |
| Neutralization of mid and high vowels | 16 | 7 | 23 |
| Placement of stress on penultimate syllable | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| Realization of <h> as [x] | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| Realization of /e/ as [a] | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Sentence-final [x] “¿Y ahorajj?” “¿O seajjj?” | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Word-final [tʃ] “Es que mi mamáhh estaba...” | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Syntactic / Morphological | | | |
| Borrowing of Kichwa enclitics | | | |
| -ka (topicalizer) “¿De allí-ka, qué hago?” | 4 | 6 | 10 |
| -karin (comparative) “Yo-karin” | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| -ku (diminutive) wawkiku ‘little brother’ | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| -ta (accusative) “lapiz-ta” “borrador-ta” “pelota-ta” | 3 | 0 | 3 |
| Distinct agreement | | | |
| Gender “Vamos al casa.” “La vehículo.” | 4 | 3 | 7 |
| Number “Las semilla.” | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| Subject-Verb “Nosotros tengo muchos dólares.” | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| Extended use of gerund | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| General mixing (kichwañol) | 10 | 8 | 18 |
| Omission of articles “Tráeme llaves.” “Agacha cabeza.” | 5 | 2 | 7 |
| Omission of prepositions “Quiero ir colegio.” | 3 | 0 | 3 |
| Omission of transition words | 1 | 4 | 5 |
| Preposed adjectives “negra gallina” “roja casa” | 2 | 3 | 5 |
| SOV word order “El Inti el trabajo acabó.” | 7 | 0 | 7 |
| Syntactic calques | | | |
| “En allí” | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| “Subo arriba” / “Bajo abajo” | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| “¿Qué llevamos?” / “¿Qué somos?” | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| “Diez y uno, diez y dos, etc.” | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Pragmatic / Other | | | |
| Frequent pauses / Lack of fluency | 4 | 2 | 6 |

²¹ It should be noted that these are features of bilingual language use from teachers’ perspectives and may not in fact be the result of Kichwa-Spanish language contact.

²² I recognize that descriptions of non-standardized linguistic features reflect the linguist’s subjectivity (e.g., using terms like *deletion* or *duplication* imply variation from a presumed standard; Silverstein, 1996), and I refer to “distinct” uses wherever possible.

| | | | |
|--|----|---|----|
| Use of only printing (not cursive) | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| ¿Yaaa? (Chhh) Discourse marker | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| Lexical | | | |
| Limited vocabulary / Lack of synonyms | 4 | 1 | 5 |
| Kichwa loans / Kichwisms | | | |
| <i>[h]alalay!</i> (interjection of surprise) | 2 | 2 | 4 |
| <i>achachay!</i> * (it's so cold) “ <i>Achachay</i> –¡qué frío!” | 14 | 8 | 22 |
| <i>allchipaylla</i> (??) | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>alli</i> (good) | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| <i>alli chishi</i> (good afternoon) | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>alli pacha</i> (everything's good) | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| <i>alli puncha</i> (good morning) | 9 | 0 | 9 |
| <i>alli tuta</i> (good night) | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| <i>allichu kanki?</i> (are you ok?) | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>allillanilla</i> (everything's fine) | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>allita!</i> (interjection of surprise) | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>allku shunku</i> (dog hearted/ mean) | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| <i>apuray!</i> (hurry up)* | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>ari</i> (yes) “¿Entendieron?” “ <i>Ari</i> ,” dicen. | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| <i>arrarray!</i> / <i>arrarraw!</i> * (it's so hot) | 8 | 5 | 13 |
| <i>atatay!</i> * (gross!) | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| <i>ayayay!</i> * (ouch!) | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| <i>chaki ñan</i> * (foot path) “Vamos por este <i>chaki ñan</i> .” | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| <i>churu</i> (snail) | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| <i>haku</i> (let's go) | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>halá!</i> (interjection of surprise/anger) | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>hanchi</i> (little/small [person]) | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>hawaman</i> (upwards) | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>haytay!</i> (kick!) | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| <i>ima!</i> (interjection of surprise) | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>imanalla</i> (hello) | 3 | 0 | 3 |
| <i>inti</i> (sun) | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| <i>juyayay!</i> (hooray!) | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| <i>karaway!</i> (give it to me!) | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>kayakaman</i> (see you tomorrow) | 4 | 0 | 4 |
| <i>killa</i> (lazy) | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| <i>llakta</i> (land/community) | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| <i>llano</i> (patio) | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| <i>llukshi(pa)y</i> (go out [please]!) | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>longo</i> * (young/ Indigenous person [pejorative]) | 3 | 1 | 4 |
| <i>lulun</i> (egg/ male genitalia) | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| <i>makita mayllashun</i> (let's wash our hands) | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>makita waktapashunchik</i> (let's clap) | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>mama</i> * (mother/woman) | 2 | 2 | 4 |
| <i>mañachipay</i> (please lend) | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>mañakunkimari</i> (lend me) | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>manavali</i> * (useless [person]) | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>mapañawi</i> (dirty faced) | 1 | 0 | 1 |

| | | | |
|---|----|---|----|
| <i>mashi[ku]/mashikuna*</i> (friend [diminutive]/ friends) | 7 | 4 | 11 |
| <i>mayman rinki?</i> (where are you going?) | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| <i>mikuna</i> (eat) | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>minkachiway</i> (help me) | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>mishu*</i> (mestizo) | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>mucha*</i> (kiss) | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>ña charinkichu?</i> (don't you have...?) | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>ñachu uyanki?</i> (aren't you listening?) | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>ñaño*</i> ([sic] brother) | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>ñawi</i> (eye/face) | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>ñuka kanta kuyani</i> (I love you) | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| <i>palanta</i> (banana/avocado?) | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>parlanchik</i> (we speak/talk) | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| <i>pashi</i> [thank you (in area of Ilumán)] | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| <i>pay*</i> (thank you) | 3 | 2 | 5 |
| <i>pishku*</i> (bird/male genitalia) “ese <i>pishku</i> ” | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>pukllashun</i> (let's play) | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>punkuta wikchay</i> (close the door) | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>ranti ranti</i> (trade!) “ <i>Ranti ranti</i> , compañero” | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>runa*</i> ([Indigenous] person) | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>shamuy</i> (come here) | 3 | 2 | 5 |
| <i>shikan</i> (fast?) | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| <i>shina shina</i> (so so) | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>shunku*</i> (heart) “con todo mi <i>shunku</i> .” | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| <i>shunkulla</i> (thank you) | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>shunsho*</i> (dumb) | 2 | 2 | 4 |
| <i>sinka*</i> (nose) “¡Suénate la <i>sinka</i> !” | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>sisá</i> (flower) | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| <i>sumak pachami</i> (all good) | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>sumak warmi</i> (pretty girl) | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| <i>tartiu/ tartía</i> (a greeting derivative of 'buenas tardes, tío') | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| <i>tayta*</i> (father) “tu <i>tayta</i> ” | 5 | 3 | 8 |
| <i>taytiku mío</i> (oh my god) “ <i>Taytiku mío</i> —demás estáfpss.” | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>tío/tíu/tíyu</i> (man, sir) | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| <i>tiyaripay!</i> (sit down please!) | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| <i>tuparishun</i> (see you around) | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>umasapa*</i> (big headed) “¡Qué <i>umasapa</i> que estás ahorita!” | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>upallay!</i> (be quiet!) | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| <i>upyemos</i> (let's drink/let's party/cheers!) | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| <i>uraman</i> (downwards) | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>urku</i> (mountain) | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>ushuta</i> (shoe) “las <i>ushutas</i> ” | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| <i>uyapaychik</i> (listen!) | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>wakra</i> (cow) | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>wambra[kuna]*</i> (teen[s]) “¿Qué fue <i>wambra</i> s—cómo están?” | 4 | 0 | 4 |
| <i>warmi*</i> (woman) “mi <i>warmicita</i> ” | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>wasi</i> (house) “Voy a la <i>wasi</i> .” | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| <i>wawa[kuna]*</i> (kid[s]) “Cógele al <i>wawa</i> .” | 15 | 6 | 21 |

| | | | |
|--|---|---|---|
| <i>wawki(ku)/ wayki(ku)</i> [(little) brother] | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| <i>wiksa</i> (stomach) | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>yachachik</i> (teacher) | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| <i>yachay</i> (knowledge) | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| <i>yallichipay</i> (please pass [something to someone]) | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>yapa*</i> (extra) “Daráme la <i>yapa</i> .” “Yaparáme.” | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>yaykuy</i> (come in!) | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| <i>yupaychani</i> (thank you) | 3 | 2 | 5 |

Note. *Loans largely integrated into (Andean) Ecuadorian Spanish (see, for example, Estrella Santos, 2022; Gómez Rendón, 2022; Haboud & de la Vega, 2008; Tambaco & Floyd, 2022; Zúñiga, 2019)

Teachers invoked many of the most well-noted features of Ecuadorian Andean Spanish and those most associated with Kichwa language contact—e.g., distinct gender and number agreement; changes in word order; and Kichwa borrowings and calques; unexpected use of high and mid vowels /i/-/e/ and /u/-/o/—in addition to some unanticipated language features. Teachers spontaneously identified characteristics of their bilingual students’ language, described these phenomena in their own terms, and provided examples to different extents across all linguistic levels.

4.2.1.1. Phonetic/Phonological Features. Beyond generalized descriptions of “distinct” or “choppy” (*golpeadito*) intonation, teachers identified several specific features regarding bilingual students’ pronunciation.

4.2.1.1.1. Neutralization of Spanish High and Mid Vowels. Primarily, 23 of the 36 teachers interviewed made some form of reference to the neutralization of Spanish high and mid vowels /e/-/i/ and /o/-/u/. Teachers referred to examples such as: *mesa* [‘mi.sa] ‘table,’ *nombre* [‘nom.bri] ‘name,’ *camisa* [ka.‘me.sa] ‘shirt,’ *iglesia* [e.‘glez.ja] ‘church,’ *enano* [i.‘na.no] ‘dwarf,’ *come* [‘ku.mi] ‘eat,’ *comuna* [ko.‘mo.na] ‘municipality,’ *tío* [‘tj.u] ‘uncle,’ *entrevista* [in.tre.‘bis.t̪a] ‘interview,’ *camaleón* [ka.mal.‘jon] ‘chameleon,’ *carro* [‘ka.ru] ‘car,’ and *ven* [‘bin] ‘come’. Most of these examples depict vowel raising, but some (e.g., *camisa* [ka.‘me.sa] ‘shirt,’ *comuna* [ko.‘mo.na] ‘municipality’) depict vowel lowering as well. One example

(*camaleón* [ka.mal.'jon] ‘chameleon’) was given showing elimination of a hiatus, which was discussed briefly in Chapter 2 and has been attested not only in varieties in the Andes but is a fairly common phenomenon cross-dialectically (Aleza Izquierdo & Enguita Utrilla, 2010; Quilis, 1993). Interestingly, two teachers referred to realization of Spanish /e/ as [a], for example in *seis* ['sais] ‘six’ and *peinilla* [pai.'ni.ʒa] ‘comb,’ which to my knowledge is previously unattested and, like the realization of /e/ as [i] via vowel raising, may be an alternative strategy of some speakers for producing the phoneme not existent in Kichwa’s three-vowel system. Likewise, in a pilot interview prior to this study, the example *aceite* [a.'sai.ʎe] ‘oil’ was also given as characteristic of an older Kichwa-Spanish bilingual.

As a whole, these examples of neutralization of Spanish high and mid vowels reflect the wider allophonic dispersion of Kichwa vowels as compared to Spanish which, importantly, as described in Chapter 2, can lead monolingual Spanish speakers to perceive Kichwa speakers’ vowel production in Spanish as off-target or chaotic (Haboud & de la Vega, 2008; Lipski, 2015). Perceptions of bilingual students’ vowel production as irregular were reflected in comments from teachers²³ such as: “a Kichwa speaker who has not learned Spanish well can’t say *tío* [‘uncle’]. They say *tíu*, you know? They’re always using closed vowels. So that is an indicator to know if a student knows Kichwa” (JPC).²⁴ From another teacher’s perspective: “That would be one of the clues to be able to identify if someone is a Kichwa speaker or speaks two languages, because many times Indigenous people cannot pronounce a vowel, because it is not part of their language” (LFFV). Several teachers (and especially bilingual teachers) showed their linguistic knowledge by locating these pronunciations within the vocalic system of Kichwa as compared to Spanish: “In the Kichwa language, they only use three vowels, and in Spanish we use five. So

²³ All direct quotes from teachers are my translations from the original Spanish.

²⁴ Interviewed teachers are quoted using the coded pseudonyms listed in Tables 3.6 and 3.7 in Chapter 3.

sometimes they have that problem of spelling errors” (LACF). Similarly, another teacher said: “You can tell if they speak Kichwa, you know? More than anything, for example... in the language of the Kichwa people, there is no <o> or <e>. So there are students who come from families that speak pure Kichwa, who do not speak Spanish. So, they kind of mix up the... instead of using <e>, they use <i>, and instead of the <o>, they use <u>” (LACA). One more teacher noted:

That’s when you realize it. They miss the vowels when writing, right? For example, let’s say: *camaleón* [‘chameleon’]. They write *camalión*. Since their Spanish is not so well established, they miss the <e>. And there you realize that they are Kichwa speakers, right? For example: *nombre* [‘name’], yeah? They write *nombri*. And sometimes I say, well, they are purer Kichwa speakers. (LEV)

It is interesting that vowel raising was salient to teachers, but that they did not report evidence of cross-linguistic transfer of other features, such as: voicing of the stop consonants /ptk/ as occurs in Kichwa (e.g., Spanish *tanta* ‘so much’ pronounced as [‘t̪aŋ.da] for example) or realize /k/ as fricative [x] (as in Otavalo Kichwa—e.g., *mikukun* [mi.‘xu.xun] ‘eats’). A reason for a lack of features such as these may be bilinguals’ limited or lacking literacy in the Kichwa language, which would discard potential cross-linguistic orthographic influence.

4.2.1.1.2. Fricativization of /r/ (/r/ as [z]) and /ʎ/ (/ʎ/ as [ʒ]). Beyond vowel production and most centrally to this dissertation, teachers also identified fricativization of the voiced alveolar trill /r/ (i.e., [z]) and voiced palatal lateral approximant /ʎ/ (i.e., [ʒ])—the two sounds targeted in the verbal guise survey—as characteristic of their bilingual students. While fricativized (commonly referred to as *arrastrado* ‘drawn out’) voiced alveolar trill (/r/ as [z]) or voiced palatal lateral approximant (/ʎ/ as [ʒ]) were described frequently as characteristic of the larger Andean population and not as exclusively characteristic of bilingual speakers, teachers

expressed that it is more marked in the Indigenous bilingual population. One teacher noted of fricativization: “In the Kichwa speakers. It is more noticeable in them” (GAAF). Another teacher explained: “People who are Kichwa speakers always tend to draw sounds out because their pronunciation in Kichwa always has the *erre* [z]” (JMCO). Another said: “That little thing with the *erre* [z] is very common, because of Kichwa” (MAAM). From another teacher’s perspective: “Mestizos say *perro* [r], and an Indigenous person, who does not speak much Spanish perhaps, will say *perro* [z]. They kind of draw out the <rr>” (AEGG). One Indigenous bilingual teacher also attributed fricativized variants of /ʎ/ to Kichwa influence:

I usually say *lleno* [ʎ], because in Kichwa I can say *illan* [ʎ], which means ‘there is no more,’ which I’m very used to pronouncing—the <ll> with this *illan* [ʎ] sound. And in Spanish, well, I say *lleno* [ʎ]. But if I listen to a person who does not speak Kichwa and wants to pronounce the word *lleno*, they say *lleno* [ʎ], like, *está llena* [ʎ], as if they want to say the double <ll> in a finer way—more clearly. (AVL)

Fricativization of the voiced alveolar trill /r/ (i.e., [ʀ]) was invoked twice as frequently by teachers as an indicator of bilingual speech than was fricativization of the voiced palatal lateral approximant /ʎ/ (e.g. [ʎ]), which aligns with an understanding (supported by the speech data findings in Chapter 3, and survey data findings in this chapter) of [ʀ] as more extended across social groups and the region, less salient, and potentially less stigmatized than [ʎ]. The fact that fricativization was not mentioned as frequently by teachers as characteristic of bilingual speech as compared to the neutralization of high and mid vowels may also indicate that even monolingual Spanish-speaking teachers use fricativization in their own speech and thus may not be as aware of it compared to features more limited to bilingual language use.

4.2.1.1.3. Stress Placed on Penultimate Syllable. Another phonetic feature identified by teachers was the extended placement of stress on the penultimate syllable. Three teachers mentioned hearing this in their bilingual students. For example:

In the Kichwa language, we use stress on the second to last syllable. Almost all the words are like that. For example, when I say *wasi*—‘house,’ right?—it’s stressed like that. *WA*-si. So, the problem today is, when speaking Spanish—an Indigenous person, an Indigenous child—when they speak Spanish, they make those mistakes. (JESP)

You can tell they’re Kichwa speakers because they pronounce all the words as if they were stressed on the second to last syllable—in pronunciation, and also when writing. There is no accent in Kichwa, so they write everything... everything with second-to-last stress. In that way I have also been able to realize that they mix Spanish with Kichwa. (SRMR)

4.2.1.1.4. <h> as [x] and Utterance-final [x] and [tʃ]. Two final phonetic features mentioned by teachers, which were also unexpected (and to my knowledge are not mentioned in the literature) were pronunciation of the letter <h> as [x], as well as word- or utterance-final [x]. In Kichwa Unificado, the letter <h> is pronounced as the voiceless velar fricative [x], while in Spanish this letter is silent. One teacher identified Kichwa Indigenous students pronouncing the word *hala* ‘pull’ as [ˈxa.la] instead of the expected Spanish pronunciation [ˈa.la] (although the alternate form *jalar* exists in many Spanish-speaking regions, so this feature may not be the result of Kichwa influence). The other unexpected feature, described by one teacher, was sentence-final [x] or [tʃ].

Interviewee: In the kids, the Kichwa-speaking people—Indigenous people—you hear this “*jjj*” [x]. “¿Y ahorajjj?” [‘And now?’] “¿Yjjj?” [‘And?’] It’s this... <j> sound. The “*jjj, jjj*” [x].

Interviewer: They put that sound at the end of a word?

Interviewer: At the end, yep. It's a little... sound, like: “¿Y ahorajjj?” [‘And now?’] “¿O seajjj?” [‘Like...?’] (CEN)

In the example “¿Y ahorajjj?” sentence-final [x] appears in the same example—specifically, ¿Y *ahora?* ‘And now?’—and context (at the end of short questions) as the Kichwa topicalizer enclitic *-ka*, which is described in the next section. Since [x] is an allophone of /k/ in local varieties of Kichwa in Otavalo, it is possible that this feature is somehow reminiscent of *-ka*. It is also possibly related to other discourse markers that have been noted for Andean Ecuadorian Spanish, such as reduced forms *pues* ‘then’ as in emphatic ¿*Quéspss?* or ¿*Quéssff?* ‘What?’ or *sifeísmo* in simple responses—e.g., *sif* ‘yes’ and *nof* ‘no’ (Guerra & Bradley, 2022; Haboud, 2022; Jesberger, 2017). In the same way, word-final [tʃ] was also noted by one of the teachers interviewed:

There are students here that pronounce words with “*ch*” [tʃ]. For example, I ask a student, right? I know that her grandmother speaks Kichwa and her mother speaks Kichwa and she speaks Spanish and Kichwa. I ask the student, I say, “How was it at home?” And she says, “*Es que mi mamáchh* [tʃ] *estaba...*” ‘My mom [tʃ] was...’ (MAAM)

4.2.1.2. Morphosyntactic Features.

4.2.1.2.1. General Language Mixing (“Kichwañol²⁵”). Regarding grammatical features and sentence structure, 18 of the 36 teachers interviewed for this dissertation reported evidence of general language mixing (which we can identify as code switching or translanguaging) in their bilingual students. For example:

There are times when we are talking like this—in Spanish—and wham! They start talking to you in Kichwa. They start putting words in Kichwa. When they are among friends,

²⁵ It should be reiterated that, though they reflect prevalent language attitudes among teachers and students, terms describing language mixing, like *Kichwañol* and parallels like *Spanglish* (Otheguy & Stern, 2010), *Quechuañol* (Firestone, 2012), *Media Lengua/Chawpi Lengua* (Muysken, 2022), and others can have negative connotations that represent bilingual language practices as not rule-governed and bilingual speakers as not knowing one or either of their languages well.

they mix, and there is no problem. But when a student is talking to a teacher, they know how to separate the two. (NAQV)

In the speech of young people, they mix Spanish a lot with Kichwa. As they themselves call it, it's *Kichwañol*. Yes. They mix words a lot. For example, they say *¡Vamos, haku!* 'Come on [in Spanish], let's go [in Kichwa]!' *¡Vamos, pukllashun!* 'Come on [in Spanish], let's play [in Kichwa]!' Then, *¡Haku a la casa!* 'Let's go [in Kichwa] home [in Spanish]!' They say it like that. Instead of saying *Haku wasiman* 'Let's go home [all in Kichwa].' So they mix Spanish and Kichwa a lot. (AERP)

4.2.1.2.2. Use of Kichwa Enclitics with Spanish Words. Kichwa is a morphologically rich language, and several of the teachers noted students' use of Kichwa enclitics with Spanish words. As one teacher observed:

Since in Kichwa the words are made up of quite a few, um, morphemes at the end, then, they also relate to it the same way. They think that in Spanish one more syllable is also added on, but in Spanish, that is not the case. (SRMR)

Ten teachers reported morphological borrowing of the Kichwa topicalizer *-ka*.

They use *-ka* a lot. They say, *¿Y de allí-ka?* 'Then[-ka]?' *¿De allí-ka, qué hago?* 'Then[-ka] what do I do?' Instead of just saying, "Then what can I do?" So, in those types of expressions you realize that even though they know Spanish, they don't use it correctly. (AERP)

Other examples given by teachers included: *¿Y ahora-ka?* 'Now what?'; *aquí-ka* 'here'; *yo-ka* 'I'; *vos-ka* 'You'; and *¿Y tú-ka?* 'And you?' (though some teachers thought *tú-ka* to be less common or unacceptable compared to *vos-ka*). As one teacher explained: "Sometimes the kids say '*¿Y tú-ka?*', '*¿Vos-ka?*' They try to add that *-ka* that I use to make myself understood in Kichwa" (AVL). One teacher also identified the Kichwa comparative *-karín* in the example *Yo-karín* 'I myself' or 'I rather.' Three teachers noted use of the Kichwa accusative *-ta* with direct objects, as in: *casa-ta* 'house,' *perro-ta* 'dog,' *mesa-ta* 'table,' *pelota-ta* 'ball,' *sabadu-ta*,

‘Saturday.’ When the enclitic *-ta* is added to these Spanish words, they are pronounced with the stress on the second to last syllable—e.g., *casa-ta* [ka.ˈsa.ʎa] ‘house,’ *sabadu-ta* [sa.βa.ˈðu.ʎa] ‘Saturday’—(as they would be in Kichwa, but not as in standardized Spanish). Other examples such as *lapis-ta mañakunkimari* ‘pass me the pencil’ and *borrador-ta mañakunkimari* ‘pass me the eraser,’ which include the Spanish noun and Kichwa enclitic within a larger Kichwa phrase, illuminate the difficulty of identifying where Kichwa-influenced Spanish ends and Spanish-influenced Kichwa begins. In any case, the use of Kichwa enclitics with Spanish words is representative of rich bilingual language practices. The Kichwa diminutive suffix *-ku* was also noted by two teachers, but only when attached to Kichwa loanwords like *wawkiku* ‘little brother’ and *mashiku* ‘dear friend.’

It is interesting to consider why *-ka* and *-ta* appear in these bilingual students’ Spanish, while an abundance of other Kichwa morphological affixes (e.g. locative *-pi*, agentive *-k*, directional *-man*, possessive *-pa*, interrogative *-tak*, instrumental *-wan*, to name only a few) do not (or at least are not salient to teachers).²⁶ We can speculate that *-ka* and *-ta* may persist due to the fact that they are highly frequent in Kichwa and affix to nouns at the beginning of a sentence, lending themselves well to parallel structures in Spanish, whereas others, such as the affirmative suffixes *-mi* and *-mari* affix to verbs at the end of a sentence (a less common location for verbs in standardized Spanish). Another potential reason may be that, given Spanish has no overt subject or object marker on nouns, the addition of *-ka* and *-ta* in bilingual Spanish has an enriching effect, whereas other clitics like the Kichwa diminutive *-ku* (‘little’) and delimitative *-lla* (‘just’) have local Spanish equivalents (*-ito* and *no más*, respectively). Media Lengua—the language spoken in the Ecuadorian Sierra consisting of principally Spanish lexical roots and Kichwa morphosyntactic structures—includes many more of Kichwa’s abundant affixes.

²⁶ For example, Hualde et al. (2010) cite use of the plural suffix *-kuna* in the Andes (e.g., *ovejakuna* ‘sheep’).

4.2.1.2.3. Distinct Agreement (Gender, Number, Subject-Verb). Beyond the use of Kichwa enclitics, other syntactic features that teachers described as characteristic of their bilingual students' language use included distinct agreement at the levels of grammatical gender, number, and between the subject and verb. One teacher noted:

Indigenous people—for example, to identify them—for example, gender, let's say. We say... *el perro* 'the [masculine] dog.' They might slip up and say *la* [feminine]. Or if they change the noun or something, then we know that that is an Indigenous person, right?, because of the little way they express themselves. (PBGO)

Another teacher expressed: "The articles, for example, *el* and *la* 'the.' They say *el pelota* 'the [masculine] ball [feminine]'. So there we realize that they speak Kichwa" (MAAM). One more teacher added: "For example, instead of saying *Vamos a la casa* 'Let's go to the [feminine] house [feminine],' they say *Vamos al casa* 'Let's go to the [masculine] house [feminine].' Ah ha. There you realize it quickly" (JCRM). Teachers also reported examples of *la vehiculo* 'the [feminine] vehicle [masculine],' *el mesa* 'the [masculine] table [feminine],' and *el mamá* 'the [masculine] mom [feminine]'. Three teachers referred to unexpected agreement in number (e.g., *las semilla* 'the [plural] seed [singular]'), and two teachers referred to unexpected subject-verb agreement (e.g., *Nosotros tengo muchos dólares*. 'We [1p] have [1s] a lot of dollars.').

4.2.1.2.4. Preposed Adjectives. Several teachers also noted preposed adjectives (before the noun) where postposed adjectives are expected in Spanish. One teacher described this tendency: "They don't say *tortilla de papa* 'potato tortilla' [noun-adjective word order], they say *papa tortilla* 'potato tortilla' [adjective-noun word order]" (GAAB). Other teachers observed:

In Spanish, we put the noun first and then the adjective: *casa bonita* 'nice house.' But in Kichwa, it is *bonita casa*, or *blanca flor* 'white flower,' or something like that. So also, when they're writing, they tend to get confused. And when reviewing some of their writing, you do see those errors. (SRMR)

For example, instead of saying *gallina negra* ‘black hen,’ they translate in the grammatical order like when they speak Kichwa. They say *negra gallina*, for example, instead of saying *gallina negra*. They put the adjective before the noun. (JESP)

Other examples of preposed adjectives included *roja casa* ‘red house’ [adjective-noun word order] and *blanco carro* ‘white car’ [adjective-noun word order].

4.2.1.2.5. Omission of Articles and Prepositions. The omission of definite articles, prepositions, and transition words was another group of syntactic features identified by teachers as characteristic of their bilingual students’ speech. Seven teachers reported observing omission of articles. For example:

How do I identify an Indigenous person, or someone who speaks Kichwa? Because they don’t use articles. For example, they’ll say, *Traiga regalo y vamos a...* ‘Bring gift and let’s...’ like that, right? And I say, ‘No. You’re missing—*traiga el regalo* ‘bring *the* gift.’ (JGN)

Tráeme lápiz. ‘Bring me pencil.’ So, there you identify that that’s a speaker of their own language, Kichwa, because they get confused. They think you say it in Spanish the same way they say it in Kichwa. (VJTQ)

Some further examples described by teachers included: *tráeme escoba* ‘bring me broom,’ *pásame saco* ‘pass me sweater,’ *¿Dónde está puerta?* ‘Where is door?’, *tráeme llaves* ‘bring me keys,’ *Me voy a casa* ‘I’m going to house,’ and *agacha cabeza* ‘lower head.’ Similarly, the omission of prepositions was noted by three teachers in examples like *Es un estudio investigación* ‘It’s a research study [expected: *estudio de investigación*],’ *Nosotros vamos comer* ‘We’re going eat [expected: *vamos a comer*],’ and *Quiero ir colegio* ‘I want to go school [expected: *quiero ir al colegio*].’ Five teachers also referred to the general lack of “connectors” or logical transition words in their bilingual students’ language usage.

