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Ecuadorians in the Sacramento California Area: Attitudes  
and Language Maintenance

Jacob M. Strawn

A thesis submitted to the faculty of  
Brigham Young University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of  
Master of Arts

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## ABSTRACT

### Ecuadorians in the Sacramento California Area: Attitudes and Language Maintenance

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The present qualitative study investigated Spanish language maintenance among a familial/friend group of ten Ecuadorians that live in Northern California. The participants completed a survey and participated in an interview from which I retrieved information about the importance of Spanish and English, their self-reported confidence in Spanish and English, language attitudes, language use in private/familial contexts, and language use in public/social contexts.

Previous studies regarding language maintenance and language shift in California were primarily focused on the Mexican-American population. California has the fourth largest population of Ecuadorians in the United States, yet there are no maintenance and shift studies for Ecuadorians in California. The collectivism and communal style of living that permeate Ecuadorian culture make the current study particularly unique and add to past research on factors that affect maintenance and shift. Findings indicate that many of the members of this community are part of a dense network. This appears to encourage positive language attitudes. As a result, Spanish is used in many public and private contexts, which may help Spanish to be maintained by future generations. However, the current study also sheds light on the level of impact that spousal language may have regarding maintenance or shift for the future generation. The findings show that households with an English monolingual parent show a shift of importance and emotional attachment from Spanish to English. Thus, future generations are likely to see a shift to English if they are in a household with an English monolingual mother but may have an identity associated with their heritage because of the dense network to which they belong. However, future generations in households with two parents who speak Spanish are likely to maintain Spanish due to the network density and overall language attitudes.

Keywords: Spanish, language maintenance, language shift, language attitudes, dense, multiplex

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## Introduction

Because the economy collapsed in Ecuador between 1997 and 1999, many Ecuadorians immigrated to other countries, and now, there is a significant Ecuadorian population in the United States. According to the 2021 U.S. Census, 812,838 Ecuadorians were reported to reside in the United States (U.S. Census Bureau, 2021). The four largest populations of Ecuadorians reside in the following States: (1) New York, (2) New Jersey, (3) Florida, and (4) California. California is home to 52,692 Ecuadorians (U.S. Census Bureau, n.d.). Despite this relatively large Ecuadorian population, no studies have been completed in California regarding maintenance and shift or language attitudes among the community. California has seen much research in maintenance and shift as well as language attitude studies among the Mexican-American population in Southern California (Moyna, 2009; Rumbaut, 2014; Yoshioka, 1929), and it is important to study and understand the Mexican-American population living in the southwest because they are the largest group of Hispanics in the United States. Still, the present study of Ecuadorians in California fills a gap and contributes to existing research.

In order to do the necessary research, I analyzed the different domains in which Spanish is used or not used by this group of Ecuadorians. These domains are categorized as public domains (school, work, church, social media, etc.) or private/familial domains (home, family gatherings, etc.) (Fishman, 1965). Accordingly, these domains are considered in this study to draw conclusions about which factors are evidence of language attitudes and how they may affect the participants' confidence when speaking Spanish and English. The participants' language attitudes and confidence in Spanish give insights into how well Spanish may be maintained by future generations with these Ecuadorians in Northern California. Through completing this research, I expected that unique results might be discovered; for example,



Ecuadorians are part of a high-level collectivist culture according to Hofstede (2005). Because Ecuadorians are more collectivist than most peoples in the world, this may influence their use of language in different domains since their social networks seem denser and more multiplex than those of other Hispanics living in the United States. Overall, this study aims to investigate the language attitudes of this familial/friend group of Ecuadorians in California by interviewing the participants completing a survey.

### **Review of the Relevant Literature**

#### **Language Maintenance, Language Shift, and Diglossia**

Language maintenance refers to retaining one's native language instead of adopting a language that is used more frequently. Language shift, alternatively, refers to the loss or the process of losing one's native language and replacing it with the dominant language (Hurtado, A. and Vega; Kenji, H. and d'Andrea; Lutz, 2008; Macafee, C. and McGarrity; Moyna, 2009; Rumbaut, 2014; Tawalbeh, 2019; Weinreich, 1967).