4.2.1.2.6. Extended Use of the Gerund. One teacher attributed extended use of the gerund—e.g., *Ya estoy regresando*. *Ya estoy volviendo*. ‘I’m coming back’ as opposed to the expected *Ya regreso* or *Ya vuelvo*. ‘I’ll be right back’—to a parallel usage in Kichwa (e.g., *tikramukuni* ‘I’m coming back’ Lit. I’ll be right back). Extended use of the gerund in Spanish has been attributed to the morphosyntactic structure of Kichwa, which has more uses of the gerund *-shpa* than Spanish (e.g., for a subordinated action with the same subject or to indicate anteriority, which has resulted in parallel structures in Ecuadorian Andean Spanish—e.g., *Vengo comiendo*. Lit. ‘I come eating’ I’ve just eaten; or *Sabiendo no me iba*. Lit. ‘Knowing I wouldn’t have gone.’ If I had known [...]) (Gómez Rendón, 2022; Haboud & de la Vega, 2008; Lipski, 2016; Muysken, 2022; Olbertz, 2003).

4.2.1.2.7. SOV Word Order. Seven teachers gave accounts of their students applying Kichwa subject-object-verb (SOV) word order to Spanish sentences. For example:

In the Spanish language, grammatically—if you want to formulate a sentence—we talk about subject, verb, and complement. Example: *Cecilia trabaja en la escuela*. [‘Cecilia works at the school’]. In Kichwa, it is the other way around—the order. Grammatically, in Kichwa, a sentence is made up of a subject, complement, and the verb at the end. *Cecilia en la escuela trabaja*. [‘Cecilia at the school works’]. So, when students write, they do have those errors. (CEN)

The grammatical structure in Kichwa—first comes the subject, then the complement, and the verb. So, the subject always goes first (where there are names of people and animals, things, personal pronouns, etc.) So that’s a little easy, right? But the verb goes last in the sentence. So, everything that complements it is in the middle, right? So, if they use that structure, then we can notice that a student knows Kichwa or not. (JESP)

In Spanish, it’s subject, verb, and complements or predicate. In Kichwa, instead it’s subject, complements, and verb. So when they write sentences, the students say, *La casa*

blanca terminó ‘[He] the white house finished’ Or, *El Inti el trabajo acabó* ‘Inti [person’s name] the work finished.’ (MHLC)

4.2.1.2.8. Kichwa Syntactic Calques. Finally, teachers reported a few Kichwa syntactic calques, or literal translations, including *subo arriba* ‘I go up upward’ and *bajo abajo* ‘I go down downward’ (which could mirror parallel *hawaman rini* ‘I go up’ [Lit. ‘I go upward’] and *urayman rini* ‘I go down’ [Lit. ‘I go downward’] in Kichwa), *en allí* ‘in there’ (in Kichwa, *chaypi* ‘there’ [Lit. ‘in there’]), and *diez y uno* ‘ten and one,’ *diez y dos* ‘ten and two,’ etc., as is the case in Kichwa *chunka shuk* ‘eleven’ [Lit. ‘ten one’], *chunka ish kay* ‘twelve’ [Lit. ‘ten two’] instead of Spanish *once* ‘eleven,’ *doce* ‘twelve,’ and other irregular numbers.

4.2.1.3. Lexical Features. While in a few teachers’ opinions, their bilingual students showed “limited vocabulary” and “lack of synonyms” in Spanish, when combining the results of all the interviews, teachers identified a plethora of words and phrases typical of their bilingual students, reflecting rich lexical variety and a history of contact between Spanish and Kichwa. Most lexical features identified by teachers are individual Kichwa loanwords that bilingual students incorporate into their use of Spanish on the school campuses. That even some Spanish-monolingual teachers were able to identify expressions such as *pukllashun* ‘let’s play,’ *haytay!* ‘kick!’, *ima!* ‘what!’, *mañachipay* ‘lend me,’ and others—which are not commonly known Kichwa words or words that have been integrated into Andean Ecuadorian Spanish at large—suggests that these lexical features are indeed likely characteristic of students’ bilingual language use at school. Below is a selection of lexical features as described by teachers that exemplify the linguistic creativity of bilingual communities in this contact situation.

There was an Indigenous child who read for the first time, then he said: *Alalay! ¡Ya puedo leer!* ‘I can read now!’ *Alalay* is an expression that in Kichwa means ‘I’m happy or content.’ Something new. It’s like ‘Wow!’ (LFFV)

When the kids are speaking Spanish, and they know Kichwa, some Kichwa word comes out. We are there, and they say *Ima!* ‘What!’ It is something casual in their Spanish, because they are Kichwas. So that gives me an indicator that they know Kichwa, because a person who does not know Kichwa cannot use that *Ima!* They’re walking, they’re talking, and they say *Ima!* automatically. In this sector here in San Rafael, that *Ima!* is classic for identifying who can speak Kichwa. (JPC)

Hanchi! They also say that. *Hanchi* is ‘small.’ They say, *Este hanchi, este wambra* ‘this little guy, this kid.’ They say that, you know? (LHL)

When they’re playing, you know? You hear them say amongst themselves, *Upallay!*, which means “Be quiet!” Yeah, you hear that. (LFFV)

I remember a student who was here when he was younger. He said: *¡Taytiku mío—demás estáfpss!* ‘My dear father—it’s too much!’ I mean, he was amazed that they had so much homework, you know? He meant, like, *Dios mío!* ‘Oh my god!’ but he said *¡Taytiku mío!* ‘My [Spanish] dear father [Kichwa]!’ (LTYC)

In the case of *Taytiku mío*, we see the Kichwa diminutive suffix *-ku* attached to the nominal root *tayt-* from the Kichwa word *tayta*, meaning ‘father.’ It is unclear why the derived form is *taytiku* instead of the productive *taytaku*. Considering the construction *taytiku mío* is clearly influenced by Spanish—*mío* being the Spanish possessive adjective ‘mine’—it is possible that *-iku* is a phonological assimilation with the Spanish diminutive *-ito*, which derives in this way (e.g., *pata* ‘paw’ > *patita* ‘little paw’). Other examples that teachers mentioned of their students’ lexical features included:

¿A dónde te vas? ‘Where are you going?’ *A wasi.* ‘To [Spanish] house [Kichwa].’ They say that. The little ones use it a lot. (LWRB)

There is a word that they always say: *Upyemos!* *Upyemos* means like ‘let’s drink,’ ‘let’s celebrate,’ ‘let’s dance.’ It’s like something cool. I mean, it’s like ‘Cheers!’ for example.

They're like, *Upyemos! Upyemos! Upyemos!* So it's like cool, to show they liked it.
(JMCO)

Upyemos—pronounced [up.'je.mos], [uf.'je.mos], or [uφ.'je.mos]—is an especially interesting case of bilingual language usage, considering that the verbal root *upy-* from the Kichwa verb *upyana* 'to drink' is used in combination with the Spanish subjunctive verbal suffix *-emos*, creating essentially a parallel of Spanish first person plural imperative *bebamos* 'let's drink.' Here the Kichwa verb *upyana* is analyzed as if it were a Spanish first conjugation (-AR) verb **upyar* (*upy-ar*) and conjugated as such (with the opposite theme vowel in the subjunctive). This morphologically bilingual form is used despite the fact that a productive parallel Kichwa form *upyashun* 'let's drink' exists, which would be analyzed as *upya-shun*, with the Kichwa verbal root *upya-* and the Kichwa first person plural simple future suffix *-shun*, which acts as an imperative. Additional examples included:

Sometimes, when a student is lazy, they say *killa*. *Killa*, which means lazy [...] I have also heard Indigenous kids say, if they want to say 'You're pretty,' they say *sumak warmi* 'pretty girl,' right? (GAAB)

I ask, *¿Entendieron?* 'Did you understand?' And they say, *Ari* 'Yes [in Kichwa]'. (PC)

Sometimes, when they're playing soccer, they yell, *Haytay! Haytay!*, which is 'kick!' (PC)

Just a minute ago in class, there were some kids. I don't know where they heard it—from some meme or something—but they would say *Tartío*. *Tartío* is an old Indigenous way of greeting, of saying *Buenas tardes*, *Tío* 'good afternoon, Sir.' *Tartío*. The word *Tío* is used to say 'Sir,' not the brother of my father or mother [as in Spanish *tío* 'uncle']. So it's a way of greeting that older people use now. They use *Tartío* or *Tartía*. (LACA)

Las ushutas. The shoes. Sometimes they say, *¡Amárrate las ushutas!* 'Tie your [Spanish] shoes [Kichwa]!' (PC)

Meanwhile, many other words that teachers offered as characteristic of their bilingual students are words also largely integrated into Andean Ecuadorian Spanish in general and are used by bilinguals and monolinguals alike, reflecting the rich lexical variation found in the Ecuadorian Andes as a whole. (These are marked with an asterisk in Table 4.6.)

Teachers tended to agree that many of the linguistic features described above are more prominent in older Indigenous bilinguals and varied in their opinions regarding the extent to which they are present in their students' language. Interviewed teachers who were working in rural IBE schools at the time of the study were largely able to identify more features and discuss them in a more nuanced way than teachers who were working at the urban Spanish-only schools. It is important to note, relatedly, that more of the teachers interviewed at the IBE schools were Indigenous and bilingual; moreover, the student bodies at the IBE schools are made up of a higher percentage of Indigenous and bilingual students, which may permit IBE teachers to hear more instances of bilingual language use on their school campuses than teachers at urban Spanish-only schools, where there are fewer bilingual students who may also avoid using Kichwa and Kichwa-associated speech features. It is possible that teachers who are Kichwa speakers themselves may also be more aware of or attuned to the cross-linguistic differences between Spanish and Kichwa, and can thus explain the logic behind certain features (for example, that neutralization of high and mid Spanish vowels often occurs in bilingual speech due to the fact that Kichwa lacks mid vowels).

We should interpret the corpus that was generated of the linguistic features identified by teachers interviewed through a *teacher solidarity lens* (Philip et al., 2016) and recognize that while some of the features reported and their actual frequency of use among students may be inaccurate, not attributable to Kichwa influence, or biased, teachers (particularly Indigenous

bilingual teachers) were largely able to identify features and shared a wealth of linguistic knowledge and nuance based on their own experiences and knowledge. An abundance of other features exist that were likely not mentioned in the interviews for several reasons (e.g., teachers could not remember, did not want to judge, or were nervous), but teachers in Otavalo overall (and especially IBE teachers) showed a keen linguistic awareness and were able to speak specifically about the topic—in some cases using linguistic terminology (e.g., morpheme) despite being teachers of non-language subjects. This may be an affordance of being bilingual themselves or working closely with bilingual colleagues and students.

The fact that teachers were able to produce this list in an on-the-spot interview setting leads me to believe that the list of linguistic features given in this section is only a small sample of the rich bilingual language practices that students use in Otavalo, and that further research would reveal a much larger corpus, which is exciting and gives direction for future work.

4.2.2. RQ4 Results (Teachers' Value Judgments)

(RQ4) What value judgments do teachers make regarding these features in their students' Spanish?

The values coding that was applied to the interview data brought forth six Hegemonic Language Ideologies as *a priori* codes (constructed beforehand according to existing literature). In addition, two principal emergent or *a posteriori* codes were developed based on results that came into view through analysis of the data. These were titled according to two contrasting yet parallel concepts in Kichwa—*Yanka Shimi* ('Useless Language'): Web of Concerns for Young Indigenous Bilinguals; and *Mishki Shimi* ('Rich Language'): Seven Reasons Why Kichwa is a Resource. Below, I present the findings for each of these codes, organized by the major themes that clustered under them.

4.2.2.1. Hegemonic Language Ideologies. Teachers expressed many deficit-based perspectives regarding their Kichwa-Spanish bilingual students' language use, and their value judgments toward these students' non-standardized Spanish reflected six widespread hegemonic language ideologies, as illustrated below (Figure 4.5).

Figure 4.5

Hegemonic Language Ideologies Reflected in Teachers' Interviews



4.2.2.1.1. Standard Language Ideology. Several teachers made comments reflecting commonplace ideologies of standard language, holding that only certain (prestige) forms are correct and marking variation from those forms as errors (Lippi-Green, 2012; Milroy, 2001). For example, when asked if he had noticed instances of Kichwa-influenced Spanish among students in his classes, one teacher responded:

I've noticed it, and I've corrected it. I'm always trying to say that if we learn a language, we have to learn it the right way. You have to respect the rules of each language. I've tried to correct them and teach them good pronunciation and sentence structure. (LEV)

Other teachers expressed similar responses. A mestizo teacher at an urban school with a large Indigenous student population said: "I circle where the error is so they can correct it, so that they try to avoid making mistakes. Why? Because it is not okay that we have bad spelling" (LFFV). Another teacher reported: "When we are with [the students], I always correct them. I tell them, 'that's not how you say it' or 'that's not how you write it.' [...] It's the same for pronunciation. We make sure they pronounce correctly" (JPC). Regarding the feedback she gives students, another teacher said: "I tell them, 'What you are saying—you are misusing the term,' and I

correct them. I tell them, ‘*No se dice así, mija* [‘That’s not how you say it, honey’]; you say it like this” (NAQV). Another teacher also said: “We guide them, right? Always correcting them, that the words have to be said in such a way” (VJTQ). Echoing teachers’ responses to the open-ended survey questions as presented in earlier sections, interview excerpts such as these reveal teachers’ values and beliefs surrounding certain language usage as “correct,” “right,” and “good” (and, by default, other usages as incorrect) and that these belief systems inform their interactions with students.

4.2.2.1.2. Linguistic Purism Ideology. Despite the sociolinguistic reality in which Kichwa and Spanish are in prolonged, intensive contact and continually undergoing language change over time, some teachers’ comments echoed an ideology of linguistic purism, which advocates for preserving languages in an imagined pure or clean state, uninfluenced by other languages (Martínez et al., 2015). Regarding Kichwa, for example, one teacher claimed: “Here we maintain the pure Kichwa—the purest. In the central Sierra, it is almost a *kichwañol*, a mixture of Spanish with Kichwa. Meanwhile, according to studies, we have the purest Kichwa here in the north” (JPC). According to another teacher, “A person who speaks very well—be it Spanish, English—has a pure language and does not make mistakes when communicating” (NAQV). Regarding his own language usage, one bilingual teacher stated, “Because of the influence of Kichwa, I know that I don’t have perfect Spanish. I don’t have a well-spoken Spanish. I’m lacking” (JCRM).

Some teachers revealed linguistic purism perspectives in their comments about specific language features. For example, one mestizo teacher commented:

Arrastrado [‘Dragging out’] is when we pronounce R’s like “*rrr*” [z]. This is more noticeable in the Kichwa language. Kichwa is more rooted, or more established in those pronunciations, while Spanish is cleaner in that part. Spanish with *mestizaje* [‘mixed’/‘of

mixed race'] is like dirty, versus a Spanish which is like more... eh, more spoken, more... neater, cleaner. (JMCO)

Another teacher asserted the following concerning students' tendency to use Spanish words with Kichwa morphemes: "Bilinguals will say, *vacata apamuy* [bring (in Kichwa) the cow (in Spanish)] but 'cow' in Kichwa is *wakra*, not *vaca*, so they should say, *wakrata apamuy*" (GAAF). Another teacher echoed that sentiment:

For example, they put the *-ta* particle with the word 'casa' [Spanish 'house']: they say 'casata'. But we shouldn't forget that the word for 'house' is *wasi*. Or: 'perrota' [Spanish 'dog']. But we know that 'dog' is *allku*. So those little things we should try to tell our intercultural bilingual students, so that they don't lose these words. (LTYC)

As mentioned in Chapter 2, the tendency toward linguistic purism ideologies is understandable when Indigenous languages are concerned, due to the risk of language loss. However, we see evidence in teachers' responses of valuing "pure" or "clean" language varieties, as well as beliefs associating the mutual influence of the languages upon each other as "mistakes," imperfect, or "dirty"—language ideologies that reinforce larger racial, class, and cultural inequalities.

4.2.2.1.3. Monoglossic Ideology. In line with the linguistic purism ideology, some teachers also espoused monoglossic language ideologies, emphasizing that bilingual students should keep languages separate and speak only one language at a time (Flores, 2013; García et al., 2008). For example, one bilingual teacher stated: "I know Spanish very well, and I also know Kichwa. So when I speak Spanish, I speak Spanish. I can't stick Kichwa in there. And when I speak Kichwa, I speak Kichwa" (JPC). Another teacher said:

I think we have to respect the spaces of the language. It would be ideal that they speak their Kichwa well at the times when they are communicating with Kichwa-speaking people, and that they make an effort to also speak their Spanish well with Spanish-speaking people, right? Because sometimes they do mix, right? (GAAB)

4.2.2.1.4. Indexicality & Iconicity. Teachers associated specific linguistic features with particular groups of people, representing an ideology of indexicality, through which speech forms *index* (Eckert, 2008; Schieffelin et al., 1998; Silverstein, 2003) social categories. For example, according to one mestiza teacher, “by how someone speaks, you can identify where they are from—what context they are from” (SRMR). Several teachers linked language use with socioeconomic status, education, race, or region of residence. For example:

When we drag out letters, it’s like we are more... or the people associate it more with being Indigenous, or like it has more ancient roots, or some situation like that. While on the other hand, if we speak a little differently, a little more... eh... loquacious, a little more eloquent in terms of pronunciation and things, and words, it’s like you have a little more education, like it’s more from town. (JMCO)

I think it depends on the social context, right? In Imbabura, there exist different types of—let’s say in this case, dialects. In Spanish, too—according to the socioeconomic or social situation. For example, neighborhoods. I live in a neighborhood... for example, there, there is a vulgar dialect—no? (LTYC)

Those who live farther away—they don’t relate as much. They’re kind of shy, like they don’t have the facility to express themselves. They say a word and don’t complete the sentence. On the other hand, people who are closer to the town are more... sociable. They express themselves in a better way; they know how to do it: complete sentences, the words, too—well pronounced. (SRMR)

The student who perhaps grew up in the city performs better—has a better accent—which does not happen with a student from a community. Yeah? That student has limited vocabulary, and their pronunciation may be incorrect. (AEGG)

Other [students] have problems, because (I think, right?) that at home, the social and economic context that each of them lives in and the knowledge that their parents have about Spanish makes that little part of the language very, very identifiable in them. (MAAM)

Education has a lot to do with the way of pronouncing, speaking, mixing words in each context. In the city, in the rural part—which is the people who do not have money—or those who do, those who have possibilities, it influences the use of Spanish a lot. (LACA)

One teacher who is also principal of one of the most emblematic high schools in the center of Otavalo said of students' language abilities: “At least in the urban sector, the kids here perform very well. In the rural sector—there, you can see difficulties. In the Kichwa-speaking children” (GAAF). One mestiza teacher reflected upon her experiences of trying to hide language features that index lower social class:

There are people who, let's say, lived for many years in the countryside and migrate. For work, for some situation, for study, they go to educational centers in the city. Sometimes even the big cities: Cuenca, Quito, Guayaquil. And sometimes, because we want to be on the same level in language with the people of, say, the upper class, we try to imitate, you could say, their dialogue.

For me, the change was difficult from where I came from—a bilingual institution in Cayambe. I came to work at the most prestigious institution here in Otavalo, which was of high category. And there, the parents were doctors and everything. So it's like you're afraid to express yourself in front of them, because they are professionals. And you are the teacher, and you say a word like: *agarre* ['grab'; [z]], right? So, one has to look a little better and make sure the words do not sound so dragged out [*arrastradas*']. (PC)

Some teachers treated certain ways of speaking as symbolic of the essence of Kichwa speakers (i.e., *iconicity*; Gal & Irvine, 1995). For example, one teacher linked accent to personality traits.

They tell us that those who speak Kichwa—and speak in Spanish—have a... *humble* accent, they say. [Laughs] That's what they call them. Why? Because Indigenous people who speak Kichwa, not being able to speak Spanish well, I think out of shame, they try to speak softly. (JCRM)

Many teachers referred to Kichwa speakers' pronunciation as *cerrada* “closed.” This description referred to the neutralization of Spanish mid and high vowels /e/–/i/ and /o/–/u/ (i.e.,

articulatorily “closed” vowels), but was also used to describe fricativization and closing of the lips and mouth in general. One teacher said, “In Kichwa, you close your lips a little” (LWRB). Another said of Kichwa speakers: “When they speak, they tend to close their mouths, and it seems that the words are not properly formed. So, they kind of have their mouths closed, and they talk with their teeth a little closed” (PBG0). One more teacher echoed: “In Spanish, we vocalize. In Kichwa, however, it is like ‘*shwshwshw*.’ It’s like you don’t open your mouth very much. It’s like shorter, and the words come out sung [‘*cantadito*’]” (JMCO).

Interestingly, some teachers also linked a “closed” pronunciation to a “closed” disposition. In one teacher’s words, “They don’t speak very confidently. We speak fluently, but they kind of close off a little” (LHL). Another teacher said: “For example, we say ‘*mesa*’ [table]. *El indígena que es cerrado* [‘The Indigenous person who is closed’]—who has difficulties with Spanish and Kichwa—says, ‘*misa*’ [mass]” (JGN). He went on to extend the use of “closed” vowels to the supposed nature of Indigenous people:

The Indigenous person is very closed. I have seen that in the Indigenous people of Otavalo. They kind of hide their things; they have mysticism. It’s not easy for them to lend you something, for example. Or give you something for free.

In this way, the iconicity of speech forms appears to feed ethnoracial prejudices toward speakers of minoritized language varieties.

4.2.2.1.5. Exonormative Language Ideology. Several teachers’ comments revealed exonormative language ideologies, wherein they referred to external standards as the linguistic norms for language learning (Kirkpatrick, 2007; Leeman, 2014). One teacher spoke of an Indigenous student who had grown up in Spain as speaking in a more “refined” way (CEN). Another teacher recalled his professors from Spain and Mexico in graduate school, saying:

“They are *actually* fluent in Spanish” (JJAM). Another said: “A person who speaks Spanish very well is someone from Spain. They do. But we always have mistakes” (VJTQ).

At the level of Ecuador, teachers in Otavalo tended to idealize Spanish from Loja—affirming the point raised in existing literature that Loja Spanish (where fricativized variants are less frequently recorded) is often considered the most elegant of Ecuador. A few teachers argued: “the most neutral Castilian that exists is that of Loja” (JCRM); “they say that in Ecuador, speakers in Loja speak the Spanish language most clearly; here in the north—not so clear” (JMCN); “our colleague from Loja, the dialect she speaks sounds beautiful—clear; she pronounces the <ll> and <rr> differently [...] I think it’s attractive” (JGN); “[in] the province of Loja, they speak the Spanish most similar to the Spanish they speak in Castille, in Spain” (GAAB). Regarding what varieties of Spanish she liked, this last teacher added:

It seems to me that the Indigenous Salasakas [in southern Ecuador], too. As I understand it, many, many families of Spanish descent lived there, so that influenced the way the population speaks, right? They settled there for longer perhaps, right? Which is why it’s a little more marked, or—their way of pronouncing is better. (GAAB)

Again, the most admired varieties of Ecuadorian Spanish noted here invoke external language standards (namely from Spain) and idealize the speech features in regions of Ecuador where fricativized variants are historically absent.

4.2.2.1.6. *Elitist Language Ideology.* The sixth and final hegemonic language ideology that surfaced in teachers’ interviews was the elitist language ideology, which perceives the language varieties of dominant, formally educated groups as superior (Briceño et al., 2018; Pimentel, 2011). As one teacher explained: “We can see that academically prepared parents—who have a university degree—educate their children differently. We’re talking about

social stratum. College-level parents: children with better vocabularies, better form of expression” (CEN). Another teacher reiterated that sentiment:

Talking about social status, normal, ordinary people, from small towns, speak to each other that way [with fricativization], and upper-class people speak with a more formal <ll> [...] The sentence formulation, too, is not up to date. Perhaps because of the training a person has, it seems like they’re speaking a vulgar Spanish. (GCA)

Another teacher commented:

There are people who are trilingual, who are Indigenous people who speak Kichwa as their mother tongue, who adopted Spanish in society, and who also have higher education in English or some other language, due to their travels and things. So they speak in a different way. They speak cleaner Spanish. (JMCO)

These excerpts demonstrate how teachers conceive of linguistic hierarchies that reproduce the broader sociocultural hierarchies favoring elite education levels and socioeconomic status.

4.2.2.1.7. Complexifying Hegemonic Language Ideologies. In sum, teachers’ value judgments toward the Kichwa-influenced Spanish of their bilingual students exemplified six widespread, often overlapping, hegemonic language ideologies. However, following Román and colleagues (2023), it is important to draw attention to the complex motivations behind teachers’ apparent espousal of dominant ideologies regarding language—particularly in light of these teachers’ own multilingual and minoritized identities. As shown above, teachers’ ideas about their students’ Spanish reflected beliefs about standard language, linguistic purism, and promotion of monoglossic language ideologies, among others. Yet, in contexts of Indigenous and minoritized languages, the standardization and separation of Kichwa from Spanish are approaches that aim to protect the Kichwa language and traditions from disappearing in favor of Spanish and dominant mestizo culture. Likewise, teachers’ subscription to standard language ideologies is often justified by their desire to protect their minoritized students from future

linguistic discrimination (based on teachers' own experiences) and concern for their students' academic and professional success. For instance, one teacher remarked: "Within the institution, we've told them, 'you have to pronounce the words correctly. You have to use the right words, so that there is not any marginalization, ok?'" (LTYC). Other teachers emphasized a sense of responsibility to model "correct" language usage for their students. According to one teacher, "Since I teach Spanish language and literature, it's my job that they learn to do it well—correctly" (SRMR). Another said: "The student imitates, so it's good that they develop a good Spanish" (GAAB). One more explained:

As a teacher, I'm really careful about what I'm teaching the kids. I also have to learn, so that I don't make a mistake and the child who is learning leaves with that idea: 'the teacher said it like that.' We cannot make mistakes with the children. They learn from us. (NAQV)

Regarding her own variety, an Afro-Ecuadorian teacher also echoed:

When I am in my community, I speak like them. On the other hand, when I am addressing a group of students, I must teach correctly. And when I am with teachers, parents, I speak—or try to use—correct Spanish. (MTC)

We see in teachers' interviews—aligning with previous studies—that bilingual educators' beliefs and practices are multiple, complex, and often conflicting, at times evidencing both hegemonic and counterhegemonic discourses (Manresa, 2022; Martínez et al., 2015). Again, it is important to represent teachers supportively, approaching educational research through a *teacher solidarity lens* (Philip et al., 2016). Instead of blaming teachers (particularly minoritized teachers), this research aims to recognize the complexities and tensions at play in their work, to highlight their professional and life experiences, and to support them in their causes.

The results presented in the previous section cover the interview data that was coded according to the *a priori* value code Hegemonic Language Ideologies. Two additional

codes—*Yanka Shimi* ('Useless Language'): Web of Concerns for Young Indigenous Bilinguals; and *Mishki Shimi* ('Rich Language'): Seven Reasons Why Kichwa is a Resource—were developed *a posteriori* based on results that emerged from the data. The analytic process for generating these two codes is described below.

4.2.2.2. Analytic Process for Emergent Codes. Several topics—though unanticipated and at times seemingly contradictory—appeared repeatedly in the interview transcripts of multiple teachers. With the aim of capturing essential content from teachers' perspectives, I took note of those topics throughout the coding process using short phrases—e.g., “shame for speaking Kichwa,” “Kichwa as a secret code,” etc.

Identifying patterns across these first-cycle descriptive codes, I developed broader categorical codes in second-cycle coding (Saldaña, 2009). Codes that, though interesting, were peripheral or not mentioned as frequently by teachers—e.g., “secretly attending school,” “recent constitutional support of interculturality”—were dropped.

Given several descriptive codes represented ways in which teachers viewed Kichwa as an asset, these could thus be grouped under the larger category of *Affordances of Kichwa as a Resource* and presented graphically in a hierarchical tree-like structure, where seven child codes represent various manifestations of the parent code.

Many of the remaining descriptive codes coincided in that they represent various unfortunate circumstances or obstacles to Kichwa language and identity maintenance that face young Indigenous bilinguals today. Some of these elements were more obviously related than others in chains of cause and effect—e.g., “exposure to popular media” and “preference for English and Spanish”—yet all appeared to form part of a larger interconnected system of processes. Initial attempts at representing these codes graphically in a linear or cyclical sequence

of cause and effect required multidirectional, branching, and curving arrows to show mutual influences.

Instead, a web organization (as in a food web) took shape to better represent these processes, with arrows mapping various pathways involved in Kichwa language and identity loss, with no definitive starting or ending point. Considering the potential influence of each of the nine elements upon the others, I positioned the more closely-related elements nearer to each other in the web and included uni- or bidirectional arrows indicating the directionality of influence (e.g., migration to urban schools likely contributes to the invisibilization of markers of indigeneity, but not vice versa). The resulting *Web of Concerns* is a simplified illustration of a system of complex processes occurring simultaneously and contributing to each other in myriad ways. This unit of analysis facilitates the isolation of individual issues involved in order to design targeted interventions and provide recommendations for social change.

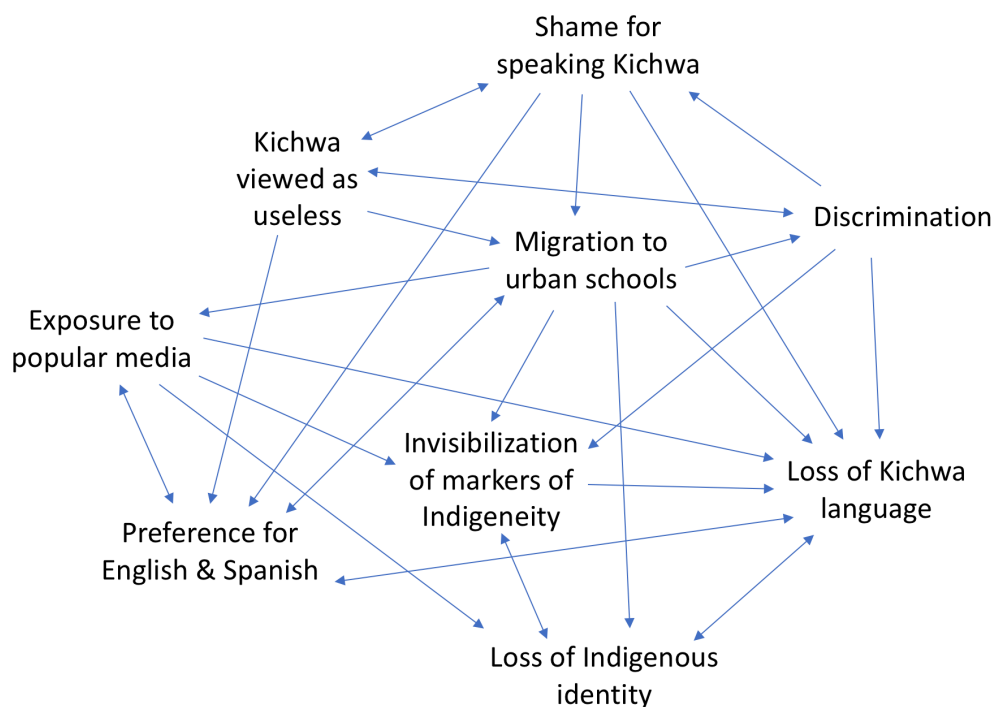
Both conceptual representations—*Affordances of Kichwa as a Resource* and the *Web of Concerns*—allow for additional elements via future collaborative research (e.g., when I spoke about the seven affordances of Kichwa in Otavalo, I encouraged Indigenous families to think of additional affordances to add to the tree). I present the findings for each of the two emergent codes in the following section.

4.2.2.3. *Yanka Shimi*: Web of Concerns for Young Indigenous Bilinguals. Extending beyond the hegemonic language ideologies expressed in their interviews, teachers adeptly located their comments on students' language practices within a larger, interrelated web of concerns (see Figure 4.6) regarding the loss of Indigenous languages and identities among the younger generations. In Figure 4.6, arrows represent potential directionalities of interrelated

elements contributing to Kichwa language and identity loss. These concerns will be examined according to teachers' comments as follows.

Figure 4.6

Yanka Shimi: *Web of Concerns for Young Indigenous Kichwa-Spanish Bilinguals*



4.2.2.3.1. Losing the Kichwa Language. Regarding the bilingualism of their students, teachers voiced familiarity with the current situation of Kichwa language loss and shift toward dominant languages. Several teachers remarked something to the effect of: “There are young people who no longer like to speak Kichwa” (NAQV) or, “over time, [Kichwa] has been lost quite a bit, and they almost no longer identify as Indigenous themselves, but rather they want to, let’s say, or consider themselves as mestizos” (PBGO). Processes of Kichwa language loss and the prospect of a future in which Kichwa is no longer spoken in Otavalo undergirded nearly every teacher’s interview, and will be addressed throughout the following sections.

4.2.2.3.2. Preference for English and Spanish. One factor that teachers identified as contributing to Kichwa language and identity loss is their students' preference for using and learning English and Spanish over Kichwa. One teacher maintained: "The vast majority [of students] no longer want to learn the Kichwa language; they are very interested in English and improving their use of Spanish" (AERP). Another reiterated:

They receive Kichwa and English classes here [in an IBE school]. But they like English more than Kichwa. So they are losing their language. There are students who do not speak Kichwa. [...] The students who come here to school are no longer very interested in Kichwa. They want English more. (JGN)

A third teacher agreed: "We have encouraged the children to learn Kichwa, but I don't see their enthusiasm for learning it like I see their interest in English" (NAQV). One more said, "Parents also encourage them to learn to speak Spanish correctly" (JJAM).

Regarding possible reasons for preferring these languages, some teachers pointed to English and Spanish as strategies for avoiding marginalization. The following excerpt from the interview with one Indigenous teacher documents the reasons behind her students' language preferences:

Because of the racism that formerly existed here—because we are Indigenous people, they rejected us a lot. They said, "Wow, this is a Kichwa speaker. This person is Indigenous and cannot be here." That is why—seeing that—there are many young people who no longer like to learn Kichwa. They are more interested in learning English. [...] They say that English is used everywhere. Meanwhile, Kichwa is only used within the communities. They think like that. For example, they say, "We go to big cities, like Quito, and we don't hear Kichwa there," they say, "Only Spanish." They have that mentality that Kichwa is a language that does not help them at all. (NAQV)

Another teacher reiterated: “It could also be due to ignorance, that ‘I don’t want my kid to know [Kichwa]; I want him to know Spanish.’ It could be. That always gets into our heads, because before, the mestizos humiliated us” (VJTQ).

Teachers invoked the status of English and Spanish as universal languages and the opportunities they offer for travel, work, and for meeting the requirements for graduation. As one teacher put it: “The Indigenous person has that interest in learning English, to be able to get a job easily and not be discriminated against” (VJTQ). An Indigenous teacher recalled: “I learned Spanish from childhood, because in my community, it was believed that learning Spanish would provide us with greater academic and work opportunities” (AVL). He went on:

My parents didn’t motivate me to learn Kichwa. They thought that learning my mother tongue would make me commit errors in my Spanish pronunciation. It wasn’t recommended to learn Kichwa. I had to place priority on Spanish. (AVL)

Another teacher reported: “I have asked my students what language they would like to learn. They say English, because of commerce—because they want to travel. And Kichwa is limited only to their parents. The students hardly speak Kichwa anymore” (CVMM). Another teacher also gave his perspective: “I would prefer to learn English. It is a universal language—right?—one of the languages used internationally. Universities require you to learn English. If you don’t speak English, you don’t graduate, right?” (JESP). Here we see evidence of Spanish and English as global leveling forces of linguistic diversity and the multifaceted reasonings behind a preference for these languages among youth.

4.2.2.3.3. *Kichwa Viewed as Useless.* Relatedly, when referring to the ongoing mentality that Kichwa is not useful compared to other languages, teachers alluded to the concept in Kichwa of *yanka shimi* or ‘useless language’:

In Kichwa they say *yanka shimi*—‘a language that does not work.’ That’s how it was classified before. That is why many people have this conception that if I speak Kichwa, it is a language that is useless. That is why many people have that fear, that shame. Like, if I speak Kichwa, I am speaking a language that is useless. (LACF)

The principal of one of the largest urban schools in Otavalo similarly recalled:

My mother, despite being Indigenous, chose to raise us speaking Spanish, because Kichwa was considered *yanka shimi*. That is, a language that is useless, that is worthless. So, from that perspective, there was the limitation that my mother, like any human being, wanted the well-being of her children and raised us speaking Spanish. (GAAF)

A mestizo teacher was also familiar with this concept even though he could not remember the term: “There is a term that they use—they say that they do not speak Kichwa because it is not valid, because it is a language that is only used among the community and only by certain people” (JGN). As evidence of this mindset, another teacher recalled the reaction of parents to the use of Kichwa in school:

We gave a presentation of poetry in Kichwa with the children—and they like it, too. They like it, but the parents see the school in a bad light here. They say, “Kichwa is of no use for me. It doesn’t help me.” (NAQV)

Likewise, another teacher gave an example from parents: “One of my granddaughters understands Kichwa, but she doesn’t speak it, because even though my daughter speaks it, her husband says, ‘No. Kichwa—what for?’” (MHLC).

4.2.2.3.4. Shame for Speaking Kichwa. The concept of *yanka shimi* (a term in Kichwa and degrading of Kichwa itself) is a tragic example of internalized linguistic discrimination (Román et al., 2019, 2023) that has a lasting impact from generation to generation. As seen in the following excerpts, teachers referred to their Kichwa students’ insecurities and shame around using their mother tongue.

When [students] come from parents who—they do not speak Spanish; they speak only Kichwa—they remain silent (they do not want to speak for fear that their classmates will make fun of them for not being able to express themselves) or that their expression is not the most appropriate. (CEN)

We do have to continue strengthening it, since our kids are ashamed to speak the language. They are. (LTYC)

I have heard cases where they are ashamed to speak Kichwa, especially at university, when I was studying. So maybe they don't speak Kichwa because of that fear that they would be discriminated against. (BISS)

In some cases, I have even noticed that they don't like people knowing that they know the Kichwa language. (AERP)

I have seen that students are embarrassed, ashamed—they hide to speak in Kichwa. (JJAM)

In our country, the Indigenous people now feel ashamed of their language. They try to learn other languages. That is why Kichwa is being lost in our region. (CVMM)

For students, using Kichwa in the classroom—even in a Kichwa language class—could mean potentially being vulnerable in front of their peers.

4.2.2.3.5. Loss of Kichwa Identity & Invisibilization of Markers of Indigeneity. Along with avoiding speaking Kichwa and conforming to dominant language practices, several teachers also made reference to trends among their students of invisibilizing traditional markers of Kichwa Indigeneity. A mestiza teacher from the Otavalo city schools said: “Many children no longer dress [traditionally] and do not use their original clothing, but rather use our clothing” (NJ). Another teacher commented:

Now they cut their braid, which is their characteristic feature. They adopt other customs, and it is being lost. Things are now being acculturated. So I would like to try to contrast

this situation and see how to rescue a little of what is ours, our traditions and everything. (JMCO)

One teacher seemed to equate loss of the Kichwa language with Indigenous people (especially men) cutting their long braided hair, an important representation of Indigeneity and the Kichwa worldview: “There are Indigenous people with short hair today—who have cut it clear off—and it’s unfortunate, isn’t it? Yes, unfortunate. [...] The men cut their hair, so they no longer speak Kichwa” (LTYC). A second teacher echoed this idea:

Sometimes there are young people who cut their hair. They want to pretend that they are mestizo, but that is not the case. It also comes from the parents, right? If their child has long hair, they have to leave it that way and not allow it to be cut. So, it goes from there: first the haircut, and then the lost language. (VJTQ)

A different teacher highlighted the role of globalization and exposure to popular media in processes of Kichwa language loss:

The Kichwa identity is getting lost. [...] These days, it’s sad that young people are listening to reggaeton, rap—I’m not against it, but what’s ours should be first. [...] So, the language—social media, TV, the internet... it’s destroying us. (LHL)

Likewise, one teacher expressed the effects of migration on markers of Indigeneity:

There is also migration among the Indigenous kids. When they get there [to the city]—*poof!* The hair. They no longer want to be Indigenous. This school year, we have seen about two students chop off their braids, which... is sad, very sad, because they don’t appreciate what that means. [...] Do we want to lose our roots? Our hair? Well, almost all the women still maintain it, that is... an elegant dress, but the men are now wearing jeans, we no longer wear white pants, white shirts. We no longer use hats or *alpargatas* [traditional shoes]. We sometimes use it, right? For big events. It’s like our business card as Indigenous, Kichwa-speaking people. But there are many people now who wear the traditional clothing, but do not speak [Kichwa]. (LTYC)

4.2.2.3.6. Migration to Urban Schools. As introduced in the above quote, a major issue facing IBE—despite teachers’ and administrators’ best efforts—is the migration of Indigenous bilingual students from rural IBE schools to urban Spanish-only schools. Although they and their families may continue to live in surrounding rural areas, many students travel each day to the Otavalo city center to attend school. One teacher stated of Indigenous students and parents: “They no longer go to bilingual institutions, they no longer go to the community schools, what they look for is to leave for the city” (PBGO). Another teacher explained why Indigenous families may prefer urban schools:

Sometimes there is less—let’s say—within the State, less budget for those of us in the rural sector, and I think there is more budget for those in the urban area. Our facilities are sometimes not adequate. The city facilities are more [...] get more attention. So what do our parents say? ‘Let’s send them over there.’ There is that migration of Indigenous kids. (LTYC)

Another rural IBE teacher reported: “We always campaign at the end of the school year for the kids to come here, because many times, they think that as Kichwa speakers they don’t have the same opportunities as mestizos, and that is not right” (LPDR). One teacher invoked factors related to internalized discrimination: “Two hundred of our students left. They went to other schools—to Otavalo. Like, an Indigenous person doesn’t want to see an Indigenous teacher with their Indigenous kid. [...] The parent sees that maybe the Indigenous person is... he looks down on him—he thinks he is not a good teacher. [...] And we’ve been declining in students” (JGN). One more teacher summarized: “It was always believed that training in a Spanish-speaking institution would give better academic results” (AVL).

While families’ motivations behind migration are complex, we can assume that most parents simply want the best educational opportunities for their children. However, the migration

of students from rural to urban schools represents an additional obstacle for Kichwa language maintenance and reclamation in Ecuador today.

4.2.2.3.7. Discrimination in Urban Sectors. In terms of discrimination, it was common for IBE teachers to distinguish their own, rural school communities—where there are Indigenous/bilingual majorities—from urban, Spanish-only schools with mestizo majorities.

Several teachers made similar comments constructing this dichotomy:

Here within the institution, since we are all from the same ethnic and social group, you don't feel it much. **But when they go to the city**, there seems to be some kind of discrimination there. (GCA)

Here in my institution, no. No, no. **But I think that in larger cities** like Quito, perhaps in Guayaquil, it may be that they suffer from discrimination, because the fact that they cannot pronounce a word in Spanish, or that it sounds different, is like a reason to discriminate them or isolate them from the group. (LEV)

Here in the work environment—at school—I have not seen discrimination among students, because the majority are Kichwa-speaking. There are students who don't speak Kichwa, but who come from Indigenous parents. So I haven't seen discrimination of speech. I have not seen it from teacher to student either, fortunately. **But, if we're talking at a provincial level, at the national level**, there is a lot of discrimination for the way we speak. (JCRM)

Here we do not have that discrimination, **but in the city**, there we do. Because there, it is always: 'That Indian doesn't know,' 'That *longo* [despective term for an Indigenous person] doesn't know.' (VJTQ)

One teacher referred to the effect that discrimination in urban centers has on language and identity maintenance:

Children and parents have expressed discrimination in the city. When they go to the city, for being Indigenous, or wearing their [traditional] clothing, they are discriminated against. So, to avoid that, they prefer to wear the clothing of mestizos, and practically, their mother tongue—which is Kichwa—they simply don't practice it anymore. (PBGO)

The episodes of discrimination brought up by interviewees often referred to urban spaces in which various social classes and ethnicities come together (e.g., on the bus, at the market). A few

teachers pointed to essentially “Mock Kichwa”—à la “Mock Spanish” (Hill, 2008; Schwartz, 2011)—in the sense that mestizos who do not speak Kichwa sometimes use token Kichwa words or phrases in a joking way (without attempting to actually learn the language), covertly constructing public space as mestizo and indexing themselves as superior to Indigenous Kichwa speakers. The following excerpt from one teacher’s interview documents this phenomenon.

The bus controllers, when they see some... older adults... Indigenous people—they want to get on the bus, ok? They should treat them with respect, saying, ‘Ma’am, Sir, come on up. I’ll help you. Careful.’ But I have heard mestizos say, ‘Come on *papito, mamita*, [Spanish diminutive: ‘father,’ ‘mother’] come on then, come on! Can’t you? Come on, *tayta, tayta* [Kichwa: ‘father/elder’] come on. *Shamuy shamuy shamuy shamuy!* [Kichwa: ‘Come!'] And once I told one of them, ‘Look, if you want to speak to them in Kichwa, speak to them in Kichwa, but for real,’ I said, ‘You’re not going to pretend to speak Kichwa just to make fun of them.’ You can see clearly that they use words in Kichwa to make fun of Indigenous people. (JCRM)

Similarly, another teacher commented on the use of the diminutive:

The diminutive is loaded with racism. Not in everything, but in many spaces. For example: I’m going to the market. I’m going to sell—what do I know?—a sheep. I find a person younger than me—a minor—and he comes to me and says, ‘*Mijito* [Spanish diminutive: ‘my little son’], how much is that sheep?’ It bothers me, because I don’t know him. He’s a minor. So I think it’s a form of racism that existed for many years, when we Indigenous people were considered less. (MHLC)

One teacher’s personal account is particularly illustrative of the differences between urban and rural settings regarding discrimination:

I also lived it, you know—racism. Because I didn’t speak well, they said: “Speak well, *longo*,” right? Insulting us, right? Or later, they would call us *tartoso* [‘stutterer’], because we couldn’t speak Spanish well. So it’s very sad—isn’t it?—because I lived through it. As I told you, in Quito I remember crying. Because before I was five years old, I spoke pure Kichwa. Pure Kichwa. But when I went to live in Quito, there was no

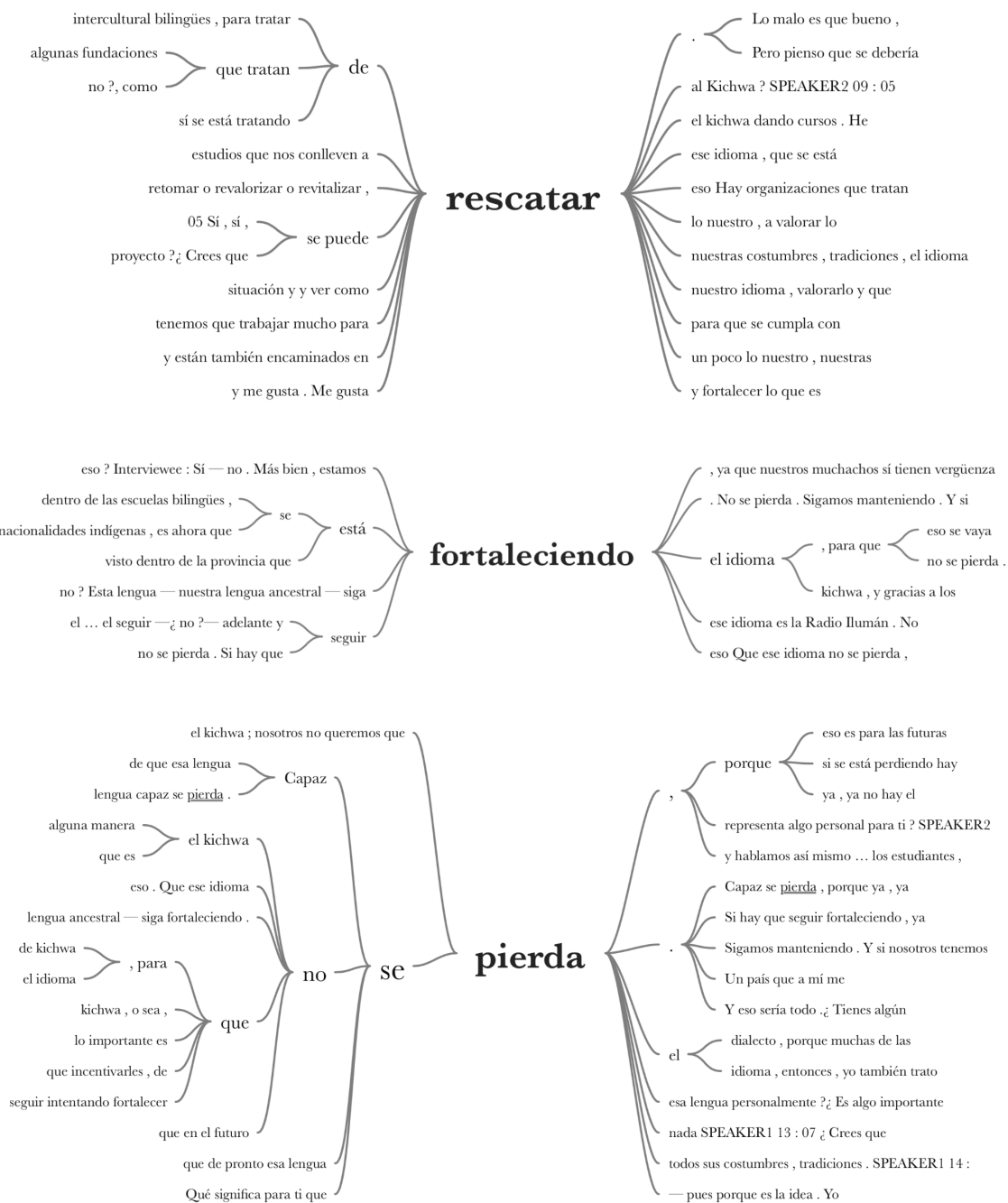
one to speak Kichwa with. [...] I remember going to sit in the last row and I would stay crouched like that, because I couldn't talk to anyone. I couldn't speak Spanish. And that made the children laugh at me. They told me, "Hey! He can't talk! He can't talk! He can't talk!" So, yes, it has hurt us. (LHL)

Increased episodes of linguistic discrimination toward Kichwa and Kichwa-influenced Spanish in urban sectors, in combination with the high influx of rural Indigenous bilingual students to urban schools, ultimately compounds processes of Kichwa language and cultural loss in the web of intersecting concerns for young Indigenous bilinguals.

4.2.2.4. Narratives of Kichwa Language Reclamation. Though in apparent contrast with the hegemonic language ideologies exemplified in an earlier section, many teachers interviewed—Indigenous bilinguals and mestizo monolinguals alike—espoused promotion of the Kichwa language, along with Kichwa traditions and culture. To give an idea, some phrases used by teachers, for example, included: “highlighting interculturality and the Kichwa language” (AERP); “rescuing the language, the traditional clothing, the traditions, and foods” (JGN); “fomenting our traditions, our culture, our language” (LPDR); “strengthening the language, so it is not lost” (LTYC); “rescuing ancestral knowledge” (JPC); “motivating students to stay in their culture” (LWRP); “valuing the mother tongue” (NAQV); and “strengthening the culture of Indigenous communities” (PBGO). Verbs like *fortalecer* (‘strengthen’) and *rescatar* (‘rescue’ or ‘reclaim’) and the phrase *que no se pierda* (‘so it is not lost’) were used frequently by teachers in reference to the Kichwa language. Word trees for these phrases, presented in Figure 4.7 below, were generated in *NVivo* (QSR International Pty Ltd, 2018) from the original interview transcripts in Spanish and offer a visualization of how teachers’ narratives noticeably align concerning language reclamation.

Figure 4.7

Word Trees for Rescatar 'Rescue or Reclaim,' Fortaleciendo 'Strengthening,' and Pierda 'Be Lost' Generated from Teachers' Interviews



Phrases such as these, frequently used by teachers to refer to Kichwa and bilingual students' language use, point to complex perspectives on behalf of teachers that balance both hegemonic and counterhegemonic discourses.

4.2.2.5. *Mishki Shimi: Seven Reasons Why Kichwa is a Resource.*²⁷ Analysis of the 36 teachers' interviews showed that while educators in Otavalo at times subscribe to widespread hegemonic language ideologies, they also take asset-centered stances toward the Kichwa language. As such, teachers interviewed referred to Kichwa and Kichwa-related language diversity in terms of a rich resource that can be employed to various benefits. For example, one teacher referred to Kichwa as: “a treasure that should not be lost,” adding: “We have a treasure there that the rest of us, who have not had the opportunity to learn it at home, can take advantage of” (AERP). Another teacher similarly noted: “Now, the mestizo, little by little, also wants to be nourished by Kichwa” (VJTQ). As opposed to the concept of *yanka shimi* (‘useless language’) described in the previous section, these accounts evoke contrasting yet parallel references to the Kichwa language as *kuri shimi* (‘golden language’) and *mishki shimi* (‘rich/sweet language’) by Kichwa-speaking communities (for instance by Luzmila Zambrano; Wikitongues, 2018).

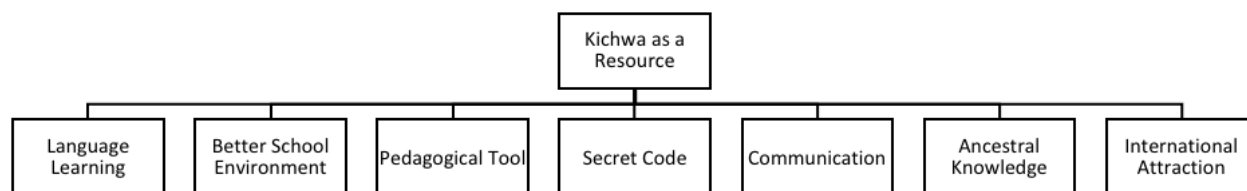
Teachers largely described Kichwa language knowledge as an asset both personally and professionally. One teacher recounted advising his Spanish monolingual students: “The difference is that [bilinguals] speak another language. On the other hand, you do not speak the other language that they have. That is the great advantage that they have” (JCRM). Another teacher asserted: “The Kichwa speaker has double the skills. He also has two powers, right? Like, both Kichwa and also the Spanish part. So, he has more capabilities than someone who has only one... way of living” (GCA). In a third teacher's view: “Today, a person who speaks

²⁷ I delivered a modified version of this section as a speech to Kichwa students and families at two schools in Otavalo where I was invited to speak in the fall of 2023.

Kichwa is more valued than a person who does not speak Kichwa” (LEV). As an emergent result of the values coding of interviewed teachers’ commentaries, seven affordances of the Kichwa language as a resource are presented in the following section (Figure 4.8).

Figure 4.8

Mishki Shimi: *Seven Affordances of Kichwa as a Resource*



4.2.2.5.1. Kichwa for Language Learning. Teachers expressed admiration for the language-learning capabilities of bilinguals, suggesting that knowing both Kichwa and Spanish serves as a foundation for acquiring additional languages. As one mestiza teacher expressed:

I greatly admire the Indigenous people, because they learn Spanish apart from Kichwa, and they learn English and sometimes another additional language. In other words, they have a very fast linguistic capacity. On the other hand, we mestizos limit ourselves to just Spanish. (LPDR)

Similarly, a mestizo teacher at an urban school also recognized the benefits of being multilingual:

I have told the kids that it opens doors—speaking Kichwa—because on many occasions, if I know Spanish and I know Kichwa, I can become a translator, or maybe it’s easier for me to learn English, and then I can handle English, Spanish, and Kichwa. (LFFV)

An Indigenous bilingual teacher recalled telling his students: “you guys are speaking three languages—English, Kichwa, and Spanish—while in the urban area, only Spanish” (LTYC). He added:

It seems like it's easier for us, because I think our tongue is... I can immediately speak Kichwa, just as you can immediately speak English to me, right? But for a person who only speaks one language, it is very difficult. (LTYC)

Another Indigenous bilingual teacher said: "The mere fact of knowing two languages already places us in a better degree of cognitive development in the linguistic sense" (AVL).

4.2.2.5.2. *Kichwa for a Better School Environment.* In addition to the natural linguistic dexterity of bilingual students and colleagues, as a second affordance of Kichwa, teachers referred to the positive effects of being able to employ all of their bilingual linguistic resources on the school campus. For example, one teacher expressed, admiringly: "Here in this school, everyone speaks Kichwa. If one is speaking Kichwa—the question is asked in Kichwa—the answer is also in Kichwa. It's open, right?" (JJAM). Another teacher mentioned: "With my students, we make jokes in moments of joy in Kichwa" (JMCN). Another said, similarly: "when [the students] are with friends—with each other—they mix [languages] and there is no problem" (LWRB). Another said: "Here at the school where I'm working, I like it a lot, because the students are mostly Kichwa-speakers, and we spend free time in Kichwa. [...] I feel very comfortable here in this institution because I can speak in Kichwa" (LEV). He continued:

Well, actually, in a natural conversation, we and the young people speak in both languages. It's something fun. [...] For example, I say an idea in Spanish, and later they answer it in Kichwa, or vice versa. So it's a lot of fun because we use both languages. (LEV)

A mestiza teacher at an urban school in Otavalo noted:

I used to teach at [a rural] institution and I loved it, because there were children who were from the same sector, from the same community, and they were Kichwa speakers who also spoke Spanish, right? But when they communicated with each other, they communicated in Kichwa. Inside the classroom, for example, when one explained to the other, they explained it in Kichwa, not in Spanish. That was very nice. (GAAB)

A teacher-principal at an urban school in Otavalo, where Kichwa is often invisibilized, pointed to the beneficial impacts of sharing ethnoracial identity and linguistic experiences with her students:

When I identify myself to my students and tell them, “I am also Indigenous,” they are surprised and ask me, “Let’s see it. Speak Kichwa.” I say, “Of course! What do you want me to say?” And I speak, and it’s like the trust is opened up, and they also start, and we can communicate in Kichwa. (GAAF)

Similarly, another Indigenous bilingual teacher in the urban sector echoed:

[The students] themselves come up to me and say “*Licen* [‘Teacher’], do you know how to speak Kichwa?” And I tell them, “Yes, I can speak Kichwa.” Then they say, “Let’s see it. Speak to me.” They test me. They ask me, “Say this phrase,” or they say, “Let’s talk—let’s talk in Kichwa.” (LACA)

Additionally, bilingual teachers reported using Kichwa to assist students’ families when they visit the school. One Indigenous bilingual teacher, who is also vice principal at one of the large urban schools in Otavalo, stated:

Here at work, I have a student population and parents who are from the communities. When they come and visit me in the office, they come with that suspicion, sometimes wanting to speak in Spanish, but if I realize that they are an Indigenous person, that they are a Kichwa person, I immediately express my trust and my greeting from the beginning in our language, so that they have the security of being able to explain any situation to me with respect and confidence. (AVL)

Similarly, another Indigenous bilingual teacher in the urban sector said:

It has helped me with parents who have come to justify an absence, or some situation that the students have had. They go up to the counselor’s office, and many times they don’t understand the Spanish of the counselor, who is mestizo. Out of shame, they say, “yes, I’ll just sign anything.” Many times I’m there, and I can explain to them what they are signing. So that is how it has helped me—for the parents. (LACA)

These comments identify the freedom to use Kichwa and a full range of hybrid language mixing as contributing to a more representative, enjoyable learning environment that improves how bilingual students, teachers, and families experience schools socioemotionally.

4.2.2.5.3. *Kichwa as a Pedagogical Tool.* Likewise, the use of Kichwa was alluded to as a pedagogical strategy and to connect with students on a deeper level. One teacher voiced: “Sometimes, when they are told a story in Kichwa, they become amazed. They understand it, and they wonder why” (LTYC). Similarly, another said: “my students quite like that I tell them stories in Kichwa. They always ask me, ‘Teacher,’ at the start of class, ‘tell new stories in Kichwa.’ So I’m always generating stories” (JMCN). A monolingual mestizo teacher recounted applying his limited Kichwa knowledge with his class:

When we finish a task, I tell them, *ña tukuchirkani?* [sic] That means “Are you done?” They smile, but they feel identified, and more trust is achieved, because they feel that the teacher who is giving the class understands them. (CVMM)

Other teachers mentioned using classroom commands in Kichwa as an effective technique for capturing students’ attention and admiration. One teacher said: “It’s like me in the classroom: ‘¡Makita mayllashun!’ [...] There’s like a little bit of admiration, right?, for them, because I’m telling them ‘Go wash your hands!’ but in Kichwa. And it’s like they’re shocked” (VJTQ). In addition, an IBE teacher recalled the positive results when a bilingual student acted as expert, helping less proficient students in Kichwa class:

Those [students] who are monolingual, when they didn’t understand anything we were talking about, they would all go to Tito, and from being bored, Tito suddenly felt engaged, because he felt that he knows. [...] The rest would say, ‘Tito, help us!’ (JMCN)

These anecdotes point to the positive educational impacts that receiving (even minute portions of) their education in their mother tongue can have on bilingual students and their academic performance.

4.2.2.5.4. *Kichwa as a Secret Code.* The fourth advantage of Kichwa that was offered by teachers was bilinguals' ability to utilize Kichwa like a secret code. The following excerpt from one teacher's interview documents this usage of the language:

Kichwa has become like a way to tell you a secret. Yes, in the students... let's say I have four students here, of which two are bilingual, and two speak Spanish. Between the two who are bilingual, they speak Kichwa quietly among themselves. It's like a secret language. They understand it, but the rest of us don't. (JMCO)

Another teacher also noted:

Sometimes the young people try to use Kichwa also to... well, to talk about things that are... that others cannot understand in conversation—if it is more confidential and such, I've noticed that the students use it. (LEV)

While using Kichwa to speak privately with each other was viewed by some teachers as an important practice for students, some mestizo teachers described how the use of Kichwa, when not all who are present understand it, can evoke suspicion and mistrust at schools and in Otavalan society. One of these teachers noted: “For example, in a meeting where bilinguals—Indigenous people—want to talk only about their own issues, they speak in Kichwa. Those who speak Spanish... we don't know what they're saying” (LWRB). Another said: “When they don't want us to know what they're talking about, they prefer to speak in their own language. [...] For example, we're riding the bus, ok? They're speaking in Spanish, but as soon as I sit next to them, then they change languages immediately. They change into just Kichwa so we can't understand” (PBGO). A third teacher also expressed several instances of this. For example:

Here at the school—the principal is bilingual. We were planning activities, and when the janitor came in—the janitor is also Indigenous— [...] as soon as he entered, they both began to speak in Kichwa. Since I didn't understand, I decided to leave. [...] I feel uncomfortable. That's why I always say, "When you talk to him, I'll just leave." (JGN)

Regardless of the reactions of Spanish-speaking monolinguals, Kichwa-speakers have the added advantage of switching languages to communicate amongst themselves.

4.2.2.5.5. *Kichwa for Communication.* Perhaps the most important, the fifth benefit incurred from Kichwa as a resource according to teachers is the ability to communicate and exchange information with family, community members, and local Kichwa speakers. One Indigenous teacher reported: "That's why I have to be able to use the Kichwa language really well: to be able to communicate with my grandparents, with my family [...] My parents speak both languages, but my grandparents don't—just Kichwa" (NAQV). Another teacher said of Kichwa:

It's one of the options that allows us to have greater skills, tools to function, to communicate, to be able to respond to the demands of a society in which in a bank or in a co-op, as a doctor, as a teacher, I have to talk to parents from families who perhaps have not learned Spanish very well. I have to communicate in Kichwa. Due to the local reality, the population is quite Indigenous, so that need is there. There are media outlets with Kichwa personages, and within the professional requirements, you see: "teamwork and preferably Kichwa-speaking." So it's happening. (AVL)

One mestiza teacher in the rural IBE system also underscored needing to use Kichwa for communication with families: "When the parents come, I use Kichwa some, because they speak more Kichwa. They don't understand much Spanish, so then I have to speak... very specific terms in Kichwa, just for them to be able to understand" (SRMR). Another mestiza teacher said: "It is true that Spanish sometimes gives [the students] opportunities, but [Kichwa] is also good, because it is a way for them to interact with the rest of the community. If they can use their

native language, we can easily carry out many projects” (LPDR). In the same way, the Indigenous bilingual teacher and vice principal in urban Otavalo, who is also a leader in his community, explained:

The Spanish that my parents encouraged me to learn, or that they taught me at school, was useful for my studies, but it did not help me much for my community. In the meetings, in the assemblies and work that we need to do—to solve basic needs, generate projects, solve political or economic issues—with them I use our language [Kichwa] so that they can understand me and to make myself better understood. (AVL)

4.2.2.5.6. Kichwa as Ancestral Knowledge. Beyond its importance in the community, teachers also expressed the critical value of Kichwa for comprehending and transmitting ancestral knowledge. The following excerpts demonstrate this Kichwa affordance.

We are applying in this institution everything that is the knowledge of the Kichwa people. We are applying the Andean calendar, with the four celebrations, such as the *kulla*, the *kapak*, the *pawkar* and the *inti raymi* [the four equinoxes in the Andean agroecological calendar]. We are applying this knowledge, rescuing ancestral wisdom. (JPMD)

In Spanish, I can say *él* [‘he’] or *ella* [‘she’], but in Kichwa ‘he’ and ‘she’ do not exist. The word is *pay*, and that refers to everyone, to a person of any gender. So that’s a subtle little trait in the dialectic of Kichwa, in the Kichwa worldview, which is more inclusive. (AVL)

[In this region] they have knowledge of dreams, they have knowledge of the water sources, they have knowledge of the hills, right? They have knowledge of... let’s say, of each thing that is going to happen. And that, our grandparents have left us, and there is no writing, right? So, I tell you this, because my late father also knew these things—the older ones we talked to—he’s gone now... and I say, ‘this knowledge isn’t in any text; there is no record of it. They are sayings of our ancestors, and we need to value them—speaking the language’. (LTYC)

Another example of this knowledge that the same teacher gave was: “when a *yachak* [wiseman] was born, he said—my late father said—he cries inside his mother’s womb, three times, in order to be a good *yachak*” (LTYC). In this way, teachers recognized the Kichwa language as the channel through which such ancestral knowledge can be best understood and passed on intergenerationally.

4.2.2.5.7. Kichwa for International Attraction. Finally, several teachers also considered international interest as an additional (and potentially economic) benefit of maintaining the Kichwa language and culture. One teacher summed up that sentiment well when he told me:

You should motivate [the students] to stay in their culture, because you foreigners come to see that. You come to see *their* culture. You come to learn *their* language, something that we do not value—the mestizos from here in the Sierra—do not value. (LWRB)

Another teacher commented similarly: “Foreign people value what we have here more than we do” (LPDR). An Indigenous teacher in the urban sector also noted:

What I have noticed is that people like you, who are from abroad, are interested in speaking Kichwa. They study, they research, but that doesn’t happen with those of us from here, who are Otavaleños, or from Ecuador, right? We should put more emphasis on research and try to ensure that our mother tongue, Kichwa, is not lost. (AEGG)

In the same way, Kichwa was mentioned as a way that Indigenous Ecuadorians can distinguish themselves from other Latinxs abroad, as well as earn international scholarships, studies, and other professional and academic benefits.

In sum, beyond their espousal of hegemonic language ideologies, teachers—particularly IBE teachers—took a resource-centered positionality toward the Kichwa language, maintaining that it serves many different advantages, such as the seven listed here.

4.3. Conclusion

This chapter presented the results of the quantitative and qualitative analyses that were guided by the four research questions central to this study. Below, I summarize these results briefly by revisiting the four research questions and whether the hypotheses made at the outset of the research were supported by the data.

(RQ1) Does the presence of fricativized variants in recorded speech predict the social characteristics (e.g., education, place of residence, bilingualism) that teachers in Imbabura perceive of speakers?

- a. Realization of the voiced alveolar trill /r/ as a voiced retroflex fricative [ʀ]
- b. Realization of the voiced palatal lateral approximant /ʎ/ as a voiced alveopalatal fricative [ʝ]

Based on existing literature and my own experience, I hypothesized in (H1) that the presence of fricativized variants in recorded speech would predict the social characteristics that teachers perceived of speakers. Specifically, I predicted that fricativized variants (in the case of both sounds) would be perceived by teachers as significantly less educated, more rural, more Kichwa-dominant, less accurate, more informal, and less appealing than standardized variants. The results of statistical analyses of the verbal guise survey completed by 180 teachers in the province of Imbabura, Ecuador revealed the first major finding:

(F1) The presence of fricativized variants ([ʀ] and [ʝ]) in recorded speech predicted teachers' ratings for all seven perceived social characteristics.

As was hypothesized, teachers rated speakers whose speech contained fricativized variants as of lower socioeconomic status, less educated, more rural, and more Kichwa-Spanish bilingual than speakers whose speech contained the respective standardized variants. Also in line

with (H1), speech containing fricativized variants was rated as significantly less accurate, more informal, and less appealing than speech containing standardized variants.

Analysis of each of the two phonemes individually yielded half the number of trials (i.e., number of survey question responses) as compared to the aggregate analysis of both phonemes. Findings showed that:

(F1a) For the phoneme /r/, average ratings of the fricativized variant (i.e., [z]) were lower than the standardized variant (i.e., [r]) across all traits. The effect of /r/ was significant on teachers' ratings for socioeconomic status, education, urbanity, monolingualism, and formality, but there was not enough statistical power to detect statistical significance on teachers' ratings for accuracy or appeal.

Regarding the second phoneme:

(F1b) For the phoneme /k/, average ratings of the fricativized variant (i.e., [ʒ]) were lower than the standardized variant (i.e., [k]) across all traits. The effect of /k/ was significant on teachers' ratings for monolingualism, but there was not enough statistical power to detect statistical significance on teachers' ratings for the other six traits.

Teachers' responses to the open-ended survey questions reflected and added scope to the closed-answer results. To illustrate, teachers frequently used negative descriptors (i.e., adjectives) to describe the speech recordings that contained fricativized variants—for instance, *pésimo* ('awful'), *incorrecto* ('incorrect'), *inadecuado* ('inadequate'), *entrecortado* ('choppy'), and *inseguro* ('insecure')—while descriptors used for standardized pronunciations were more positive—for example, *óptimo* ('ideal'), *culto* ('educated'), *lindo* ('lovely'), *amigable* ('friendly'), and *seguro* ('confident'). Likewise, the feedback teachers gave to the hypothetical

students whose speech contained fricativized variants was generally negative or corrective, whereas standardized pronunciations were praised and recommended as model language.

(RQ2) To what extent do these perceptions vary based on teachers' own demographic characteristics (i.e., self-identified Indigeneity, degree of bilingualism, rurality of residence, and type of school in which they work)?

I hypothesized in (H2) that non-Indigenous (mestizo) teachers, teachers with less Kichwa knowledge (monolinguals), teachers residing in urban parishes of Imbabura, and teachers working in Spanish-only schools would rate fricativized variants significantly lower across the seven social characteristics than would Indigenous teachers, those with more Kichwa knowledge (bilinguals), those living in rural parishes, and those working in Intercultural Bilingual Education schools. I made this hypothesis considering that the latter groups are potentially more exposed to corresponding Kichwa fricatives, may be more likely to use them in their own speech, and thus might rate them more favorably due to familiarity and sympathy toward speakers similar to themselves. Unlike what was hypothesized, the results of the verbal guise survey showed the following second finding:

(F2) Teachers' school program type—Intercultural Bilingual Education versus Spanish-only—was the only demographic variable that showed a significant effect on the way teachers perceived fricative variants in speech, with Spanish-only teachers rating fricativized variants as of significantly lower socioeconomic status, education, accuracy, formality, and appeal than IBE teachers.

In line with existing research, these results suggest that teachers from diverse backgrounds, residing in the different parishes of Otavalo, share similar negative perceptions of fricativization. That Indigenous and mestizo teachers, bilingual and monolingual teachers, and

rural and urban teachers all rated fricativized variants more negatively than the standardized counterparts indicates that negative attitudes towards these features are widespread in Ecuadorian society.

However, while teachers across the board viewed fricativization negatively, perceptions did vary along one demographic line—teacher school type—lending nuance to the findings for (RQ2). Notably, teachers in the large, emblematic, urban Spanish-only schools in the center of Otavalo rated speech containing fricativized variants significantly more negatively for five of the seven traits than teachers in small, rural, Intercultural Bilingual Education schools. While IBE and Spanish-only teachers rated fricativization similarly in terms of the feature indexing rurality Kichwa-Spanish bilingualism, Spanish-only teachers went beyond that and rated fricativized variants even lower for socioeconomic status, education, correctness, formality, and appeal than did IBE teachers. Thus, there appears to be a relationship between the educational model within which teachers were working and their perceptions of non-standardized pronunciations. This apparent context-contingency is one of the most powerful findings emerging from this work, given the pattern of migration of Indigenous bilingual students from rural IBE schools to the large, emblematic Spanish-only schools in the Otavalo city center, and the implications teachers' perceptions and interventions have for Kichwa language and identity maintenance/loss.

In sum, perceptions of fricativized variants were perceived more negatively than their standardized counterparts across teacher demographics, suggesting that negative attitudes towards these features are commonplace among teachers in Otavalo—a problem that appears to be exacerbated within large, urban Spanish-only schools. These findings add to our understanding of teachers' linguistic perspectives in Ecuador in relation to the educational model in which they teach.

(RQ3) What (other) features of Kichwa-associated Spanish do teachers identify among students in their classrooms?

I hypothesized in (H3) that many features proposed in the literature to be the result of Kichwa-Spanish language contact—e.g., distinct gender and number agreement; changes in word order; Kichwa borrowings and calques; unexpected use of high and mid vowels /i/-/e/ and /u/-/o/—would be reported by teachers as present in their bilingual students’ Spanish. Results of interviews with 36 teachers supported that hypothesis as a whole, revealing a third finding:

(F3) Teachers in Otavalo identified 130 Kichwa-associated non-standardized Spanish language features as characteristic of their bilingual students’ language use—including those well-noted in the literature and several unexpected features—generating a corpus of examples at all linguistic levels (e.g., lexical, morphosyntactic, phonetic/phonological, etc.).

Some of the features most frequently mentioned by teachers included: neutralization of Spanish high and mid vowels; fricativization of /r/ and /k/; stress placed on the penultimate syllable; use of Kichwa enclitics with Spanish words (e.g., *¿Y ahora-ka?*; *perro-ta*); distinct gender, number, and subject-verb agreement (e.g., *la vehículo*, *nosotros tengo*); preposed adjectives (e.g., *negra gallina*); omission of articles and prepositions (e.g., *quiero ir colegio*, *agacha cabeza*); extended use of the gerund; SOV word order (e.g., *El Inti el trabajo acabó*); Kichwa syntactic calques (e.g., *subo arriba*, *en allí*); and numerous Kichwa loans.

Teachers also provided examples of some unexpected bilingual language features that went beyond those hypothesized. Some less-commonly cited features included: distinct (“choppy”) intonation; <h> pronounced as [x]; utterance-final [x] (e.g., *¿Y ahorajjj?* *¿O seajjj?*); realization of /e/ as [a]; word-final [tʃ] (e.g., *Es que mi mamáchh estaba...*); and a multitude of

less-documented Kichwa loans and bilingual language usages (e.g., *Ima!*, *haku a la casa*, *alalay*, *Taytiku mio!*, *Upyemos!*, *tartío*).

In short, teachers identified a broad range of characteristics of their bilingual students' language use and provided examples across linguistic levels.

(RQ4) What value judgments do teachers make regarding these features in their students' Spanish?

I hypothesized in (H4) that language ideologies would be invoked by teachers that *index* (Schieffelin et al., 1998) or *iconize* (Gal & Irvine, 1995) the minoritized linguistic features mentioned in relation to social evaluations of students' and their families' race/ethnicity and socioeconomic status (demographics). Results of values coding of the interviews—namely, trends identified in teachers' evaluative stances toward their students' Kichwa-influenced Spanish—support that hypothesis while also presenting a substantially more complex picture, as teachers' value judgments reflected diverse and at times conflicting language ideologies. Teachers' discourses on their bilingual students' Spanish varied along demographic lines and school program type, between individuals that share a group demographic, and even within teachers' own individual comments. Analysis for (RQ4) showed a fourth and final finding: **(F4)** While hegemonic language ideologies were clearly identifiable in teachers' responses, teachers also located Kichwa and Kichwa-influenced Spanish within a complex web of larger societal concerns for young Indigenous bilinguals regarding patterns of language and cultural loss, and many—particularly Intercultural Bilingual educators—also identified several ways in which the Kichwa language serves as a resource.

My aim in the presentation of results in this chapter and in transition to the discussion in the following chapter is to center the asset-based *mishki shimi* ('rich language') perspectives

expressed by teachers as a model for shifting the opposing deficit-based *yanka shimi* ('useless language') perspectives that continue to linger in perceptions of non-standardized Spanish in Ecuadorian classrooms and beyond.

Chapter 5: Discussion

5.0. Introduction

This chapter is dedicated to a discussion in which I consider the major results of the dissertation and their implications for both linguistics and education. I begin with a brief summary of the four principal findings of the dissertation study. I then locate the results of this research in relation to existing literature that was reviewed in Chapter 2—first, concerning Kichwa-Spanish language contact (particularly phonetic variation) in Ecuador, and next, concerning the two major theoretical frameworks informing this work: language ideologies and dismantling linguistic discrimination in schools (namely, raciolinguistics perspectives). In each section, I outline several points of new knowledge that have been generated through this research by confirming, challenging, and extending existing work.

5.1. Four Principal Findings

In response to the four research questions and hypotheses posed at the outset of this study, the following are the four principal findings of the dissertation:

(F1) The presence of fricativized variants in recorded speech (when the two sounds were grouped as a whole) predicted teachers' ratings for all seven perceived social characteristics: socioeconomic status, education, urbanity, monolingualism, accuracy, formality, and appeal.

(F1a) The presence of fricativized /r/ (i.e., [ʒ]) in recorded speech predicted teachers' ratings for five of the seven perceived social characteristics: socioeconomic status, education, urbanity, monolingualism, and formality.

(F1b) The presence of fricativized /k/ (i.e., [ʒ]) in recorded speech predicted teachers' ratings for one of the seven perceived social characteristics: monolingualism.

(F2) Teachers' school program type—Intercultural Bilingual Education versus Spanish-only—was the only demographic variable that showed a significant effect on the way teachers perceived fricative variants in speech, with Spanish-only teachers rating fricativized variants as of significantly lower socioeconomic status, education, accuracy, formality, and appeal than IBE teachers.

(F3) Teachers in Otavalo identified 130 Kichwa-associated non-standardized Spanish language features as characteristic of their bilingual students' language use—including those well-documented in the literature and several unexpected features—contributing to a corpus of examples at all linguistic levels (e.g., lexical, morphosyntactic, phonetic/phonological, etc.).

(F4) While hegemonic language ideologies were clearly identifiable in teachers' responses, teachers also located Kichwa and Kichwa-influenced Spanish within a complex web of larger societal concerns regarding patterns of language and cultural loss, and many teachers—particularly Intercultural Bilingual educators—identified ways in which the Kichwa language serves as a resource within the school environment and beyond.

5.2. Contributions of this Work in Relation to Existing Research

5.2.1. Concerning Linguistic Variation in Andean Ecuadorian Spanish

As put forth at the outset of this dissertation (Chapter 2), existing literature documents a wide range of language phenomena as characteristic of Andean Ecuadorian Spanish across all linguistic levels, the majority of which are argued to be the result of prolonged contact with the Indigenous language Kichwa (Gómez-Rendón, 2007; Lipski, 2017; Muysken, 1979, 2019; Stewart, 2020). Though monolingual Spanish speakers in the Andes also employ a good number of these traits, most contact features, including elements of phonetic/phonological variation, are said to be more present in rural varieties and those spoken by Indigenous bilingual speakers

(Gómez Rendón, 2022; Haboud & de la Vega, 2008; Lipski, 1994; Muysken, 2019; Palacios Alcaine, 2005).

One of these contact features, the central focus of the verbal guise experiment in this dissertation, is the phenomenon of fricativization—principally substitution of the Spanish voiced alveolar trill [r] with voiced retroflex fricative [ʒ] (e.g., *carro* ['ka.ʒo] ‘car’) and substitution of the voiced palatal lateral approximant [ʎ] with the voiced alveopalatal fricative [ʒ] (e.g., *caballo* [ka.'βa.ʒo] ‘horse’). Regarding its production, this element of phonetic variation is attested by existing research as highly productive in Ecuador—particularly in the northern Andean region and in the province of Imbabura (Gómez, 2003; Haboud & de la Vega, 2008; Lipski, 1994; Stewart, 2020), the site of this dissertation work. Despite extensive allophonic variation in the production of these phonemes across speech communities in the province (Cole, 2022; Stewart, 2020), Imbabura forms part of the *zeísta* region—a stretch of highland provinces in the northern-central Ecuadorian Andes, in which speakers maintain the Spanish /ʎ/-/j/ phonemic distinction via [ʒ]-[j]—which has been identified for decades (Alonso, 1953; Argüello, 1980; Boyd-Bowman, 1953; Canfield, 1988; Cole, 2022; Gómez, 2003; Haboud & de la Vega, 2008; Lipski, 1994; Lope Blanch, 1966; Quilis, 1993; Rosenblat, 1967; Stewart, 2020; Toscano Mateus, 1953). Likewise, fricativized realizations of /r/—often referred to as *assibilated* for their whistle-like quality—have been attested in an overlapping region in the Ecuadorian highlands, which we can call the *zeísta* region, also identifiable in the earliest linguistic descriptions and through to today (Argüello, 1978; Bès, 1964; Boyd-Bowman, 1953; Gómez, 2022; Haboud & de la Vega, 2008; Stewart, 2020; Toapanta, 2016; Toscano Mateus, 1953).

Existing work has found fricativized realizations to be frequent among Ecuadorian varieties of Spanish with greater contact with Kichwa (Stewart, 2020) and, importantly, as

stigmatized for their association with rural speech and Indigenous bilinguals (Gómez, 2003, 2022; Haboud & de la Vega, 2008; Toapanta, 2016). In general terms, fricativized /ʎ/ and /r/ have been attested among older, rural, poor, less educated, bilingual, and Indigenous speakers, yet have also been found across all Ecuadorian Andean Spanish-speaker backgrounds—particularly in informal contexts and spontaneous speech (Argüello, 1978, 1980, 1984; Haboud & de la Vega, 2008; Klee & Lynch, 2009; Stewart, 2020). An important recurring phenomenon across several existing studies is that some speakers (particularly middle class speakers in more formal situations) appear to avoid fricativized variants and use corresponding standardized variants—i.e., [ʎ] and [r]—in an attempt to position themselves as of a higher socioeconomic status, more highly educated, or more socially appropriate (Argüello, 1978; Gómez, 2003, 2013; Haboud & de la Vega, 2008; Stewart, 2020).

While this dissertation is not intended as an analysis of phonetic production, the results of the small-scale speech data obtained from 30 speakers in three speech communities in Imbabura via the reading task (see Chapter 3, Section 3.2.3) align with existing evidence regarding the distribution of the variants in question, corresponding to orthographic <r>/<rr> and <ll>, respectively. In terms of rurality and bilingualism, for example, Stewart's (2020) data reflect that fricativization is frequent among varieties of Spanish in Imbabura that have greater contact with Kichwa (i.e., rural and L2 Spanish). Of the three communities where speech data was collected for this dissertation, the rural bilingual community of Larcacunga showed the highest incidences of fricativized variants [ʎ] and [ʒ], the number of tokens of which decreased when moving to the semi-rural bilingual community of Monserrath, and even more so moving to the urban monolingual community of Ibarra. While this distribution was the case for both fricatives, it was

more clearly marked for [z] (i.e., 104 tokens of [z] were identified in recordings from rural bilingual Larcacunga; only 7 were identified in recordings from urban monolingual Ibarra).²⁸

In a corresponding fashion, the frequency of use for the standardized trill [r] increased when moving from rural Larcacunga, to Monserrath, to urban Ibarra. The voiced palatal lateral approximant [ʎ] was produced most in semi-rural Monserrath and urban Ibarra, while nearly nonexistent in rural bilingual Larcacunga. The speakers recorded in Ibarra were mestizo, monolingual Spanish speakers, representing middle and upper socioeconomic status, who were employed by the university radio station at the time of the study. That these speakers produced more instances of standardized [r] and [ʎ] in the reading task supports existing production research noting higher rates of standardized forms among the middle and upper classes, particularly those who are employed in education and related professions, who are more concerned with producing careful speech in formal situations (Argüello, 1978; Gómez, 2003; Haboud & de la Vega, 2008; Klee & Lynch, 2009; Stewart, 2020).

It is important to note, though, that fricativized /ʎ/ (i.e., [ʒ]) was the more commonly produced variant across all three speech communities, suggesting that fricativization of the palatal lateral /ʎ/ to [ʒ] may be more widely used and potentially considered more acceptable across all registers in Imbabura than is fricativized /r/ (i.e., [z]). Though the realization of [ʒ] is widespread, tokens of standardized [ʎ] were also produced during the reading task without prompting by the semi-rural Monserrath participants and by university radio personnel in Ibarra. Thus, the speech data collected through this dissertation provides evidence that the palatal lateral approximant [ʎ] (generally considered an archaic sound, found in some regions of Spain, Paraguay, and the Andes; Hualde et al., 2010) is still used in Imbabura. Furthermore, this data

²⁸ A descriptive summary of the speech data can be found in Tables 3.1 and 3.2 in Chapter 3. A larger sample of speech data and statistical analysis would need to be carried out to interpret the phonetic variation identified in this data.

suggests that some speakers in the region continue to use standardized [ʎ] in an attempt to produce “correct” speech, though they likely use fricativized realizations in their daily lives, revealing the linguistic insecurity (Labov, 1963) that has been witnessed regarding these pronunciations in Ecuador (Haboud & de la Vega, 2008).

5.2.1.1. Educators’ Perceptions of Non-Standardized Spanish. Aside from the small-scale speech production data discussed above, one of the primary contributions of this dissertation is the documentation of perceptions of phonetic variation taking place within school settings in Ecuador. Extensive work has been carried out in linguistic research regarding Kichwa-Spanish language contact and its effects in Andean Ecuadorian Spanish. However, relatively few studies have examined how specific linguistic features—particularly fricativized /r/ and /ʎ/—are perceived by Ecuadorians through social perceptions or sociophonetic research (García, 2018; Gómez, 2022; Toapanta, 2016), and most importantly, none of that research presents data on the perceptions of Kichwa-associated Spanish language features by educators, specifically. This is a considerable gap in existing work, given teachers’ pivotal role in either perpetuating or challenging patterns of Kichwa language loss and shift to dominant-language practices in Ecuador. The close analysis carried out in this dissertation and finding (F1) begin to address that gap in the research by chronicling teachers’ orientations toward these and other non-standardized Spanish language features.

5.2.1.1.1. Qualitative Findings. Evaluations made by 180 teachers in the verbal guise survey in Imbabura align with a long history of existing work concerning the social value of fricativized speech variants in Ecuador and the Andes. According to that literature, standardized variants of the Spanish trill and palatal lateral approximant have been linked with traditional schooling and prestige within the Ecuadorian class structure, while their fricativized counterparts

have been perceived as stigmatized linguistic behavior (Gómez, 2003; Haboud & de la Vega, 2008). In reference to these sounds, early descriptive accounts of Ecuadorian Spanish attribute a standardized pronunciation *no arrastrada* ‘without dragging it out’ to the “educated” classes, while the assibilated (fricativized) pronunciation is labelled “defective,” “rustic,” “vulgar,” and “uneducated” speech (Bès, 1964; Rosenblat, 1967; Toscano Mateus, 1953).

Unfortunately, denigratory descriptions such as these live on in the results of the verbal guise survey carried out through this dissertation over six decades later. As seen in the qualitative findings from the open-ended survey responses and interviews carried out through this work, teachers continue to apply similar terms when referring to fricativized speech varieties in Imbabura today. Many teachers’ comments on recordings containing fricativized variants illustrate the unchanged perception of these pronunciations, for example:

“they speak in a vulgar way” (Spanish-only 43)

“the pronunciation is terrible” (Spanish-only 1)

“the language shows little education” (Spanish-only 7)

“they drag out the rr a lot, and the pronunciation is very rustic” (IBE 44)

Overall, fricativized pronunciations were described in negative terms, such as: *pésimo* (‘awful’), *chabacano* (‘rude’), *cacofónico* (‘cacophonous’), *entrecortado* (‘choppy’), *cerrado* (‘closed’), *confuso* (‘confusing’), and *inseguro* (‘insecure’). The descriptors “incorrect,” “inadequate,” and “inappropriate” were those most used to describe the recordings containing these sounds, invoked by teachers 54 times in the open-ended survey responses. Meanwhile, teachers also continue to perceive standardized variants as superior, referring to these in open-ended surveys using positive terms such as: *óptimo* (‘ideal’), *refinado* (‘refined’), *culto* (‘educated’), *lindo* (‘lovely’), *dulce* (‘sweet’), *amigable* (‘friendly’), *cálido* (‘warm’), and *seguro* (‘confident’).

Teachers referred to the correctness, elegance, clarity, and style of the standardized speech, as well as the confidence, education, and high socioeconomic status likely held by the speakers.

Many teachers referred to fricativized sounds using the timeworn term *arrastrado* ('drawn out') and referenced the speakers' apparent rurality and lack of education. Some teachers also identified a speaker as Indigenous or as a Kichwa speaker by the way they express themselves, revealing raciolinguistic ideologies and linguistic racialization that reifies ideas of race through the interpretation of others' linguistic practices (Chun & Lo, 2015; Flores & Rosa, 2015). In line with descriptions throughout history, fricativized variants continue to be framed as defective according to the perceptions of participating teachers in this study.

5.2.1.1.2. Quantitative Findings. In complement to this trend seen qualitatively, educators' negative perceptions of fricativized variants were also shown quantitatively. Results of statistical analyses of the verbal guise survey completed by the 180 teachers—finding (F1)—revealed that the presence of fricativization in recorded speech predicted teachers' evaluations of the speech as of lower socioeconomic status and education levels, as more rural, more bilingual, less accurate, and less formal and appealing. In other words, fricativized variants were perceived more negatively than their standardized counterparts in the closed-ended portions of the verbal guise survey. This was the case across teacher demographics, indicating that the negative attitudes towards these features, shown in existing literature to be widespread in Ecuadorian society at large, are also reflected among teachers within Ecuadorian schools.

Given that the presence of [ʒ] in the recordings predicted teachers' ratings along five of the seven traits (Finding F1a), while the presence of [ʒ] predicted only one (Finding F1b), the results of the verbal guise survey suggest that retroflex fricative [ʒ], though famously productive in Imbabura and Andean Ecuador, is more stigmatized than the alveopalatal fricative [ʒ]. This

idea aligns with the speech production data discussed in the previous section, in which [ʒ] was the most commonly produced variant across all three speech communities, suggesting it is more widely used and potentially less stigmatized in Imbabura than is [z]. However, it is important to note that in this study, both [z] and [ʒ] predicted a speaker's perceived Kichwa-Spanish bilingualism, linking these sounds perceptually with the Kichwa language and larger patterns of historical and sociocultural marginalization of Indigenous speakers in the Andes.

Ultimately, the findings from the verbal guise survey in this dissertation support those of existing research positing that fricativization as a whole and fricativization of /r/ in particular are phonetic features that are historically and actively stigmatized in Ecuadorian society and generally perceived more negatively than their standardized counterparts by listeners across demographic groups. Importantly, this research extends that literature to propose that negative perceptions of fricativization are replicated within school settings by teachers, specifically. The data suggest that teachers in Imbabura used the occurrence of fricativization to make inferences about a speaker's background and social status, while also revealing evidence of teachers' language ideologies, as they rated speech containing this linguistic feature as deficient (i.e., informal, incorrect, unappealing). It is crucial to consider the academic and social consequences that teachers' negative attitudes might have for linguistically minoritized students, as well as the implications for Kichwa language maintenance or shift, as speaking Kichwa (i.e., being bilingual) appears still to be associated with rurality and lower education and socioeconomic status. Thus, this dissertation yields new insights at the intersection of linguistics and education with the aim of improving educational conditions for language-minoritized youth in Ecuador.

5.2.1.2. Corpus of Current Bilingual Language Features. Beyond the small-scale descriptive data of rhotic and approximant production in Imbabura and documentation of

educators' perceptions of this phonetic variation, a third central contribution of this work in relation to existing linguistics literature is the generation of the corpus of examples of bilingual language features that, according to teachers in Imbabura, are present in students' language usage—finding (F3). While there exists ample and highly detailed research on the elements of Kichwa-Spanish contact-induced language features (García, 2021; Gómez et al., 2022; Gómez-Rendón, 2007; Guerra, 2020; Lipski, 2007, 2015, 2016; Muysken, 1979, 2019; Palacios Alcaine, 2005), the results of that work are not presented in the form of an inventory, nor do they account for contact features identified from the perspective of teachers who work with bilingual students. As such, this research contributes new insights by documenting phonetic and other features of Kichwa-associated Spanish that teacher participants identified among bilingual students in their classrooms in Imbabura. Results of interviews with 36 teachers revealed 130 Kichwa-associated non-standardized Spanish language features at all linguistic levels (e.g., lexical, morphosyntactic, phonetic/phonological, etc.) that teachers identified as characteristic of their bilingual students' language use—including those well-noted in the literature and several unexpected features.²⁹

Some of the features most frequently mentioned by teachers included: neutralization of Spanish high and mid vowels; fricativization of /r/ and /ʎ/; stress placed on the penultimate syllable; use of Kichwa enclitics with Spanish words (e.g., *¿Y ahora-ka?*; *perro-ta*); distinct gender, number, and subject-verb agreement (e.g., *la vehículo, nosotros tengo*); preposed adjectives (e.g., *negra gallina*); omission of articles and prepositions (e.g., *quiero ir colegio, agacha cabeza*); extended use of the gerund; SOV word order (e.g., *El Inti el trabajo acabó*); Kichwa syntactic calques (e.g., *subo arriba, en allí*); and an extensive list of Kichwa loanwords.

²⁹ Table 4.6 in Chapter 4 shows the corpus of all linguistic features identified by teachers and the number of teachers that mentioned each feature.

Some unexpected bilingual language features that teachers identified that went beyond those hypothesized included: distinct (“choppy”) intonation; <h> pronounced as [x]; utterance-final [x] (e.g., ¿Y ahorajjj? ¿O seajjj?); realization of /e/ as [a]; word-final [tʃ] (e.g., Es que mi mamá^{chh} estaba...); and a multitude of less-documented Kichwa loans and bilingual language usages [e.g., *Ima!* and *(H)alalay!* (interjections of surprise), *haku a la casa* (‘let’s go home’), *Taytiku mío!* (‘Oh my god’), *Upyemos!* (‘Let’s party/drink’), *tartío* (a greeting derivative ‘buenas tardes, *tíu*’ or ‘good afternoon, sir’)].

The generation of this corpus of Kichwa-Spanish features through the interviews, as well as their comments in the survey, make clear that teachers in Imbabura (even monolingual Spanish-speaking teachers) are quite attuned to the social meaning of speech features in the sociolinguistic context in which they live and have extensive metalinguistic awareness. This dissertation assembles a list of features, identified by teachers who work with bilingual students in Otavalo, into a corpus that can be added to and built upon in further research.

5.2.2. Concerning the Two Theoretical Lenses

5.2.2.1. Language Ideologies. Existing research links the processes of perceiving social meaning through language with people’s beliefs and practices surrounding language itself, or language ideologies. Specific linguistic features are said to *index* or *iconize* (Eckert, 2008; Gal & Irvine, 1995; Schieffelin et al., 1998; Silverstein, 2003) particular social categories, feeding processes of sociocultural and linguistic hierarchization in which racialized and minoritized language varieties are positioned at the bottom (Fuller, 2012; Gal & Irvine, 1995).

Hegemonic language ideologies—such as the *standard language ideology* (Lippi-Green, 2012; Milroy, 2001), *elitist language ideology* (Briceño et al., 2018; Pimentel, 2011), *exonormative language ideologies* (Kirkpatrick, 2007; Leeman, 2014), *linguistic purism*

(Martínez et al., 2015); *monoglossic ideologies* (Flores, 2013; García et al., 2008), and *normative monolingualism* (Leeman, 2018)—are widespread in society and, unfortunately, are also reproduced in linguistically diverse school settings (Fuller, 2012; Fuller & Leeman, 2020; García, 2009; Valdés, 2005). These ideologies are enacted, for example, when bilingual and dual language education programs enforce language separation policies, avoiding the mutual influence of languages (Fuller, 2012; Henderson, 2017; Martínez et al., 2015; Palmer et al., 2014; Román et al., 2019).

This dissertation provides additional evidence that hegemonic language ideologies are reproduced in school settings at the international level by highlighting the case of one specific geographical region. Teachers expressed many deficit-based perspectives regarding their Kichwa-Spanish bilingual students' language use, and their value judgments toward these students' non-standardized Spanish reflected six widespread hegemonic language ideologies.³⁰ Existing research suggests that teachers (including minoritized teachers) may internalize and subscribe to dominant language ideologies without conscious awareness, due to their own experiences with linguistic discrimination or wanting the best for their students (Charity Hudley et al., 2022; Manresa, 2022; Martínez et al., 2015; Román et al., 2023). As such, negative societal attitudes are likely internalized and espoused by bilinguals and Indigenous teachers toward Kichwa-influenced Spanish in Ecuador, with damaging outcomes for students.

However, this dissertation aligns with existing work that characterizes language ideologies (and particularly teachers' language ideologies) as showing great variation, dynamic, and complex. Studies have pointed to multiple and often conflicting language ideologies (Kroskrity, 2004) in bilingual educators' beliefs and practices, at times evidencing both hegemonic and counterhegemonic sentiments across their discourse and practice (Manresa,

³⁰ Hegemonic language ideologies reflected in teachers' interviews are summarized in Figure 4.5 in Chapter 4.

2022; Martínez et al., 2015). In this study, teachers perceived and evaluated Kichwa-influenced Spanish from deficit-based perspectives, yet also located Kichwa-influenced Spanish within a complex web of larger societal concerns and identified ways in which Kichwa serves as a resource. As such, this work champions existing calls for a more nuanced understanding of teachers' language ideologies (Martínez et al., 2015) and approaches educational research through a *teacher solidarity lens* (Philip et al., 2016)—especially in the case of the Indigenous bilingual teachers—given the complexities of navigating curricular guidelines, program demands, and scarcity of resources, among other factors.

5.2.2.2. Raciolinguistics and Dismantling Linguistic Discrimination in Schools.

People's beliefs around language generally are not limited to language itself, but rather are inextricably linked to their beliefs and experiences with race, wherein language is often used as a scapegoat to discriminate and subjugate racialized people. Specifically, ideas of race are naturalized through the interpretation of others' language practices (i.e., *linguistic racialization*; Chun & Lo, 2015). *Raciolinguistic ideologies* (Flores & Rosa, 2015) are enacted when the privileged, white perceiver, conflating language and race, interprets the linguistic practices of racialized speakers as deficient, regardless of how closely they follow what is believed to be standard language. Thus, *raciolinguistic approaches* to educational research highlight the consequences of racist assumptions around school-“appropriate” and “academic” language (Alim et al., 2016; Flores, 2020; Flores & Rosa, 2015; Von Esch et al., 2020). This dissertation contributes to existing multilingualism-in-education scholarship that has focused on combatting linguistic discrimination in relation to the racialization of speakers and the marginalizing processes enacted by hegemonic perceivers (Alim et al., 2016; Flores, 2020; Flores & Rosa, 2015).

Raciolinguistics as a field of race and language was developed with the central concern of what it means to speak as a racialized subject in the contemporary United States and elsewhere, considering the central role of language in processes of racialization (Alim et al., 2016). I extend raciolinguistic theory to the context of Ecuador's diverse ethnoracial society, and ask what it means to speak as a racialized person in Ecuador, principally as an Indigenous Kichwa-Spanish bilingual student in Imbabura and how specific language features (such as those considered throughout this work) are mobilized to construct ethnoracial and social identities.

In the Ecuadorian context, this work extends the raciolinguistics literature to a new world region. Flores and Rosa's (2015) ideological notion of the *white listening subject*—brought forth from Inoue's (2006) *listening subject*—is expanded here to include a *mestizo listening subject*, referring to the hegemonic perceivers of Spanish characterized by Kichwa language contact as sub-standard. In this sense, the mestizo listening subject equates certain language features with Indigenous speakers, who continue to be racialized and subordinated regardless of their actual language use. In their open-ended survey responses, teachers made comments about the supposed Indigeneity of speakers based solely on their recorded voices and the speech features contained in them:

“they have a good level of Spanish, considering they're probably Indigenous”

(Spanish-only 2)

“by the use of the letter r, it can be presumed that it is a person of Indigenous ethnicity” (Spanish-only 56)

“they seem to be a person from the countryside (Indigenous)” (Spanish-only 36)

“you can tell that it's an Indigenous person by how they vocalize” (Spanish-only 45)

“the accent would be of an Indigenous person” (Spanish-only 48)

In the raciolinguistics literature (e.g., Flores & Rosa, 2015), the perceptual apparatus of a hegemonic listening subject “hears” racialized people as speaking deficiently regardless of the

linguistic forms that were actually used. As evidence of these processes, several teachers (a total of eleven) working within the Spanish-only schooling model made comments about “hearing” (and critiquing) sounds that were not actually uttered by the speaker—principally the retroflex fricative [ʒ] in recordings not containing that feature—revealing the raciolinguistic ideologies that Spanish-only teachers may have toward this sound and the speakers who use it.

Generally, urban, monolingual, mestizo teachers in educational settings in Otavalo rated minoritized phonetic features more harshly in the verbal guise survey than teachers within the IBE educational model, suggesting that these teachers are essentially reinforcing the raciolinguistic hierarchies and lingering colonial power structures of Ecuadorian society. This dissertation calls for a shift in the habits of perception of teachers in Imbabura—particularly how teachers in the hegemonic and monolingual sectors of Imbabura educational society perceive sociocultural meaning from contact language features—as a potential point of leverage (e.g., through professional development) for combatting linguistic discrimination in schools.

5.2.2.2.1. *The Impact of Educational Model on Perceptions.* Next, finding (F2) raises questions regarding the potential factors contributing to the apparent context-contingency of teacher school type. As mentioned above, results of the statistical analyses revealed that the interaction effect of school model and speech variant on teachers’ ratings was significant for five of the seven characteristics evaluated, with urban, Spanish-only teachers rating fricativized variants significantly more severely than IBE teachers. This effect was reliable, but showed a small effect size, suggesting that it should be interpreted with caution, given that other factors (beyond school model itself) may be driving teachers’ ratings. As such, we should give thought to what potential other contributing factors may exist. The educational model within which teachers are working (IBE versus Spanish-only) may have an additional impact on teachers’

perceptions of non-standardized language usage, but it is important to consider what elements of the urban, Spanish-only school environment may condition teachers' more negative perceptions of fricativization. These characteristics may be the issues that need to be addressed in order to interrupt the discriminatory processes occurring in schools in Otavalo in general, and exacerbated in urban, Spanish-only schools.

We can speculate that teachers who subscribe to hegemonic language ideologies (i.e., who hold harsher stances toward non-standardized language use, such as features of Kichwa-associated Spanish) may be more likely to work in the urban Spanish-only school setting. Many teachers working in the urban, Spanish-only schools are from Otavalo and as students likely attended the same or similar institutions. Their educational formation in similar contexts—i.e., traditional, monolingual, dominant-language schooling in Imbabura in decades past—impacts their understanding of the role of teachers and teacher identity (e.g., De Costa & Norton, 2017). They may draw from their own experiences and (whether consciously or not) emulate the behaviors of teachers they had when they were students. They may see themselves as models of academic rigor (including language use; e.g., Román et al., 2023), perhaps perpetuating long-established hegemonic language ideologies in their teaching practice, despite good intentions. Additionally, urban, Spanish-only institutions may be environments conducive to hegemonic language ideologies (e.g., elitist, academic, and standard language ideologies) that influence or reinforce the perceptions of language that teachers bring with them.

All 16 schools participating in this study are public schools that do not require tuition, but a level of privilege and influence is associated with attending the eight city-center schools. These eight urban, Spanish-only schools are the largest, most iconic schools in Otavalo. As seen in the interviews cited in Chapter 4, students and their families vie for enrollment in these schools and

perceive them as providing higher-quality education and increased academic and work opportunities for the students who attend them. At several points in the interviews, rural IBE teachers mentioned these schools, specifically, as attracting the attention of their student bodies and essentially driving rural-urban migration. Officially, students should only attend the school closest to their place of residence, yet families find loopholes to this rule to obtain spots in urban schools (e.g., using economic or personal influences, or presenting a friend's or relative's utility bills as supposed evidence of living in the sector). Students' uniforms and the supplies required for school activities (e.g., costumes, instruments, project materials) are more expensive at these schools and may be cost-prohibitive for some students. The schools' location in the Otavalo city-center may also be a barrier for students in rural sectors who need to travel long distances by themselves, using public transport. In addition, several teachers mentioned in their interviews that more funding and resources are allocated to urban schools than to rural schools.

Given these circumstances, urban, Spanish-only school communities are overall of higher socioeconomic status (which in Ecuador aligns generally with being politically more conservative) than IBE school communities. Despite Otavalo's Indigenous majority as a canton, mestizos form the majority of both the student and teacher populations at these schools. (Of the 89 participating teachers at the urban schools in this study, 80% are non-Indigenous, and 84% are Spanish monolinguals.) The families, neighborhoods, churches, friends, and colleagues of urban, Spanish-only teachers are likely conformed largely of monolingual mestizos—environments within which they are the dominant majority group. Evidenced in the suspicions and tensions disclosed in teachers' interviews in Chapter 4 regarding the use of Kichwa in public spaces, mestizos' experiences with Indigenous people in their daily lives and the media can uphold traditional ethnoracial divisions in Otavalo. For example: one teacher resented the inability to

obtain a tank of gas during Indigenous political activism and protests; another admitted feeling threatened hearing people speaking in Kichwa in line at the bank; another worried that her job was in jeopardy when Indigenous administrators proposed hiring only Indigenous Kichwa teachers at IBE schools. Thus, though they may not be expressed in diverse contexts, in certain social circles where mestizos conform the privileged majority, negative views and racist comments (including linguistic discrimination) about Indigenous and bilingual people are normalized and reinforced. Ethnoracial and linguistic differences are often most salient (and thus subject to discrimination) in non-Indigenous and monolingual majority spaces, and the perspectives of members of these communities are influenced by the social and cultural networks to which they belong. If teachers, students, and families in Spanish-only schools live and work in these circles, they likely bring hegemonic views with them into Otavalo's urban schools. Urban schools may constitute an ethnoracially segregated environment where Indigenous students face discrimination from non-Indigenous teachers and/or peers due to their cultural and language practices and may be conceived of as more Indigenous in a pejorative way.

Contrastingly, rural IBE schools have larger (if not majority) Indigenous student and teacher populations. (Of the 91 IBE teachers that participated in this study, 47% are Indigenous, and 41% are bilingual.) IBE teachers noted that many parents feel their children do not receive the same access to high-quality teachers, classrooms, or resources within the IBE program model. It is required (at least officially) that teachers have some knowledge of Kichwa—determined via a proficiency exam—to work at the IBE schools, although this policy is not thoroughly enforced. For example, many IBE teachers marked little or no knowledge of Kichwa on the demographics portion of the survey despite actively being employed in an IBE institution at the time of this study. Regardless of Kichwa proficiency, teachers working within

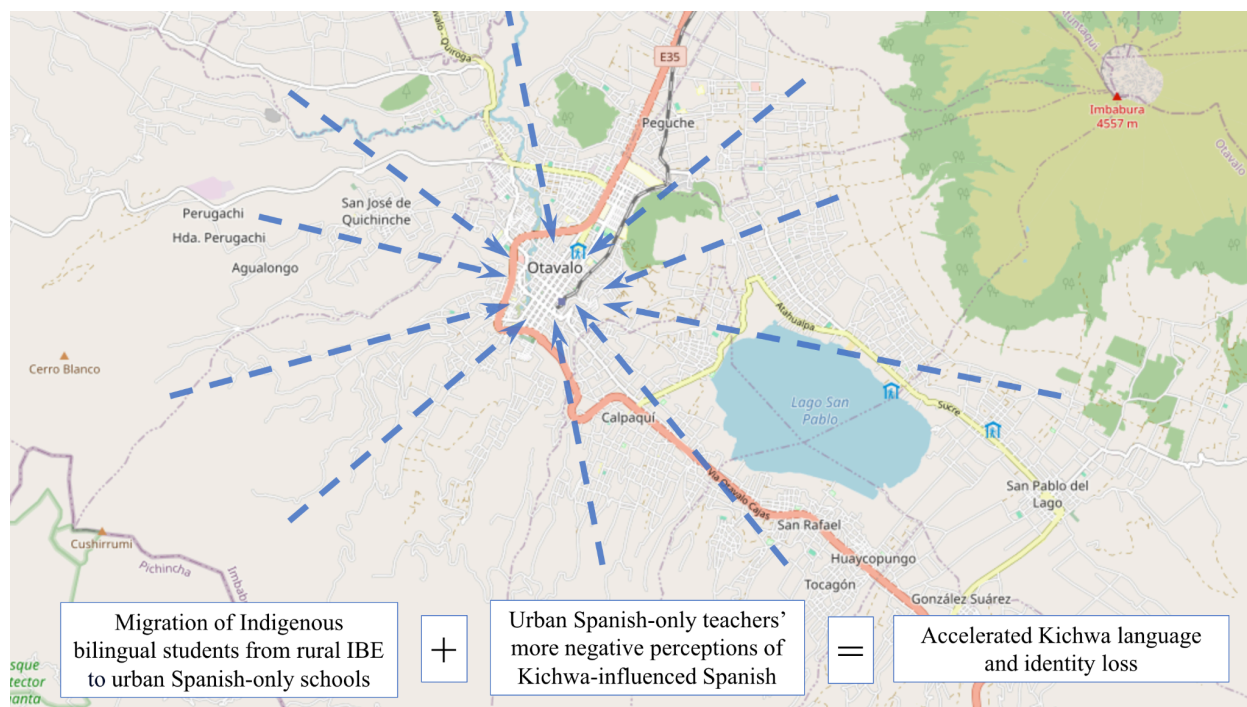
the IBE model are more exposed to bilingual language use and thus potentially less judgmental and more attuned to the richness and value of bilingualism.

Though on their own the demographic factors of Indigeneity, bilingualism, and rurality of residence did not have a significant interaction effect with speech variant on teachers' ratings of language in this study, teacher school model *did* have a significant effect across five of the seven social characteristics studied. As such, the demographic factors mentioned, along with other important factors of teachers' own school experiences and (teacher) identities, social circles and networks, (multi-)community memberships, and processes of othering likely condition teachers' perceptions and merit more research. Additional factors, such as teachers' training and years of teaching, age, socioeconomic status, political inclinations and activism, and teachers' own experiences with racism and linguistic discrimination may come together to form a Spanish-only or IBE teacher complex profile that, as revealed in their ratings, appears to influence their perceptions of bilingualism, Kichwa, and Kichwa-influenced Spanish. Along these lines, the IBE program model appears to have succeeded (if only modestly) in sensitizing teachers to linguistic diversity—at least when compared with teachers in Spanish-only schools.

Importantly, teachers in urban Spanish-only schools were more severe in their ratings for the variables of education, socioeconomic status, accuracy, formality, and appeal. The last three traits, particularly, were the indicators included in the survey to understand instructors' language ideologies. While teachers' perceptions of a student's socioeconomic status and education can impact their interactions with the student, teachers are more likely to discriminate based on language (i.e., "correcting" language in a student's work) as perhaps a more-justifiable proxy for students' social and ethnoracial backgrounds.

These program-conditioned results factor into the web of concerns for young Indigenous bilinguals in Otavalo, because where bilingual students likely face the harshest interventions toward their language use is in the large, emblematic, urban schools—precisely the end of the rural-urban educational migration pipeline, where bilingual students in the countryside aspire to (and do) attend. In fact, many rural (IBE) schools are finding themselves unable to justify operations and are closing due to lack of student enrollment and retention. These results are essential to discussions of the maintenance or loss of the Kichwa language in Ecuador, as well as that of other Indigenous and non-dominant languages and language varieties around the world.

Processes of rural-urban educational migration like those envisaged in Figure 5.1 below are occurring not only in Otavalo, but in Ibarra, Quito, and in major cities throughout Ecuador. Finding (F3) suggests that processes of language discrimination are concentrated in urban, Spanish-only school contexts. The migration of Indigenous bilingual students from rural to urban schools, in combination with the inclination of urban teachers to perceive Kichwa-influenced Spanish in a more negative light, is likely to be a contributing factor of intensified Kichwa language and cultural loss. The combination of these two compounding factors in the process of Kichwa language loss has not been examined in detail or with empirical evidence in the existing literature to date, and thus, this dissertation contributes this new data to education and linguistics research, with important practical implications for young Indigenous bilingual students.

Figure 5.1*Rural-Urban Educational Migration and its Implications for Kichwa Maintenance*

This map is freely licensed and adapted under the Open Data Commons Open Database License (ODbL) by the OpenStreetMapFoundation (OSMF).

In sum, teachers' school program type showed a significant effect on how they perceived pronunciations, with teachers in mainstream Spanish-only schools rating non-standardized variants more negatively than teachers in Intercultural Bilingual Education. This apparent context-contingency is one of the most powerful findings of the dissertation, given that in combination with patterns of migration of Indigenous bilingual students from rural IBE schools to urban Spanish-only schools, the latter may be sites of accelerated Kichwa language loss. This dissertation narrows in on the urban, Spanish-only school context as a potential point of intervention for teacher training on eradicating linguistic discrimination in schools, given the marginalizing processes enacted by hegemonic perceivers in these settings.

5.2.2.2.2. Model for Combatting Linguistic Discrimination in Schools. Finding (F4) generated a model for combatting linguistic discrimination in schools. Extending beyond the hegemonic language ideologies expressed in their interviews, teachers skillfully located their comments on students' language practices within a larger, interrelated web of concerns regarding the loss of Indigenous languages and identities among the younger generations. The resulting conceptual representation illustrates potential directionalities of interrelated elements contributing to Kichwa language and identity loss (e.g., exposure to popular media, preference for English and Spanish over Kichwa, and shame for speaking Kichwa). The *Web of Concerns*³¹ as a unit of theoretical analysis facilitates the isolation of individual issues involved in these processes in order to design targeted interventions for social change.

A second theoretical contribution of this work are the seven affordances of the Kichwa language as a resource. Teachers interviewed—particularly IBE teachers—took a resource-centered positionality toward the Kichwa language, maintaining that it serves many different advantages, in both personal and professional realms. Teachers' asset-based perspectives were unexpected and contribute new understandings to the literature regarding the social status of Kichwa and teachers' (and students') stances toward the language. As a unit of analysis, the *Affordances of Kichwa as a Resource*³² are presented graphically in a tree-like structure in which seven advantages of Kichwa—e.g., as a secret code, a pedagogical tool, as ancestral knowledge, or for international attraction—form the branches.

Both of these conceptual frameworks, informed by teachers in Imbabura themselves and represented graphically, can serve as an accessible model for challenging

³¹ The *Web of Concerns* for young Indigenous Kichwa-Spanish bilinguals can be found in Figure 4.6 in Chapter 4.

³² The *Affordances of Kichwa as a Resource* are seen in Figure 4.8 in Chapter 4.

language-discriminatory processes, and their configurations allow for additional elements to be added via future collaborative research (recommendations are proposed in Chapter 6).

5.3. Conclusion

The present dissertation aligns with a long line of existing research regarding the production and perceptions of Kichwa-influenced Spanish in Ecuador, and of two phonetic features, specifically. However, and critically, it extends that research into school contexts and suggests that negative views of the phenomenon of fricativization, held by Ecuadorian society at large, are replicated by educators within school settings. It interprets these results through the theoretical lenses of language ideologies and dismantling linguistic discrimination in schools—particularly raciolinguistics lenses—in which bilingual educators’ beliefs and practices are multiple and often conflicting, and ethnoracial hierarchies are naturalized through the interpretation of others’ language practices. For the first time, this work sheds light specifically on the impact of educational model on teachers’ perceptions of non-standardized Spanish and identifies urban Spanish-only schools as potential sites of accelerated Kichwa language loss. Consequently, these schools and the marginalizing processes enacted within them are potential points of intervention. Additionally, this study generated a corpus of Kichwa-Spanish contact features and two units of theoretical analysis that can serve as a model in future work (considered in the following chapter) for combatting linguistic discrimination in schools.

This work emphasizes the importance of interrupting linguistic discriminatory and racializing processes on behalf of educators, given their academic, socioemotional, and linguistic consequences. A central goal is to continue to recognize and eradicate racism and linguistic discrimination as systems that are replicated globally and contribute strategies that impact discourses on language in education toward social transformation. Change can occur if a

significant number of teachers in Imbabura and elsewhere take up a stance put forth in this work of *mishki shimi* 'rich language,' or Kichwa as a resource, and become more reflective about the impact of linguistic racism on their bilingual students who experience it as a daily lived reality.

Chapter 6: Conclusions

Despite Ecuador's racial, cultural, ethnic, and linguistic diversity—including large Afro-Ecuadorian and Montubio populations, as well as 14 Indigenous nationalities and 13 Indigenous languages (Eberhard et al., 2023; Gómez et al., 2022; Haboud, 2019; International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, 2023)—the country's existing sociocultural hierarchies and educational policies continue to centralize and reify the Spanish-speaking mestizo majority. An example of the dominant-language schooling taking place globally, Ecuador's education system treats the Spanish language as default, while Indigenous languages, histories, and worldviews are rendered invisible—even within Ecuador's Intercultural Bilingual Education program (Illicachi et al., 2019; Perino, 2022; Román et al., 2022).

Many Indigenous bilingual students in the Andean region of Ecuador employ non-standardized Spanish varieties characterized by contact with the country's most widely-spoken Indigenous language—Kichwa (Gómez, 2022; Limerick, 2018; Lipski, 2015; Stewart, 2020; Toapanta, 2016). Reflecting centuries of historic oppression permeating Ecuador and other countries across Latin America, these Indigenous students' bilingual language practices are racialized and subordinated. The linguistic discrimination of Indigenous youth can result in students feeling ashamed, choosing to stop speaking their native language, and speaking only the dominant language or variety to disassociate from being Indigenous (Perez et al., 2016; Tambaco & Floyd, 2022). The devaluation of language practices in the form of *linguistic microaggressions* (Charity Hudley et al., 2022), perpetuated by more structurally powerful individuals such as teachers, (even if unintentionally) upholds educational inequalities and unequal systems of power, the consequences of which are compounded when applied to Indigenous language speakers. As such, through daily pedagogical responses to their students'

linguistic diversity, teachers in Ecuador hold a pivotal role in either contributing to or challenging patterns of Kichwa language loss and shift to dominant-language practices.

In line with a lens of language reclamation (Leonard, 2017)—Indigenous community efforts to reclaim the right to their languages—more research is needed that explores teachers' perceptions of non-standardized linguistic features associated with Kichwa-Spanish bilingualism in classrooms in Ecuador. Particularly, more studies should identify the specific language features that are salient to and targeted by teachers of minoritized Indigenous bilingual students, in the hope of eradicating deficit-based responses to them. Concrete examples of local bilingual language features can serve as entry points for initiating discussions around larger sociopolitical inequities and strategies for eliminating linguistic discrimination in school settings.

Accordingly, as a step toward combatting linguistic discrimination in schools worldwide, this dissertation analyzed educators' perceptions of their Indigenous students' Kichwa-influenced Spanish at 16 schools in the province of Imbabura, Ecuador. I drew from research on phonetic variation in Ecuadorian Andean Spanish (Argüello, 1978, 1980, 1984; García, 2018; Gómez, 2003, 2013, 2022; Klee & Lynch, 2009; Stewart, 2020) and applied the theoretical lenses of language ideologies (Eckert, 2008; Gal & Irvine, 1995; Lippi-Green, 2012; Milroy, 2001; Schieffelin et al., 1998; Silverstein, 2003) and raciolinguistics (Alim et al., 2016; Flores, 2020; Flores & Rosa, 2015; Von Esch et al., 2020) to contextualize this mixed-methods study. By analyzing specific linguistic features as examples, this dissertation examined the roles that language plays in the construction of ethnoracial identities via powerful language ideologies that form part of larger sociopolitical inequalities in the diverse classrooms of Imbabura, Ecuador.

This final chapter concludes the dissertation with a brief summary of the research, recommendations in light of its findings for Kichwa reclamation efforts and professional development for teachers, and orientations for future research.

6.1. Summary

In a verbal guise survey, 180 teachers in the canton of Otavalo (province of Imbabura) evaluated locally-recorded speech samples of monolingual and bilingual Spanish. For two Spanish phonemes (corresponding to the Spanish letters <rr> and <ll>), teachers perceived Kichwa-influenced pronunciations (operationalized here as containing *fricativization*, or friction produced by partially blocking airstream with the mouth) more negatively than corresponding standardized Spanish pronunciations. When the two sounds—fricativized /r/ (i.e., [ʀ]) and /l/ (i.e., [ʎ])—were grouped together, the presence of fricativization in recorded speech predicted teachers' ratings for all seven sociolinguistic traits evaluated: socioeconomic status, education, urbanity, monolingualism, accuracy, formality, and appeal. Specifically, fricativized variants reliably predicted teachers' ratings of the speaker as of lower socioeconomic status and education level, more rural, and as Kichwa-Spanish bilingual. Likewise, these variants were rated as less accurate, less formal, and less appealing. The presence of fricativized /r/ (i.e., [ʀ]) alone in recorded speech predicted teachers' ratings for five of the seven traits (socioeconomic status, education, urbanity, monolingualism, and formality), and the presence of fricativized /l/ (i.e., [ʎ]) alone predicted teachers' ratings for one of the seven perceived social characteristics (monolingualism), predicting the perception of the speaker as bilingual. Though the directionality was consistent when each sound was analyzed individually (i.e., teachers always rated fricativized variants more negatively than standardized variants), the analysis of the two

sounds together yielded more statistical power (i.e., the effect of speech variant was significant for all seven traits).

By examining these two phonetic features that are historically associated with Kichwa-influence and linked to local ethnoracial and class stereotypes, this study made overt the social meaning of these sounds as iconic (Gal & Irvine, 1995) representations that index (Eckert, 2008) lower socioeconomic status, less education, bilingualism, and rurality. Overall, fricativized variants were perceived more negatively than their standardized counterparts in both the closed-ended and open-ended portions of the verbal guise survey. This was the case across teacher demographics (i.e., the effect of sound variant showed no interaction effect with teachers' own Indigeneity, bilingualism, and rurality of residence), indicating that negative attitudes toward these sounds, shown in existing literature to be widespread in Ecuadorian society at large, are also reflected among teachers within Ecuadorian schools—likely to the detriment of the students who use them.

Interestingly, one demographic variable—teachers' school program type (Intercultural Bilingual Education versus mainstream Spanish-only education)—*did* show a significant effect on the way teachers perceived fricativization in speech, with Spanish-only teachers rating fricativized variants as of significantly lower socioeconomic status, education, accuracy, formality, and appeal than did IBE teachers. In other words, teachers in Spanish-only schools rated non-standardized variants more negatively than teachers in IBE. This apparent context-contingency is a crucial finding of the dissertation, given that in combination with patterns of migration of Indigenous bilingual students from rural IBE schools to urban Spanish-only schools, the latter may be sites of accelerated Kichwa language loss.

Through interviews with 36 teachers, this dissertation also generated a corpus of 130 Kichwa-associated non-standardized Spanish language features—including several previously undocumented features—identified by teachers in Otavalo as characteristic of their bilingual students' language use, with examples at all linguistic levels (e.g., lexical, morphosyntactic, phonetic).

Regarding the theoretical contributions of the work, while hegemonic language ideologies (e.g., *elitist*, *exonormative*, and *monoglossic language ideologies*) were clearly identifiable in their interview responses, teachers also located Kichwa and Kichwa-influenced Spanish within a complex web of larger societal concerns regarding patterns of language and cultural loss, and many—particularly Intercultural Bilingual Educators—identified ways in which the Kichwa language serves as a resource within the school environment and beyond. Resulting conceptual representations illustrate complex processes and allow for additional elements via future collaborative research.

The findings of this dissertation highlight how Indigenous communities in Ecuador continue to be racialized and discriminated against based on their linguistic practices and that these processes in Ecuadorian society are reflected and persist within school contexts in Otavalo. In this sense, schooling in Ecuador perpetuates the erasure of non-dominant worldviews, cultures, and languages, and its colonizing legacy has yet to be overcome. Even in IBE, which aims to center Indigenous languages and cosmovisions, linguistic racism is institutionalized, and teachers—many of whom are Indigenous bilinguals themselves—appear to have internalized historic discrimination and negative attitudes towards Kichwa and Kichwa-influenced Spanish. Despite decades of resistance, activism, and some reforms to legislation and public policy (e.g., recognition of Kichwa and interculturality in Ecuador's still current 2008 constitution), many

inequities persist through the insufficient resources allotted to IBE and the sustained marginalization of Indigenous bilinguals.

Therefore, a shift needs to take place in teachers' linguistic consciousness, pedagogies, and how they engage with bilingual students in Imbabura and across Ecuador to recognize and develop students' bilingualism and change patterns of Kichwa language loss. This dissertation suggests that understanding and valuing linguistic diversity needs to become a central facet of teacher education to improve how bilingual students experience schooling and to counteract processes of linguistic racism as teachers approach their work with diverse students.

6.2. Recommendations

On the basis of what was identified in this dissertation and in response to a suggestion by Kichwa language activist and my collaborator at Universidad Técnica del Norte, Professor Alfonso Cachimuel, I propose three recommendations as follows.

6.2.1. Carry out Professional Development with (Urban) Teachers

The principal goal resulting from this dissertation is to conceptualize and organize a professional development program for and with in-service educators and the community in Otavalo. I envision sharing the main results of the dissertation with teachers at the 16 schools in Otavalo that participated in this study, receiving their feedback, and carrying out workshops for educators on valuing linguistic diversity, language variation, and language contact. Professional development in these topics will be particularly important at the urban, non-IBE schools, where teachers and administrators are largely monolingual mestizos and, as suggested by this work, may be sites of accelerated Kichwa language loss. The objective of these workshops will be conscientization about minoritized linguistic features—their origins and history, internal logic, intentional use, and socioemotional meaning for those who use and interpret them. Language

contact features can be powerful gateways into valuing bilingual language use, framing language as a resource (Ruiz, 1984), underscoring the linguistic capital of bilingual students (Yosso, 2005), and making visible the languages and varieties that these students bring with them to the classroom.

During data collection, many teachers expressed interest in seeing the results of the study. For that reason, an important element of professional development with teachers will be to share the survey results and the corpus of Kichwa-Spanish language features that they generated in their interviews. Teachers will likely recognize the majority of the features contained in the corpus, and may contribute additional examples to it upon seeing them. These real-life examples of linguistic diversity (for instance, narrowing in on “*¿Y ahora-ka?*” or “*Taytiku mío!*”), offered by teachers themselves, are relevant, interesting, and can be used as catalysts for conversation around local raciolinguistic challenges and validating Kichwa and bilingualism. Creating spaces to discuss and challenge broader, systemic marginalization of non-standardized language is something needed not only in Ecuador but in linguistically diverse school settings worldwide (e.g., in the U.S. context; Román et al., 2023). Thus, the findings of this dissertation can inform workshops on eradicating linguistic discrimination at schools in Imbabura and internationally.

Figure 6.1 below shows potential workshop activities that can be used with teachers. The activities appear in Spanish (the language in which workshops would be carried out) and address teachers’ awareness and use of Kichwa loanwords integrated into Ecuadorian Andean Spanish, teachers’ familiarity with bilingual language features generated through the corpus, and teachers’ experiences with and opinions about linguistic discrimination.

Figure 6.1

Potential Workshop Activities with Teachers

| | | | | |
|----------------------------|------------|-------------------|------------|---|
| “¡Jalá!” | “¡Alalay!” | “Haku a la casa.” | ¡Achachay! | |
| | | | ¡Arrarray! | |
| “Y de allí-ka, ¿qué hago?” | | “Vos-ka” | wambra | Tomemos 5 minutos para hacer una lista de palabras kichwas que incluso los mestizos utilizan. |
| “¡Ima!” | “¡Allita!” | “Voy al casa.” | tayta | |
| | “Yo-karín” | | wawa | |
| | | | mucha | |
| | | | shunsho | |
| “perro-ta” | | “¡Taytiku mío!” | chaki ñan | |
| | | | pachamama | |
| | | | etc. | ¿Cuáles otras? |

¿Has oído lenguaje así entre (tus estudiantes) bilingües?
¿Qué otros ejemplos has escuchado?

¿Cuáles de estas expresiones utilizas tú?

Préstamos integrados (a grados distintos):

| | | |
|------------|--|-------------------------|
| ¡Achachay! | Chaki ñan | Mapañawi |
| ¡Arrarray! | Shunsho | Haku haku |
| ¡Ayayay! | Mucha | Warmi (“Esa warmicita”) |
| ¡Atatay! | Wakra | Longo |
| Wawa | Runa | Cancha |
| Wambra | Mashi | Papa |
| Mama | Pishku | |
| Tayta | Umasapa (cabezón; “¡Qué umasapa que estás ahorita!”) | |
| Ñaño [sic] | | |

Leamos esta descripción que da un profesor sobre su experiencia en la escuela.
¿Estás de acuerdo que este tipo de discriminación ya no existe?
¿Has visto o experimentado algo similar?

Bueno, hoy... hoy ya no es como antes. Antes, yo también lo viví, que lo dice el racismo. Porque no hablaba bien, decían: “Habla bien, longo.” ¿no? Insultándonos, ¿no? O después decían... “tartoso” nos decían, porque no podíamos hablar bien el español. Entonces eso sí se... es muy triste—¿no?—porque lo viví, porque como te dije, en Quito yo me acuerdo que lloraba. Porque yo, antes de los cinco años, yo hablaba puro kichwa. Puro kichwa. Y pero cuando ya me fui a vivir en Quito, no había con quién hablar el kichwa. Y como me interrelacionaba con mis amigos... yo me acuerdo que me iba a sentar al último y me quedaba así agachado, porque no podía hablar con nadie. Y no podía español. Y eso se me reían los niños. Me decían, “Eh! No puede hablar! No puede hablar!” Entonces, y... sí nos ha hecho daño. Pero... pero no es el momento de que uno—digamos—de que... a la actualidad, ya no existe eso, ¿no? Pero siempre hay rezagos de algunos que como que... ‘el mestizo es más que el indígena,’ ¿no es así? Pero gracias a esto de la interculturalidad que estamos hablando, existe respeto ante todos los que habitamos en Ecuador, porque es pluricultural, es megadiverso—eso es hermoso de nuestro país.

The development of resources should be collaborative between teachers, researchers, administrators, and language activists. Outside researchers should learn from these collaborators, as they are most attuned to the social meaning of speech features in the sociolinguistic context in which they live. Professional development materials for educators should be based in their knowledge and experiences as experts in their own everyday sociolinguistic environment. Workshops should generate discussion around how to value students’ home languages and varieties while also helping students learn standardized varieties and preparing them for success. Relevant frameworks for this issue of balance include *critical language awareness* (Alim, 2005; Leeman, 2018), in which the power relations and ideologies behind language usages are explicitly discussed, and open analysis and critique of *codes of power* (Delpit, 2006; Flores & Rosa, 2015), or the linguistic forms naturalized by powerful individuals and institutions.

Teachers and researchers should imagine what using non-standardized varieties in educational spaces may look like. Materials should provide teachers with recommendations to implement in their classrooms that can be applied and adapted to the settings where they work. Completers of the workshop could be asked about their perspectives of the program and its potential impact on their instructional practices, which would generate additional knowledge.

Sociocultural hierarchies in Ecuador have historically reflected colonial power structures in which Indigeneity and the Kichwa language are associated with rurality, poverty, and low levels of education. In sharing their awareness of complex concerns for young bilinguals and offering accounts of Kichwa as a resource, Intercultural (Bilingual)³³ Educators in this study challenged processes of racialization and discrimination in a step toward greater equity and justice. This awareness suggests that teachers' bilingualism and Indigeneity can be leveraged to inform their perceptions and practice. For that reason, the agency of (IBE) teachers in reframing formerly minoritized language features as resources in academic settings can be taken up as a model following *liberatory linguistics* (Charity Hudley et al., 2022) in the fight against linguistic discrimination in schools.

The two conceptual frameworks represented graphically in this dissertation, informed by teachers in Imbabura themselves (particularly IBE teachers' asset-based perspectives)—*Yanka Shimi* 'Useless Language': Web of Concerns for Young Indigenous Kichwa-Spanish Bilinguals (Figure 4.6 in Chapter 4) and *Mishki Shimi* 'Rich Language': Affordances of Kichwa as a Resource (Figure 4.8 in Chapter 4)—allow for additional elements to be added by teachers in future collaborative research and can serve as models in taking steps toward disrupting language-discriminatory processes. In collaboration with local Kichwa activists and members of

³³ Parentheses here indicate that educators in both the Intercultural Bilingual Education program, as well as those in the Intercultural program (the current name for Spanish-only education, formerly known as *Hispana*) to some extent, contributed to challenging these processes.

Ecuador's Ministry of Education, I delivered two speeches in 2023 for Kichwa students and families in Otavalo following the *Affordances of Kichwa as a Resource* model. While I shared the seven affordances of the Kichwa language from teachers' interviews, I encouraged Indigenous families to think of additional affordances to add to the tree-like representation, and some approached me afterward to give suggestions. As such, these theoretical representations appear to be accessible and conducive to future work with local teachers and communities.

6.2.2. Train Teachers in the Kichwa Language

In this dissertation, teachers' self-rated Kichwa proficiency suggests that not all teachers working at IBE schools are bilingual. Only 37 of the 91 IBE teachers that participated in this study rated their Kichwa proficiency as intermediate or above. This is concerning given IBE teachers' task of educating students in both Spanish and Kichwa (and ideally supporting students' development and maintenance of bilingualism).

Teacher Kichwa language proficiency was a topic of debate at the 1st Intercultural Bilingual Education Conference (*1er Encuentro de educación intercultural bilingüe*) in Otavalo in September of 2023, where I participated in a roundtable. Requiring that all IBE teachers be fully bilingual (as some propose) would bar many otherwise eligible teachers from obtaining IBE positions or result in current teachers losing their jobs, perhaps leading to a shortage of teachers at these schools that are already vulnerable due to rural-urban migration and lack of resources. While Indigenous bilingual teachers should always receive priority for IBE positions, it is also possible for teachers who have acquired Kichwa as a second language to teach content in Kichwa (in the same way that teachers who have learned Spanish as a second language teach in bilingual programs in the U.S., for example), provided they receive sufficient training and support.

As of today, extremely few teachers who have acquired Kichwa as an additional language are actively teaching through Kichwa as a medium of instruction. Of the 119 non-Indigenous teachers who participated in this research, for example, only one marked their Kichwa proficiency as “intermediate” (all 118 others reported holding lower or no proficiency) and likely does not impart classes in the language. There is evidently a great deficit in Kichwa language training—both for these non-Indigenous teachers as well as Indigenous teachers who do not have advanced Kichwa knowledge. Apparently, IBE is relying on educators who hold knowledge of Kichwa as a mother tongue, the number of which is small and declining. The training of teachers in Kichwa will be necessary if IBE hopes to continue functioning in the coming years.

In support of IBE and its goals, it will be important to obtain (perhaps in collaboration with the Ecuadorian Ministry of Education, local universities, or other entities) updated and accurate data on teachers’ Kichwa proficiency, with the plan of training teachers who need it in the Kichwa language to increase that proficiency. The metrics and processes involved in evaluating teacher Kichwa proficiency [i.e., the exam required by the *Secretaría de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe y la Etnoeducación (SEIBE)*, its content and proctoring, requirements for a passing score, any loopholes permitting non-bilingual teachers to pass, etc.] should continue to be researched and made transparent to the public.

In addition, teachers who have advanced Kichwa proficiency should be recognized for their abilities and connected with national IBE and international opportunities for professional growth, such as the Fulbright Foreign Language Teaching Assistant program (Fulbright Foreign Student Program, n.d.), through which assistants have taught Kichwa at Michigan State University and other institutions. For Indigenous teachers who have low or no proficiency in Kichwa, I propose that Ecuadorian schools take up an approach of *Kichwa as a heritage*

language—catering especially to students who have been exposed to the language at home or in their communities—to foment positive attitudes among Kichwa learners toward their language and transmit Kichwa linguistic and cultural heritage.

In terms of the public education system as a whole, the future does not look promising for Kichwa-Spanish bilingualism in Ecuadorian schools. For example, while over half of the population of Otavalo is Indigenous (reflected roughly in the student body), Kichwa is not even offered as an elective course at Spanish-only schools and high schools. The supposed justification for this shortfall is that Kichwa is the jurisdiction of Intercultural Bilingual Education. The lack of Kichwa classes in schools in Imbabura (where the language is highly relevant and productive) reflects underlying hegemonic ideologies toward the language and is absolutely contributing to the rapid loss of Kichwa knowledge³⁴. At this point, (beyond some positive steps being taken at IBE institutions) progress toward Kichwa language reclamation lies largely outside the school context.

6.2.3. Survey, Support, and Connect Grassroots Efforts with Schools

One resource for teachers and individuals in general who wish to learn Kichwa are youth-driven online Kichwa language learning courses. As noted in Chapter 1, youth are taking the future of their language into their own hands by promoting Kichwa in their communities and increasing its social value, often without economic or academic recognition. As such, work must continue to make an inventory (as did Haboud & King, 2007) of these existing grassroots efforts and any networks and collaborations taking place between them. Research documenting such initiatives should be published by and with their principal agents. To my knowledge, there has yet to exist a landing page or website where existing Kichwa learning and reclamation resources

³⁴ It is also important to note that while Kichwa classes are absent, English classes are a requisite of the national curriculum in both IBE and Spanish-only schools.

(e.g., Comunicadores Kichwa, 2025; Ñuka Kichwa, 2025; Wiñay Kawsay Digital, 2025) are compiled, can be located, added to, and promoted. Likewise, these existing Kichwa language reclamation efforts must be supported by institutional (governmental/political/educational) policies. Institutional power should be leveraged to facilitate and provide access to these resources through grants, and national and international individuals can provide support by enrolling in online courses and engaging with online content.

Grassroots movements have reached a large number of Kichwa speakers and learners in Otavalo, but generally do not connect with Ecuador's public school system. As such, a bridge needs to be established between these efforts and schools (particularly IBE). Creators could inform (other) teachers about how to implement online Kichwa-learning content in the classroom setting. This material can be shared via the landing page, and students should receive free or discounted access to existing paid Kichwa courses. Content creators and IBE teachers can collaborate and mutually support existing school infrastructure and their growing businesses via online platforms.

In a related and broader sense, Kichwa language teaching and learning must allow for alternative educational spaces and flexibility, bearing in mind that some of the most successful Indigenous language reclamation efforts have taken place outside of schools and that formal school settings as they are now may not be conducive to the teaching and learning of Indigenous knowledges (Hermes et al., 2012; Holmes & González, 2017; Leonard, 2017; Olthuis et al., 2013; Wilson & Kamanā, 2009). As such, alternative pathways to teaching should be considered—not only via university degrees and standardized tests—but also through the work of paraprofessionals, local resource people, and elders, so that credential requirements do not exclude from schools those with valuable Kichwa knowledge.

Kichwa is very productive in Imbabura and has great visibility through media (radio and television programs), arts (music and music videos), public events, and technologies (social media). Whether and how the success of Kichwa in these autonomous spaces can reach government-imposed bilingual education programs should be reflected upon. Ultimately, minoritized multilingual populations must be intellectually independent and have sovereignty in their education and the transmission of their languages (i.e., *Educación propia* ‘own education’; López, 2020, 2021; Rappaport, 2005).

6.3. Future Research Directions

Findings from this dissertation can be used as a research base for others to follow in several ways. My hope is that the work carried out here will advance future research in applied and educational linguistics in Imbabura and elsewhere and increase the participation of Indigenous researchers in the production of scholarship on these and related topics.

6.3.1. Other Varieties, Regions, and Non-Standardized Spanish Features

Phase I of this project (the verbal guise survey) centered on two specific linguistic features (fricativized realizations of /r/ and /ʎ/), selected because of their productivity and salience to non-linguist perceivers (based on personal experience and existing literature). However, many other non-standardized Spanish features of focus could have been selected (e.g., lexical, morphosyntactic features, etc.). It is important to highlight that features historically associated with bilingualism are devalued by educators in academic contexts, illustrating larger processes of linguistic discrimination at work. In this sense, the verbal guise survey elaborated here can serve as a template for future research exploring other language contact features in this region. Vowel raising—the neutralization of Spanish high /i, u/ and mid /e, o/ vowels—, for example, was a phonetic feature identified (and targeted) frequently by teachers. Clips containing

raised vowels could be evaluated by teachers to gain insight into other features that are likely discriminated against in educational settings and provide these as specific examples of language usage that teachers can learn to understand and value through workshops and training.

Considering the Indigenous majority population in Otavalo, it will be important to continue to carry out similar educational and linguistic research in Indigenous minority settings, such as schools in Ecuador's capital city Quito, where the Kichwa language and cultural traditions are less prevalent among a mestizo majority population and historically subject to discrimination, oppression, and educational inequities.

Likewise, an important and understudied area of related research concerns linguistic diversity in *Etnoeducación* (Afro-Ecuadorian and Black-centered education in Ecuador). The present dissertation can serve as a point of departure for a parallel study of Afro-Ecuadorian Spanish varieties—such as those used in the Chota River Valley (Rao & Sessarego, 2018), the rural parish of la Concepción, etc.—their specific features, and the perceptions of these communities and their language usage in education. Linguistic diversity and combatting linguistic discrimination in schools in Ecuador does not refer only to Kichwa-Spanish bilingualism. There is much work to be done regarding Afro-Ecuadorian varieties in education and the experiences of Black teachers and students in Ecuadorian schools. In Imbabura, for example, there is a rich contact situation where Afro-Ecuadorians utilize their own linguistic features and also make use of Kichwa contact language phenomena. For example, one Black Spanish-only teacher interviewed in a city-center school in Otavalo said, of Afro-Ecuadorian Spanish in la Concepción:

And we have our way of speaking, using strange words. For example, to say, “Take a look at her!” they say: “*Chape, chape, chape*”³⁵. It means “look,” “see what she’s doing.” There are some words that are our own, typical of the *Afros*, or of the area. (MTC)

In the same way, similar studies could be carried out with Amazonian Kichwa varieties (this study examined exclusively Andean varieties) as well as the lesser-spoken Indigenous languages in Ecuador.

It will also be important to consider new immigration patterns—i.e., the large population of Venezuelans and Colombians in Otavalo today—and retro-immigration—i.e., Ecuadorians returning after years of living in the U.S. and Europe—and how they are changing the linguistic landscape of Otavalo and Ecuador more broadly. These new cultural and linguistic influences, as well as new modes of discrimination and divisions, are likely impacting school contexts and ideas around preferred accents and so-called standardized Spanish.

6.3.2. *Grow and Apply the Corpus*

The corpus of Kichwa-influenced Spanish language features generated in this dissertation can be extended and built upon through further interviews and brainstorming during teacher training. The corpus should grow and serve as a toolkit for workshop activities that focus on specific features of language (rather than merely an abstract understanding of “language”) and create spaces for metalinguistic commentary and conversations around larger social, cultural, linguistic, and educational issues in Ecuador. At the same time, the corpus can serve an immediate use for acceptability judgment tasks and further perceptions studies in which teachers can be presented with the list (or a subset) of features (within comprehensible example sentences) and indicate those which they have heard their students use (with space to add

³⁵ This word could potentially originate from the Kichwa verb *chapana* ‘to observe’ or ‘to spy.’

additional features) or in some way comment on how they would evaluate those features if used by a student in their classroom.

Similar studies have been applied to other situations of language contact, for example the many features of Spanish-English bilingual language use in the U.S. (Escobar & Potowski, 2015). Perceptions work has been carried out by Román and colleagues (2019, 2023) using the Spanish in Texas Corpus developed by Bullock and Toribio (2013). Acceptability tasks would extend the perceptions study carried out in this dissertation to features at other linguistic levels (e.g., morphosyntactic features or code-switching) to build a more complete picture of teachers' perceptions beyond pronunciation. Similarly, the open-ended survey questions produced a considerable bank of descriptors that local teachers employed themselves (all adjectives were offered voluntarily by teachers without specific prompting in their open-answered responses). This list of adjectives could be used for future matched-guise or verbal-guise surveys, or for teachers to choose from in acceptability tests.

An additional avenue for future research would be to carry out corpus work on some of the unique and understudied features of bilingual language use that teachers identified in this dissertation. For example: How frequently do “*Upyemos!*” or “*Taytiku mío*” show up in online corpora and social media sources? What spelling variations exist for these and similar constructions? What would motivate a person to use or avoid certain Kichwa-associated features in online contexts? Are certain features (e.g., “*yo-ka*”) found exclusively in spoken language?

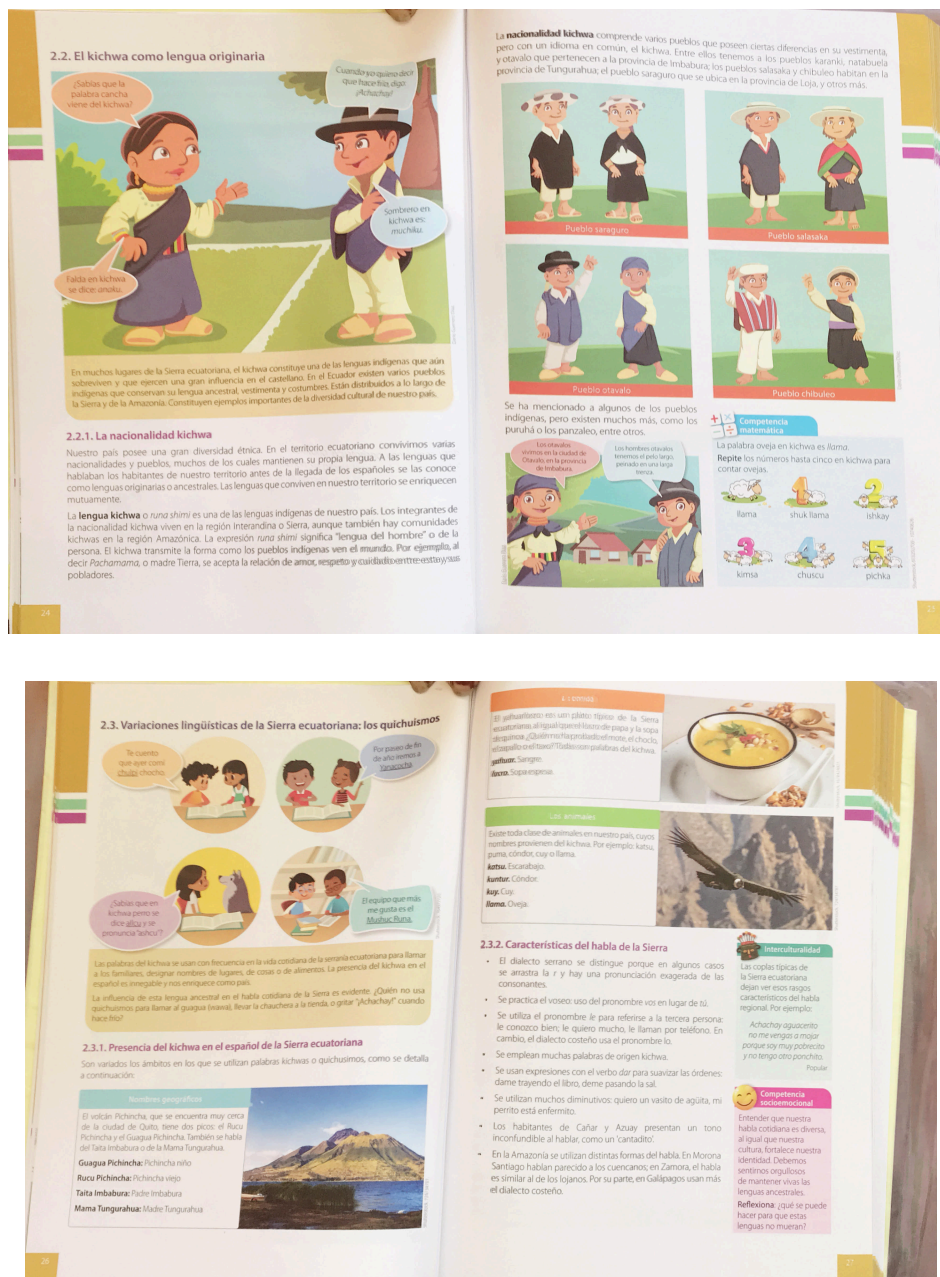
6.3.3. Examine Textbook Content

An area of needed future research is to examine the textbooks used in Ecuador, both in IBE and Intercultural (Spanish-only) education concerning what content is included on Indigenous and other non-mestizo populations, the Kichwa language, its instruction, and

linguistic diversity. In Figure 6.2 below, photos of a seventh grade government-issued language arts textbook show content on Kichwa and its influence on Andean Ecuadorian Spanish. The textbook was shared with me by a teacher at a Spanish-only school in Otavalo during her interview.

Figure 6.2

Photos Showing Textbook Content on the Kichwa Language and its Influence on Spanish



Essential questions in research on textbooks include: What materials are available to support teachers? Who are the authors of textbook content and what are their sources of information? What biases are present in their portrayals? What resources (if any) are designated for creating new materials (i.e., government-issued IBE textbooks)? What additional supports are needed?

6.3.4. Work with Students

Finally, it will be important to examine in detail the classroom observations that took place as part of this study and take up further observations. In this way, we can learn from teachers' pedagogical interventions and consider their immediate impact on students through real-time linguistic practices in the classroom. Given this dissertation worked only with teachers, it will also be fruitful to interview bilingual students themselves to better understand their lived experiences with language in the classroom and make the research more person-centered. It would be informative to procure vignettes from students of particular instances that occurred in the classroom or comments that teachers or peers made about their language use. For example: Were they told not to use language in a certain way? How did that feedback affect them? Have they noticed differences in their use of language versus that of their instructors and classmates? Have they worried about being ridiculed or not fitting in because of their language use? Did they become more reserved, participate less, or suffer consequences in their self-confidence?

6.4. Conclusion

The sociolinguistic situation explored in this dissertation is comparable to and replicated in linguistically-diverse school settings elsewhere. Across the world, spanning a range of minoritized languages and language varieties and at different scalar levels, similar processes can be seen in which students whose language use is different from the hegemonic language of schooling are discriminated against (Charity Hudley et al., 2022; Flores & Rosa, 2015; Groff,

2018; Hornberger & Dueñas, 2019; Lee & McCarty, 2017b; Makalela, 2015; Román et al., 2023; Zavala, 2018). Teachers' language ideologies are complex, at times conflicting, and embedded in the sociocultural hierarchies of the context where they live and work. Despite their best intentions, they may internalize and subscribe to hegemonic language ideologies. Yet, frequently operating under difficult conditions, they also show great care, highly-detailed and context-specific linguistic knowledge, and a willingness to support Indigenous language reclamation efforts.

The education and well-being of Indigenous bilingual students and the continued intergenerational transmission of the Kichwa language—with the ancestral, familial, and cultural heritage it carries—is at stake. Despite changing ideological climates and higher social value placed on Kichwa today thanks to Indigenous-driven activism, trends (such as those identified in interviews here) of young people choosing not to speak Kichwa persist. If the current and next generations fail to slow the patterns of language loss and shift, Kichwa, like many other Indigenous and minoritized languages around the world, may be lost forever. Thus, this is a crucial moment for Kichwa language reclamation, and the general collaboration toward this common goal is urgent. Linguists can support local grassroots and institutional efforts if they are well-informed, committed to anti-racist and decolonizing methodologies, and take a stance of allies (e.g., through a *liberatory linguistics* approach; Charity Hudley et al., 2022). This dissertation is my contribution to the ongoing efforts toward Kichwa reclamation and eliminating language-based discrimination and racism in schools.

We must act now—not only recognizing and valuing the richness of bilingualism and Kichwa-Spanish contact features, but, more importantly, calling attention to and challenging the marginalizing processes enacted by hegemonic perceivers. Reflected in Ecuador's recent

reclassification of what was formerly *Educación Hispana* (“Hispanic,” or Spanish-only education) now as *Educación Intercultural* (intercultural education), society as a whole—and particularly the monolingual, mestizo sectors—must recognize the value of the nation’s diverse cultural and linguistic resources in order to transform existing power relations in Ecuadorian schools. Otavalo and Imbabura are strategic leverage points, given the high numbers of Indigenous and Kichwa speaking students and thus a great promise to effect change. Targeted interventions and collaborative work must continue with teachers, as they have the potential to greatly impact the (dis)use of the language. Teachers can make small changes that support Kichwa language development and maintenance to build a more just future for young Indigenous bilinguals. By shifting from a *yanka shimi* ‘useless language’ perspective to a *mishki shimi* ‘rich language’ perspective, Intercultural (Bilingual) Educators’ perceptions of non-standardized Spanish in Ecuador can serve as a model for combatting linguistic discrimination in schools worldwide.

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Appendix A

Speech Data Participant Demographics

| # | Participant | Age | Sex | Birthplace | Current Residence | Years at current residence | Sector | Ethnicity | Languages | Language Contexts and Frequency | Profession | Education | Socioeconomic Status |
|--|-------------|-------|-----|--|--|----------------------------|--------|------------|---|---|-------------------|-------------------|----------------------|
| <i>Otavallo (Avenida Quito entre Bolívar y Sucre; 9-julio-2022)</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | DMT | 60 | F | San Roque | Otavallo | 22 | Urban | Indigenous | L1 Kichwa (mother tongue) L2 Spanish (bilingual) | Kichwa (at home, with family, in the community) Spanish (at work, shopping, with mestizos) | Salesperson | None | Prefers not to say |
| <i>Comunidad Larcacunga (Fuera de Otavallo, Arriba de Quichinche; 10-julio-2022)</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2 | RALA | 20-34 | F | San Francisco de la Rinconada (sector Cuatro esquinas) | San Francisco de la Rinconada (sector Cuatro esquinas) | Entire life | Rural | Indigenous | L1 Spanish (mother tongue) L2 Kichwa (bilingual) | Kichwa (church, at home with husband) Spanish (in all other contexts, more frequent) | Sewing at home | High School | Middle |
| 3 | RMAC | 60 | F | San Francisco de la Rinconada | San Francisco de la Rinconada | Entire life | Rural | Indigenous | L1 Kichwa (mother tongue) L2 Spanish (bilingual) | Kichwa (family, church) Spanish (all other contexts) | Midwife (retired) | Elementary School | Low |
| 4 | MOA | 45 | F | San Francisco de la Rinconada | San Francisco de la Rinconada | Entire life | Rural | Indigenous | L1 Kichwa (mother tongue) L2 Spanish (bilingual) | Kichwa (at home, most other places) Spanish (at schools) | Homemaker | Elementary School | Prefers not to say |
| 5 | HRRP | 25 | M | Cotacachi | La joya, Cuatro esquinas (?) | 4 | Rural | Indigenous | L1 Kichwa (mother tongue) L2 Spanish (bilingual) | Kichwa (with parents, friends) Spanish (meetings, etc.) | Tailor | High School | Low |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|------|-------|---|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|--|------------|--|---|--|---------------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| 6 | LEAA | >20 | F | San Francisco de la Rinconada | San Francisco de la Rinconada | Entire life | Rural | Indigenous | L1 Kichwa (mother tongue) L2 Spanish (bilingual) | Kichwa (at home, with family members, at school) Spanish (other contexts) | High School Student | High School | Middle |
| 7 | JG | 62 | M | San Francisco de la Rinconada | San Francisco de la Rinconada | Entire life | Rural | Indigenous | L1 Kichwa (mother tongue) L2 Spanish (bilingual) | Kichwa (more frequent) Spanish (other contexts) | Construction | Elementary School | Low |
| 8 | MIAA | 20-34 | F | San Francisco de la Rinconada | San Francisco de la Rinconada | Entire life | Rural | Indigenous | L1 Kichwa (mother tongue) L2 Spanish (bilingual) | Kichwa (at home, at work, in town, church, university) | University Student (of Bilingual Ed.) | University | Prefers not to say |
| 9 | RG | 78 | M | Asama, Patalanga (?) | Asama, Patalanga (?) | Entire life | Rural | Mixed/"entr evirado" (Indigenou s, Mestizo) | L1 Kichwa (mother tongue) L2 Spanish (bilingual) | Kichwa (principal language) Spanish (learned at work) | Construction (retired) | None | Low |
| 10 | MEGS | 35-54 | F | Asama, Patalanga (?) | Asama, Patalanga (?) | Entire life | Rural | Indigenous | L1 Kichwa (mother tongue) L2 Spanish (bilingual) | Kichwa (with parents, husband, neighbors; more frequent) Spanish (other contexts) | Homemaker | Elementary School | Low |
| <i>Comunidad Monserrath (Otavalo; 13-julio-2022)</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 11 | SSMM | 29 | F | Barrio Monserrath, Otavalo | Barrio Monserrath, Otavalo | 5 (lived previously in San Blas, Otavalo) | More Rural | Indigenous | L1 Spanish (mother tongue) L2 Kichwa (basic knowledge) | Only uses Spanish | Homemaker | High School | Prefers not to say |
| 12 | LM | 34 | M | Cotacachi | Barrio Monserrath, Otavalo | 15 (lived previously in another sector of Otavalo) | More Rural | Indigenous | L1 Kichwa L1 Spanish (bilingual) | Kichwa (at work, with family, children; uses both languages 50/50) | Construction | High School | Low |

| Comunidad Monserrath (Otavalo; 14-julio-2022) | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|------|----|---|---------------------------------|----------------------------|--|------------|------------|--|---|---------------|-------------------|--------|
| 13 | BTCT | 50 | F | Barrio Monserrath, Otavalo | Barrio Monserrath, Otavalo | Entire life | More Rural | Indigenous | L1 Kichwa L2 Spanish (bilingual) | Kichwa (in most places); Spanish (with students) | Teacher | University | Middle |
| 14 | SGRV | 70 | M | Barrio Monserrath, Otavalo | Barrio Monserrath, Otavalo | 53 (lived in Carchi when he was young) | More Rural | Indigenous | L1 Kichwa L2 Spanish (bilingual) | Kichwa/Spanish (uses both languages 50/50) | Does not work | Elementary School | Low |
| 15 | MLBM | 58 | F | San Roque | Barrio Monserrath, Otavalo | ~40 | More Rural | Indigenous | L1 Spanish L2 Kichwa (bilingual) | Kichwa (with workmates, at work, with children); Spanish (in other contexts; uses both languages 50/50) | Seamstress | Elementary School | Middle |
| 16 | MMYC | 42 | F | Barrio Monserrath, Otavalo | Barrio Monserrath, Otavalo | Entire life | More Rural | Indigenous | L1 Kichwa L2 Spanish (bilingual) | Kichwa (with children, parents, friends); Spanish (at the market, hospital, with Spanish-speakers) | Homemaker | High School | Low |
| 17 | LHYM | 45 | M | Antonio Ante, Atuntaqui | Barrio Monserrath, Otavalo | 25 | More Rural | Indigenous | L1 Kichwa L2 Spanish (bilingual) | Kichwa (in most situations, in schooling); Spanish (at offices) | Merchant | Elementary School | Low |
| 18 | MAPP | 37 | M | Tangalí (Selva Alegre, Otavalo) | Barrio Monserrath, Otavalo | 13 | More Rural | Indigenous | L1 Spanish L2 Kichwa (bilingual) | Kichwa (home, neighborhood, meetings as president of neighborhood); Spanish (social interactions with mestizos) | Craftsperson | Elementary School | Low |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|------|-------|---|----------------------|----------------------------|-------------|------------|------------|-------------------------------------|--|-------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| 19 | TK | 18 | F | Cardón Bajo, Otavalo | Barrio Monserrath, Otavalo | 4 | More Rural | Indigenous | L1 Spanish Kichwa (basic knowledge) | Only uses Spanish | University Student | High School | Prefers not to say |
| 20 | MC | 34 | F | Cardón Bajo, Otavalo | Barrio Monserrath, Otavalo | 15 | More Rural | Indigenous | L1 Spanish Kichwa (basic knowledge) | Kichwa (at home with husband, neighborhood meetings, understands Kichwa) Spanish (most contexts) | Craftsperson | Elementary School | Low |
| <i>Universidad Técnica del Norte (Ibarra; 19-julio-2022)</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 21 | RPF | 35-54 | M | Ibarra | Ibarra | Entire life | Urban | Mestizo | Spanish | - | Radio Announcer | Graduate Degree | Middle |
| 22 | FT | 35-54 | M | Ibarra | Ibarra | Entire life | Urban | Mestizo | Spanish | - | Technical Operations (AV) | University | Middle |
| 23 | PT | 20-34 | F | Pimampiro | Ibarra | 22 | Urban | Mestizo | Spanish English (basic knowledge) | Spanish in most situations | Telecommunications Technician | Graduate Degree | Middle |
| 24 | SPEC | 39 | F | Ibarra | Ibarra | Entire life | Urban | Mestizo | Spanish | - | Communications/Journalist | Graduate Degree | Middle |
| 25 | MMBA | 35-54 | F | Ibarra | Ibarra | Entire life | Urban | Mestizo | Spanish | - | Secretary | University | Middle |
| 26 | ECOV | 35-54 | F | Ibarra | Ibarra | Entire life | Urban | Mestizo | Spanish | - | Journalist | University | Middle |
| 27 | RDRH | 35-54 | M | Ibarra | Ibarra | Entire life | Urban | Mestizo | Spanish | - | Cameraman | University | Middle |
| 28 | PB | 35-54 | F | Ibarra | Ibarra | Entire life | Urban | Mestizo | Spanish | - | Secretary | University | Upper-Middle |
| 29 | RANC | 35-54 | M | Ibarra | Ibarra | Entire life | Urban | Mestizo | Spanish | - | Social Communications | Graduate Degree | High |
| 30 | CE | 35-54 | M | Ibarra | Ibarra | Entire life | Urban | Mestizo | Spanish | - | Master TV Operator | University | Middle |

Appendix B

Speech Data Participant Consent Form (English & Spanish)

University of Wisconsin - Madison Research Participant Information and Consent Form

Study Title: Perceptions of Kichwa-Spanish Linguistic Diversity by Intercultural Bilingual Educators in Imbabura, Ecuador

Principal Investigator: Catherine Stafford (Phone: 608 262 2093; Email: cstafford@wisc.edu)
Student Researcher: Katherine Ward (Phone: 608 207 8370; Email: klward3@wisc.edu)

Description of the research

You are invited to participate in a research study about Kichwa and Spanish bilingualism in the Intercultural Bilingual Education System schools in Otavalo. You have been asked to participate because you are an adult resident of Imbabura who may have a unique way of speaking.

The purpose of the research is to understand how teachers perceive different Spanish pronunciations and how they respond to them in the classroom, with the hopes of developing language-centered professional development workshops for teachers.

This study will include 20 speech data participants from around the Imbabura province. The study will take place in a quiet space of your choice (e.g., home, community center, etc.).

What will my participation involve?

If you decide to participate in this research, you will be asked to have your voice recorded as you read 30 sentences aloud from a computer screen. Your participation will last approximately 15 minutes and will require only 1 session.

Recording information

Those who participate in the study will be audio recorded. These recordings may be put into a survey for teachers in order to understand teachers' perspectives on different Spanish language usages and the decisions they make as teachers. This means your voice may be heard and evaluated by teachers in Otavalo, though your name will not be shared with your recording. The recordings will be kept indefinitely for possible future research.

Are there any risks to me?

Although unlikely, it is possible that someone outside the research team could find out you participated in this study and what you said. If that happened, there is a small chance it could negatively affect your reputation.

Are there any benefits to me?

We don't expect any direct benefits to you from participation in this study.

Will I be compensated for my participation?

If you participate in the voice recording, you will receive \$10 cash. If you do not complete this study, you will receive no compensation.

How will my confidentiality be protected?

This study is confidential. Neither your name nor any other identifiable information will be published. If you decide to participate, your speech data will be anonymized, and you will be assigned a pseudonym. Any identifiable information will be removed. All digital data with identifiable information will be kept in a secure university server only accessible by the research team. Your identifiable information will not be shared with any other participants and only anonymized findings will be included in publications, workshops, and conferences. The anonymized information could be used for future research studies without additional informed consent from you.

Whom should I contact if I have questions?

You may ask any questions about the research at any time. If you have questions, concerns, or complaints, or think that participating in the research has hurt you, talk to the research team or contact Katherine Ward at klward3@wisc.edu. If you wish, you may also contact the Principal Investigator Catherine Stafford at cstafford@wisc.edu.

If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant or have complaints about the research study or study team, call the confidential research compliance line at 1-833-652-2506. Staff will work with you to address concerns about research participation and assist in resolving problems.

If you decide not to participate or to withdraw from the study, you may do so without penalty.

Your signature indicates that you have read this consent form, had an opportunity to ask any questions about your participation in this research and voluntarily consent to participate. You will receive a copy of this form for your records.

Name of the Participant (please print): _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Universidad de Wisconsin-Madison
Formulario de información y consentimiento del participante en la investigación

Título del estudio: Percepciones de la diversidad lingüística kichwa-española por educadores bilingües interculturales en Imbabura, Ecuador

Investigador Principal: Catherine Stafford (Teléfono: 608 262 2093; Email: cstafford@wisc.edu)
Estudiante investigadora: Katherine Ward (Teléfono: 608 207 8370; Email: klward3@wisc.edu)

Descripción de la investigación

Le invitamos a participar en un estudio de investigación sobre el bilingüismo kichwa-español en las escuelas del Sistema de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe de Otavalo. Se le ha pedido que participe porque es un residente adulto de Imbabura que puede tener una manera de hablar única.

El propósito de la investigación es comprender cómo los docentes perciben las diferentes pronunciaciones del español y cómo responden a ellas en el aula, con la esperanza de desarrollar talleres de desarrollo profesional centrados en el lenguaje para docentes.

Este estudio incluirá a 20 participantes de datos de voz de toda la provincia de Imbabura. El estudio se llevará a cabo en un espacio tranquilo de su elección (p. ej., casa, centro comunitario, etc.).

¿En qué consistirá mi participación?

Si decide participar en esta investigación, se le pedirá que grabe su voz mientras lee 30 oraciones en voz alta desde la pantalla de una computadora. Tu participación tendrá una duración aproximada de 15 minutos y requerirá solo 1 sesión.

Grabación de información

Quienes participen en el estudio serán grabados en audio. Estas grabaciones pueden incluirse en una encuesta para docentes a fin de comprender las perspectivas de los docentes sobre los diferentes usos del idioma español y las decisiones que toman como docentes. Esto significa que su voz puede ser escuchada y evaluada por maestros en Otavalo, aunque su nombre no se compartirá junto a su grabación. Las grabaciones serán conservadas indefinidamente para posibles futuras investigaciones.

¿Hay algún riesgo para mí?

Aunque es poco probable, es posible que alguien fuera del equipo de investigación descubra que usted participó en este estudio y lo que dijo. Si eso sucediera, existe una pequeña posibilidad de que pueda afectar su reputación.

¿Hay algún beneficio para mí?

No esperamos ningún beneficio directo para usted por su participación en este estudio.

¿Seré compensado por mi participación?

Si participa en la grabación de su voz, recibirá \$10 en efectivo. Si no completa este estudio, no recibirá ninguna compensación.

¿Cómo se protegerá mi confidencialidad?

Este estudio es confidencial. No se publicará ni su nombre ni ninguna otra información identificable. Si decide participar, sus datos de voz se anonimizarán y se le asignará un seudónimo. Cualquier información identificable será eliminada. Todos los datos digitales con información identificable se mantendrán en un servidor universitario seguro al que solo podrá acceder el equipo de investigación. Su información identificable no se compartirá con ningún otro participante y solo se incluirán hallazgos anónimos en publicaciones, talleres y conferencias. La información anonimizada podría usarse para futuros estudios de investigación sin el consentimiento informado adicional de usted.

¿A quién debo contactar si tengo preguntas?

Puede hacer cualquier pregunta sobre la investigación en cualquier momento. Si tiene preguntas, inquietudes o quejas, o cree que participar en la investigación lo ha lastimado, hable con el equipo de investigación o comuníquese con Katherine Ward al klward3@wisc.edu. Si desea, también puede contactarse con la investigadora principal Catherine Stafford al cstafford@wisc.edu.

Si tiene alguna pregunta sobre sus derechos como participante de la investigación o tiene quejas sobre el estudio de investigación o el equipo del estudio, llame a la línea de cumplimiento de investigación confidencial al 1-833-652-2506. El personal trabajará con usted para abordar las inquietudes sobre la participación en la investigación y ayudarlo a resolver los problemas.

Si decide no participar o retirarse del estudio, puede hacerlo sin penalización.

Su firma indica que leyó este formulario de consentimiento, tuvo la oportunidad de hacer preguntas sobre su participación en esta investigación y voluntariamente acepta participar. Recibirá una copia de este formulario para sus archivos.

Nombre del participante (letra de imprenta): _____

Firma: _____

Fecha: _____

Appendix C

Sentences Elicited in Speech Data Reading Task³⁶

| Phoneme; Linguistic Context | Sentence |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| /r/ (/r/) | |
| word-initial | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Ese reloj está dañado.</i> 2. <i>Viven al lado del río.</i> 3. <i>Es una bebida con ron.</i> 4. <i>No te reconocí cuando te vi.</i> 5. <i>Se cayó y se rompió la muñeca.</i> |
| word-medial intervocalic | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 6. <i>¡Escribiste mal, bórralo!</i> 7. <i>Mi terreno está muy bonito.</i> 8. <i>Arriba en la montaña cayó nieve.</i> 9. <i>Tu carro es más grande que el mío.</i> 10. <i>Aquí hubo un terremoto en mayo.</i> 11. <i>¿Qué es lo que ocurre?</i> 12. <i>Salimos corriendo de la casa.</i> 13. <i>No sé si le llegó el correo.</i> 14. <i>Los barrios formaron una coalición.</i> 15. <i>Se arruinaron todas las decoraciones.</i> |
| post alveolar consonant <n, l, s> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 16. <i>Todo el hilo estaba enredado.</i> 17. <i>Había mucha gente alrededor del presidente.</i> 18. <i>Le di todo el dinero a Israel.</i> |
| syllabic coda preceding <d, l, n, t> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 19. <i>La culebra me mordió el pie.</i> 20. <i>Él pensó que me estaba burlando.</i> 21. <i>Tuvo que ponerse terno para la boda.</i> 22. <i>A mi hijo le encanta el deporte.</i> |
| word-final before a pause | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 23. <i>Tengo mucho que hacer.</i> |
| sequences /tr/ and /dr/ | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 24. <i>Nuestro bosque está protegido.</i> 25. <i>Yo saldré cuando el señor esté aquí.</i> |
| /ʎ/ | |
| word-initial syllabic onset | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 26. <i>¿Cómo se llama usted?</i> 27. <i>Casi llegamos a la playa.</i> 28. <i>Mañana será luna llena.</i> 29. <i>Ha habido mucha lluvia en estos días.</i> 30. <i>Ayer se nos bajó la llanta.</i> |
| word-medial syllabic onset | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 31. <i>Ella va a hacer la sopa.</i> 32. <i>Ellos quieren pan.</i> 33. <i>Por favor, me pasas un cuchillo.</i> 34. <i>La luna brilla en la noche.</i> 35. <i>Se usa el caparazón del armadillo para hacer el charango.</i> 36. <i>Tenemos que ir más allá.</i> 37. <i>El vecino vende pollos a la brasa.</i> 38. <i>Pero nunca le dio un anillo.</i> 39. <i>En este juego siempre fallo.</i> |

³⁶ Sentences are adapted from Stewart (2020).

| | |
|--------------------|---|
| | <i>40. A esas horas siempre cantan los gallos.</i> |
| DISTRACTORS | <i>41. La vela se está quemando. 42. Después de la fiesta yo fui a la casa. 43. Estoy demasiado cansado. 44. Estas personas se van a la ciudad. 45. Mi vecina me saluda todos los días. 46. Las nubes son blancas. 47. Él está estudiando. 48. Hay muchos patos en el lago. 49. En julio los niños tienen vacaciones. 50. Él estaba escupiendo las pepas.</i> |

Appendix D

Tokens Used as Stimuli in Verbal Guise Survey

| “Normative” Tokens | | | |
|---|---|--|---|
| voiced alveolar trill [r] (woman - SPEC) ESTUDIANTE 1 | voiced alveolar trill [r] (man - RANC) ESTUDIANTE 2 | voiced palatal lateral approximant [ʎ] (woman - PB) ESTUDIANTE 3 | voiced palatal lateral approximant [ʎ] (man - FT) ESTUDIANTE 4 |
| 1. <i>Viven al lado del río.</i> [ˈri.o] ~109 ms; 3x | 1. <i>Mi terreno está muy bonito.</i> [t̪e.ˈre.no] ~82; 3x | 1. <i>Mañana será luna llena.</i> [ˈʎe.na] ~89ms | 1. <i>Tenemos que ir más allá.</i> [a.ˈʎa] ~77ms |
| 2. <i>No sé si tengo el correo.</i> [ko.ˈre.o] ~70ms; 2x | 2. <i>La vela se está quemando.</i> (distractor) | 2. <i>Ella va a hacer la sopa.</i> [ˈe.ʎa] ~93ms | 2. <i>Se usa el caparazón del armadillo para hacer el charango.</i> [ar.ma.ˈði.ʎo] ~82ms |
| 3. <i>Aquí hubo un terremoto en mayo.</i> [t̪e.re.ˈmo.t̪o] ~70ms; 2x | 3. <i>Tu carro es más grande que el mío.</i> [ˈka.ro] ~95ms; 3x | 3. <i>Por favor, me pasas un cuchillo.</i> [ku.ˈtʃi.ʎo] ~91ms | 3. <i>La luna brilla en la noche.</i> [ˈbri.ʎa] ~71ms |
| 4. <i>En julio los niños tienen vacaciones.</i> (distractor) | 4. <i>Estoy demasiado cansado.</i> (distractor) | 4. <i>El vecino vende pollos a la brasa.</i> [ˈpo.ʎos] ~73ms | 4. <i>Él estaba escupiendo las pepas.</i> (distractor) |
| 5. <i>Él estaba escupiendo las pepas.</i> (distractor) | 5. <i>Arriba en la montaña cayó nieve.</i> [a.ˈri.βa] ~92ms; 3x | 5. <i>Estas personas se van a la ciudad.</i> (distractor) | 5. <i>Hay muchos patos en el lago.</i> (distractor) |
| 6. <i>¿Qué es lo que ocurre?</i> [o.ˈku.re] ~92ms; 3x | 6. <i>Aquí hubo un terremoto en mayo.</i> [t̪e.re.ˈmo.t̪o] ~95ms; 3x | 6. <i>Él estaba escupiendo las pepas.</i> (distractor) | 6. <i>Ella va a hacer la sopa.</i> [ˈe.ʎa] ~55ms |
| 7. <i>Mi vecina me saluda todos los días.</i> (distractor) | 7. <i>Las nubes son blancas.</i> (distractor) | 7. <i>Ayer se nos bajó la llanta.</i> [ˈʎan.t̪a] ~78ms | 7. <i>Por favor, me pasas el cuchillo.</i> [ku.ˈtʃi.ʎo] ~64ms |
| 8. <i>No te reconocí cuando te vi.</i> [re.ko.no.ˈsi] ~102ms; 3x | 8. <i>No te reconocí cuando te vi.</i> [re.ko.no.ˈsi] ~94ms; 3x | 8. <i>En julio los niños tienen vacaciones.</i> (distractor) | 8. <i>Después de la fiesta, yo fui a la casa.</i> (distractor) |

| Fricativized Tokens | | | |
|---|--|---|--|
| voiced retroflex fricative [ʒ] (woman - MEGS) ESTUDIANTE 5 | voiced retroflex fricative [ʒ] (man - LM) ESTUDIANTE 6 | voiced alveopalatal fricative [ʒ] (woman - MIAA) ESTUDIANTE 7 | voiced alveopalatal fricative [ʒ] (man - HRRP) ESTUDIANTE 8 |
| 1. <i>Estas personas se van a la ciudad.</i> (distractor) | 1. <i>Hay muchos patos en el lago.</i> (distractor) | 1. <i>Él está estudiando química.</i> (distractor) | 1. <i>¿Cómo se llama usted?</i> [ˈʒa.ma] ~88ms |
| 2. <i>¡Escribiste mal, bórralo!</i> [ˈbo.ʒa.lo] ~83ms | 2. <i>Mi terreno está muy bonito.</i> [t̪e.ˈʒe.no] ~74ms | 2. <i>Hay muchos patos en el lago.</i> (distractor) | 2. <i>Ellos quieren pan.</i> [ˈe.ʒos] ~86ms |
| 3. <i>Los barrios formaron una coalición.</i> [ˈba.ʒjos] ~82ms | 3. <i>Estoy demasiado cansado.</i> (distractor) | 3. <i>Tenemos que ir más allá.</i> [a.ˈʒa] ~85ms | 3. <i>Las nubes son blancas.</i> (distractor) |
| 4. <i>Él está estudiando química.</i> (distractor) | 4. <i>¡Escribiste mal, bórralo!</i> [ˈbo.ʒa.lo] ~71ms | 4. <i>Mañana será luna llena.</i> [ˈʒe.na] ~81ms | 4. <i>Ha habido mucha lluvia en estos días.</i> [ˈʒu.βja] ~95ms |
| 5. <i>Aquí hubo un terremoto en mayo.</i> [t̪e.ʒe.ˈmo.t̪o] ~80ms | 5. <i>Tu carro es más grande que el mío.</i> [ˈka.ʒo] ~88ms | 5. <i>¿Cómo se llama usted?</i> [ˈʒa.ma] ~81ms | 5. <i>Ya casi llegamos a la playa.</i> [ʒe.ˈʝa.mos] ~96ms |
| 6. <i>Después de la fiesta, yo fui a la casa.</i> (distractor) | 6. <i>Arriba en la montaña cayó nieve.</i> [a.ˈʒi.βa] ~70ms | 6. <i>Las nubes son blancas.</i> (distractor) | 6. <i>En julio los niños tienen vacaciones.</i> (distractor) |
| 7. <i>No sé si tengo el correo.</i> [ko.ˈʒe.o] ~84ms | 7. <i>¿Qué es lo que ocurre?</i> [o.ˈku.ʒe] ~71ms | 7. <i>Ellos quieren pan.</i> [ˈe.ʒos] ~90ms | 7. <i>Estoy demasiado cansado.</i> (distractor) |
| 8. <i>Tu carro es más grande que el mío.</i> [ˈka.ʒo] ~65ms | 8. <i>Mi vecina me saluda todos los días.</i> (distractor) | 8. <i>Por favor, me pasas un cuchillo.</i> [ku.ˈtʃi.ʒo] ~87ms | 8. <i>Ella va a hacer la sopa.</i> [ˈe.ʒa] ~102ms |

Appendix E

Verbal Guise Survey Layout in Qualtrics³⁷



DEMOGRAPHICS

Thank you for participating in the Survey for Intercultural Bilingual Education teachers of Imbabura, Ecuador, 2023.

Please complete the following information. **Your information will be anonymous.**

What is your name and last name? (*your information will be anonymous*)

What is your age?

- under 20 years old
- 20 to 34
- 35 to 54
- 55 or older
- I prefer not to say.

What is your gender?

- man
- woman
- non-binary
- I prefer not to say.

Where do you live? (the community, parish, or city)

³⁷ Participants were surveyed in Spanish; these survey questions have been translated into English.

How many years have you lived there?

- (write a number)
- all my life

How do you identify?

- Afro-Ecuadorian / African descent
- White
- Indigenous
- Mestizo
- Montubio
- Mulato
- Black
- other

What languages do you speak? (indicate your level of knowledge)

| | It's my mother tongue | Bilingual | Advanced | Intermediate | Basic | I don't speak this language |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Spanish | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| English | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Kichwa | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Shuar | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Other <input type="text"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

INSTRUCTIONS

Next, you are going to listen to eight students read some sentences. **Listen to all the audio clips** from each student and then **answer the questions imagining each student** according to your opinion. You can listen to the audio clips in any order and repeat them if you want.

There are no correct or incorrect answers, and your answers will be anonymous.

STUDENT 1

STUDENT 1

Listen to **all the audio clips** and then answer the questions imagining the student.

What socioeconomic status does the student you heard appear to be from?

- low
 middle-low
 middle
 middle-high
 high

What level of education does she appear to have completed?

- none
 elementary school
 high school
 university
 graduate

What region does she appear to be from?

- rural
 more rural
 mixed
 more urban
 urban

Does the student you heard appear to be a Kichwa-speaker?

- Yes, she speaks Kichwa.
 She probably speaks Kichwa.
 She probably doesn't speak Kichwa.
 She does not speak Kichwa.

Now, focusing on her pronunciation (and not what she said):

Were the words she said pronounced correctly?

totally incorrect



fairly incorrect



fairly correct



totally correct



Did she pronounce in a formal style?

totally informal



fairly informal



fairly formal



totally formal



Was her pronunciation appealing?

totally unappealing



fairly unappealing



fairly appealing



totally appealing



(In few words) What aspects of the student's speech caught your attention?

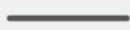
(In few words) If she were your student, what feedback would you give her about her way of speaking?

STUDENT 2

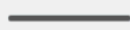
STUDENT 2

Listen to **all the audio clips** and then answer the questions imagining the student.

▶ 0:00 / 0:02



▶ 0:00 / 0:02



Appendix F

Interview Questions and Protocol³⁸

Interviewer: *My name is Katherine Ward, and I'm doing a research study about language in education. I'd like to interview you for about 30 minutes. There are no correct answers. I'm only interested in your own ideas and experiences. Is it ok if I record our conversation?*

[start recording]

→ *What is your name and last name? (Your information will be anonymous.)*

→ *What is your age?*

→ *What subject(s) do you teach?*

→ *How long have you been a teacher?*

→ *How do you identify (Afro-Ecuadorian, white, Indigenous, mestizo, Montubio, Mulato, Black)?*

1. What languages do you speak?
 - a. When did you learn them?³⁹
 - b. Where/when do you use each language?
2. How is the Spanish language in Imbabura different from that of other regions in Ecuador?
 - a. How do you know someone is from Imbabura (as opposed to, say, the coast) when they speak?
 - b. What characterizes the speech of Imbabura?
3. Why do *Imbabureños* speak this way?
4. How do different communities or groups in Imbabura speak?
 - a. What dialects (ways of speaking) exist in Imbabura?
 - b. What languages exist in Imbabura?

Interviewer: *When I speak Spanish, you can tell that I also speak another language, right? (By my accent.) What other language do you think I speak? (English)*

5. How can you tell if a student in your classroom also speaks Kichwa (e.g., at home)?
 - a. How do you know if someone is bilingual when they speak?
 - b. What characterizes your bilingual students' speech?
6. What do you notice about Kichwa-speaking students' *pronunciation* in Spanish?
 - a. Would you say Kichwa speakers have an accent in Spanish?
 - b. What words do Kichwa speakers pronounce differently in Spanish?
7. What do you notice about Kichwa-speaking students' *grammar* in Spanish?
 - a. How does being a Kichwa-speaker influence your students' Spanish grammar?
 - b. What do you notice about Kichwa-speakers' word order or agreement in Spanish?
8. Use of what *words* suggests that a student is bilingual?
 - a. What phrases or expressions do Kichwa-Spanish bilingual students use a lot?
 - b. What Kichwa words do they use when they speak Spanish?
9. What do you think of your Kichwa-Spanish bilingual students' speech and writing in Spanish?
 - a. How do you respond when your students speak/write this way?
 - b. What feedback do you give the student?
10. Which students face discrimination for the way they speak?
 - a. What do most people in Imbabura think about bilinguals' Spanish?

³⁸ Participants were interviewed in Spanish; these interview questions have been translated into English.

³⁹ Sub questions were to prompt interviewees if they were confused or provided short responses.

11. What elements of language come from Kichwa that everyone uses (i.e., Spanish monolinguals too)?
 - a. What examples can you think of?
 - b. Which of these do you use in your own speech?
12. What do you think of your own Spanish?
 - a. How has working with bilingual students influenced your own Spanish?
 - b. How do you change the way you speak in different settings (at school vs. at home)?

That's the end of the interview. I want to thank you very much for your time.

[stop the recording]

Appendix G

School District Authorizations (IBE and Spanish-only Schools)



Oficio Nro. MINEDUC-CZ1-10D02-2023-1399-OF

Otavalo, 30 de mayo de 2023

Asunto: AUTORIZACIÓN PARTICIPACIÓN DE DOCENTES EN TALLERES

Katherine Louise Ward
Embajadora
 En su Despacho

De mi consideración:

En respuesta al Documento No. 10D02-11082, A través del cual, se hace referencia al proyecto de tesis doctoral de la Universidad de Wisconsin-Madison titulado "Percepciones de la diversidad lingüística kichwa española por educadores bilingües interculturales, el mismo que está auspiciado por Fullbright-Hays DDRA, y el objetivo es fomentar intervenciones positivas a favor de los docentes, con respecto a la diversidad lingüística en apoyo a la revitalización de la lengua kichwa, por lo que solicita autorización para realizar el estudios en las instalaciones de 8 unidades educativa de EIB, invitando la participación voluntaria de docentes para aplicar una encuesta con una duración de 20 minutos y una entrevista de 30 minutos a partir del 1 de junio al 28 de noviembre del 2023. Las instituciones consideradas para esta actividad son;

1. [REDACTED]
2. [REDACTED]
3. [REDACTED]
4. [REDACTED]
5. [REDACTED]
6. [REDACTED]
7. [REDACTED] I
8. [REDACTED] I

Una vez revisada su petición, la Dirección Distrital 10D02 Antonio Ante – Otavalo-Educación, autoriza su petición, a la vez se informa que previo al ingreso a las instituciones educativas, deberán seguir el taller de rutas y protocolos con la Msc. Andrea Pineda 098 400 0644, Apoyo Distrital DECE.

Con sentimientos de distinguida consideración.

Atentamente,

Documento firmado electrónicamente

Mgs. María Mercedes Cañamar Ponce
DIRECTORA DISTRITAL 10D02 ANTONIO ANTE - OTAVALO - EDUCACIÓN

Referencias:
 - MINEDUC-CZ1-10D02-UDAC-2023-2049-E



Oficio Nro. MINEDUC-CZ1-10D02-2023-2140-OF

Otavaló, 06 de septiembre de 2023

Asunto: AUTORIZACIÓN INGRESO IE

Señora
Katherine Leea Ward
Coordinadora Relaciones Nacionales
En su Despacho

De mi consideración:

En respuesta al Documento No. 10D02-11845, A través del cual, la señorita Katherine L. Ward, MA, Candidata al PhD en Lingüística Hispana de la Universidad Wisconsin-Madison, solicita autorización para invitar a la participación voluntaria de los docentes a través de una encuesta (20 minutos) y una entrevista (30 minutos), las cuales se realizarán al criterio de cada institución educativa, sin interrumpir la jornada laboral a partir del 5 de septiembre al 28 de noviembre del 2023, las mismas que se detalla a continuación:

1. [REDACTED]
2. [REDACTED]
3. [REDACTED]
4. [REDACTED]
5. [REDACTED]
6. [REDACTED]
7. [REDACTED]
8. [REDACTED]

Al respecto me permito informar que una vez revisada la propuesta, la Dirección Distrital 10D02 Antonio Ante – Otavaló – Educación, autoriza el ingreso a las instituciones antes señaladas, se recomienda a la persona interesada que deberá coordinar con las autoridades institucionales quienes informarán la participación voluntaria de los Docentes.

Con sentimientos de distinguida consideración.

Atentamente,

Documento firmado electrónicamente

Mgs. María Mercedes Cañamar Ponce
DIRECTORA DISTRITAL 10D02 ANTONIO ANTE - OTAVALO - EDUCACIÓN

Referencias:

- MINEDUC-CZ1-10D02-UDAC-2023-3152-E



Ministerio de Educación

Dirección: Av. Amazonas N34-451 y Av. Atahualpa.
Código postal: 170507 / Quito-Ecuador
Teléfono: 593-2-396-1300 / www.educacion.gob.ec

* Documento firmado electrónicamente por Quijón



República
del Ecuador

1/2

Appendix H

Teacher Participant Consent Form (English & Spanish)

University of Wisconsin - Madison Research Participant Information and Consent Form

Study Title: Perceptions of Kichwa-Spanish Linguistic Diversity by Intercultural Bilingual Educators in Imbabura, Ecuador

Principal Investigator: Catherine Stafford (Phone: 608 262 2093; Email: cstafford@wisc.edu)
Student Researcher: Katherine Ward (Phone: 608 207 8370; Email: klward3@wisc.edu)

Description of the research

You are invited to participate in a research study about Kichwa and Spanish bilingualism in the schools in the canton of Otavalo. You have been asked to participate because you are a teacher in Otavalo.

The purpose of the research is to understand how teachers perceive different Spanish speech features and their pedagogical decisions surrounding them, with the hopes of developing language-centered professional development workshops for teachers.

This study will include up to 200 teachers to participate in a survey, and 40 teachers to also participate in a post-survey interview. This research will take place either at the school where you work or at a different location chosen by you.

What will my participation involve?

If you decide to participate in this research, you will be asked to (1) complete a short survey (~20 min), and you may be asked to (2) participate in a short interview (~30 min). The survey will ask about your language experience, demographics, and will ask you to react to some speech samples without seeing the speaker. If you participate in the interview, you will be asked about your experiences with students' languages in the classroom and how you respond pedagogically.

Your participation will last approximately 20 minutes and will require only 1 session for the survey. If you also participate in the interview, you will attend an extra session of about 30 minutes (50 minutes in total).

Recording information

Only those who participate in the interviews will be audio recorded. These recordings will be used by researchers to understand teachers' perspectives on their students' language use and the decisions they make as teachers. The recordings will be kept indefinitely only by the researcher.

Are there any risks to me?

Although unlikely, it is possible that someone outside the research team could find out you participated in this study and what you said. If that happened, there is a small chance it could negatively affect your reputation.

Are there any benefits to me?

We don't expect any direct benefits to you from participation in this study.

Will I be compensated for my participation?

If you participate in the survey, you will receive \$10 cash. If you participate in both the survey and the interview, you will receive \$20 cash. If you do not complete this study, you will receive no compensation.

How will my confidentiality be protected?

This study is confidential. Neither your name nor any other identifiable information will be published. If you decide to participate, your survey responses and opinions during the interview will be anonymized, and you will be assigned a pseudonym. Any identifiable information will be removed. All digital data with identifiable information will be kept in a secure university server only accessible by the research team. Your information will not be shared with any other participants and only anonymized findings will be included in publications, workshops, and conferences. The anonymized information could be used for future research studies without additional informed consent from you.

If you participate in this study, we would like to be able to quote you directly without using your name. If you agree to allow us to quote you in publications, please initial the statement at the bottom of this form.

Whom should I contact if I have questions?

You may ask any questions about the research at any time. If you have questions, concerns, or complaints, or think that participating in the research has hurt you, talk to the research team or contact Katherine Ward at klward3@wisc.edu. If you wish, you may also contact the Principal Investigator Catherine Stafford at cstafford@wisc.edu.

If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant or have complaints about the research study or study team, call the confidential research compliance line at 1-833-652-2506. Staff will work with you to address concerns about research participation and assist in resolving problems.

If you decide not to participate or to withdraw from the study, you may do so without penalty.

Your signature indicates that you have read this consent form, had an opportunity to ask any questions about your participation in this research and voluntarily consent to participate. You will receive a copy of this form for your records.

Name of the Participant (please print): _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

_____ I give my permission to be quoted directly in publications without my name.

Universidad de Wisconsin-Madison
Formulario de información y consentimiento del participante en la investigación

Título del estudio: Percepciones de la diversidad lingüística kichwa-española por educadores bilingües interculturales en Imbabura, Ecuador

Investigador Principal: Catherine Stafford (Teléfono: 608 262 2093; Email: cstafford@wisc.edu)
Estudiante investigadora: Katherine Ward (Teléfono: 608 207 8370; Email: klward3@wisc.edu)

Descripción de la investigación

Le invitamos a participar en un estudio de investigación sobre el bilingüismo kichwa-español en las escuelas del cantón de Otavalo. Le hemos pedido que participe porque usted es docente en Otavalo.

El propósito de la investigación es comprender cómo los docentes perciben las diferentes características de la lengua española y las decisiones pedagógicas relacionadas, con la esperanza de diseñar talleres de desarrollo profesional centrados en el lenguaje para docentes.

Este estudio incluirá a hasta 200 maestros para participar en una encuesta y a 40 maestros para participar también en una entrevista posterior a la encuesta. Esta investigación se llevará a cabo en la escuela donde trabaja o en un lugar diferente elegido por usted.

¿En qué consistirá mi participación?

Si decide participar en esta investigación, se le pedirá que (1) complete una breve encuesta (~20 minutos) y es posible que (2) participe en una breve entrevista (~30 minutos). La encuesta le preguntará sobre su experiencia con las lenguas, datos demográficos y le pedirá que reaccione a algunas muestras de habla sin ver al hablante. Si participa en la entrevista, se le preguntará sobre sus experiencias con el lenguaje de los estudiantes en el aula y cómo responde pedagógicamente.

Su participación tendrá una duración aproximada de 20 minutos y requerirá solo una sesión para la encuesta. Si también participa en la entrevista, asistirá a una sesión extra de unos 30 minutos (50 minutos en total).

Información sobre la grabación

Solo se grabará en audio a quienes participen en las entrevistas. La investigadora utilizará estas grabaciones para comprender las perspectivas de los docentes sobre el uso del lenguaje de sus alumnos y las decisiones que toman como docentes. Las grabaciones serán conservadas indefinidamente únicamente por la investigadora.

¿Hay algún riesgo para mí?

Aunque es poco probable, es posible que alguien fuera del equipo de investigación descubra que usted participó en este estudio y lo que dijo. Si eso sucediera, existe una pequeña posibilidad de que pueda afectar su reputación.

¿Hay algún beneficio para mí?

No esperamos ningún beneficio directo para usted por su participación en este estudio.

¿Seré compensada/o por mi participación?

Si participa en la encuesta, recibirá \$10 en efectivo. Si participa tanto en la encuesta como en la entrevista, recibirá \$20 en efectivo. Si no completa este estudio, no recibirá ninguna compensación.

¿Cómo se protegerá mi confidencialidad?

Este estudio es confidencial. No se publicará ni su nombre ni ninguna otra información identificable. Si decide participar, sus respuestas a la encuesta y sus opiniones durante la entrevista se anonimizarán y se le asignará un seudónimo. Cualquier información identificable será eliminada. Todos los datos digitales con información identificable se mantendrán en un servidor universitario seguro al que solo podrá acceder el equipo de investigación. Su información no se compartirá con ningún otro participante y solo se incluirán hallazgos anónimos en publicaciones, talleres y conferencias. La información anonimizada podría usarse para futuros estudios de investigación sin el consentimiento informado adicional de usted.

Si participa en este estudio, nos gustaría poder citarla/lo directamente sin usar su nombre. Si acepta permitirnos citarla/lo en publicaciones, coloque sus iniciales en la declaración al final de este formulario.

¿A quién debo contactar si tengo preguntas?

Puede hacer cualquier pregunta sobre la investigación en cualquier momento. Si tiene preguntas, inquietudes o quejas, o cree que participar en la investigación la/lo ha lastimado, hable con el equipo de investigación o comuníquese con Katherine Ward al klward3@wisc.edu. Si desea, también puede contactarse con la investigadora principal Catherine Stafford al cstafford@wisc.edu.

Si tiene alguna pregunta sobre sus derechos como participante de la investigación o tiene quejas sobre el estudio de investigación o el equipo del estudio, llame a la línea de cumplimiento de investigación confidencial al 1-833-652-2506. El personal trabajará con usted para abordar las inquietudes sobre la participación en la investigación y ayudarlo a resolver los problemas.

Si decide no participar o retirarse del estudio, puede hacerlo sin penalización.

Su firma indica que leyó este formulario de consentimiento, tuvo la oportunidad de hacer preguntas sobre su participación en esta investigación y voluntariamente acepta participar. Recibirá una copia de este formulario para sus archivos.

Nombre del participante (letra manuscrita): _____

Firma: _____

Fecha: _____

_____ Doy mi permiso para ser citada/o directamente en publicaciones sin mi nombre.

Appendix I

Classroom Observation Consent Script (English and Spanish)

“This phase of the study invites 16 teachers to participate in a classroom observation. If you decide to participate, I will visit your classroom and observe a lesson you impart to your students at the school where you work. I will plan a date to visit, but teachers should carry out their class as usual, without preparing any special content or activities. I am not there to evaluate your techniques, but to learn about the day-to-day reality of your school. I will not participate actively in the lesson, but quietly observe and take notes. Everything you agreed to in the previous consent still applies. As with the other phases of the study, this classroom observation is confidential. It will not be recorded via audio or video, and my notes will not include any identifying information about your students or your school. I plan to link my observation notes about your classroom to your survey and interview data, but your name will be replaced with a pseudonym, and any other identifying information about you will be masked to protect your identity. You will not receive compensation for participating in the classroom observation. If you are interested, I can share more information with you. Do you agree to participate in a classroom observation?”

“Esta fase del estudio invita a 16 docentes a participar en una observación de aula. Si decide participar, visitaré su salón de clases y observaré una lección que imparta a sus alumnos en la unidad educativa donde trabaja. Planificaré una fecha para la visita, pero los profesores deben realizar su clase como de costumbre, sin preparar ningún contenido ni actividad especial. No estoy para evaluar sus técnicas, sino para conocer la realidad del día a día de su institución. No participaré activamente en la lección, sino que observaré en silencio y tomaré notas. Todo lo que usted aceptó en el consentimiento anterior sigue siendo válido. Al igual que con las otras fases del estudio, esta observación de aula es confidencial. No se grabará a través de audio ni video, y mis notas no incluirán ninguna información de identificación sobre sus estudiantes ni su institución. Planeo vincular mis notas de observación sobre su salón de clases con los datos de su encuesta y entrevista, pero su nombre será reemplazado por un seudónimo y se enmascarará cualquier otra información que lo identifique para proteger su identidad. No recibirá compensación por participar en la observación del salón de clases. Si le interesa, puedo compartir más información con usted. ¿Está de acuerdo en participar en una observación en el aula?”