Factors affecting maintenance and shift are many, and these factors include the different uses of Spanish and English in both private and public domains (Stoessel, 2002). According to bilingual maintenance and shift studies, it is evident that language attitudes correlate to language use in different domains (Kuncha & Bathula, 2004). These factors can influence the non-dominant language so that it is either preserved or lost; however, it is important to note that the group that I am working with are all Ecuadorians that were born in Ecuador; thus, this study is more concerned with maintenance.

Diglossia is a type of societal bilingualism which is stable because each of the languages are used for separate and distinct purposes. There is therefore no rivalry between them. Hence, if the Ecuadorian community is indeed "collectivist", as argued by some scholars, we might expect

them in diglossic situations. Fishman concludes that when diglossia is present, the minority language is maintained. Alternatively, shift will occur if diglossia is not present. There are different motives for using different languages in different contexts/domains and language attitudes can give insights into how future generations may encounter Spanish maintenance or a shift to English.

### **Ecuadorians and their National Culture**

Zentella (1997) writes about Ecuadorians in New York, indicating that they often speak Spanish to their children, even if they speak English well. As noted above Hofstede (2006) argues that there is a high-level collectivist nature that permeates Ecuadorian culture. Collectivist culture favors collaboration and harmony, preferring to achieve success as a group; individualistic cultures lean more toward individual self-growth. While considering these cultural schemas, Hofstede (2006) studied 65 different countries, including most Latin American countries, and found that Ecuador is a high-level collectivist culture, even when compared to other collectivist cultures (Hammond, 2014 and Hofstede, G. H., Hofstede, G. J., & Minkov, M., 2005). Only one country that was found to be more collectivist than Ecuador: Guatemala. The question I will explore is whether the collectivist nature of Ecuadorian culture is enough for the participants in this study to maintain their Spanish across the generations.

### **Language Attitudes**

Language attitudes have proven to have a strong correlation to the level of language maintenance (Ducar, 2012). Gardner (1985) describes attitudes as “an evaluative reaction to some referent or attitude object, inferred on the basis of the individual’s belief or opinions about the referent,” (p. 9) which indicates that it is vital to understand people’s perspectives, biases, feelings, and beliefs. In this way, it can become clear what the language attitudes of these

individuals are and whether they are positive or negative toward a specific language. To understand the attitudes of the participants, it is essential to understand the history or the story of the participants, at least as much as one can, through interviews and surveys.

King (2013) writes about three daughters within a particular Ecuadorian family and how family members' attitudes affected the children's Spanish-speaking abilities. In King's study, the parents often made comments reinforcing the specific identities that the children developed. Because Ecuadorians have a collectivist culture, it may be that private domains within the family structure affect the children's identities and, thus, their language use (Mejía, 2016). King (2013) explains, "We saw how Diana was framed as the unsuccessful English language learner, Debbie as the problematic Spanish speaker but proficient English user, and Daniela as the English monolingual." (p. 61) These observations were made within the home and were factors that affected whether the sisters maintained or lost their Spanish language proficiency. These sisters also moved to the U.S. at different ages. The daughter, whom the family labeled as an "English language learner" (King, 2013, p. 61), moved at an older age. The daughter, labeled as the "English monolingual" (King, 2013, p. 61), was the youngest when the family moved to the U.S. The perceived language ability of these three sisters appeared to connect to their age of arrival in the U.S. as well, so these identities may have their origin in their distinct ages and ability to adapt to a new language and culture. Other people's assumptions would simply reinforce these identities. Clearly, the age of an immigrant when they arrive in a new country may influence maintenance or shift. The younger an individual is, the more likely that individual will experience a shift to the majority language (Bialystok, E., & Hakuta, K., 1999).

### ***Content Analysis***

Content analysis is a method used by researchers to review and interpret data from interviews and surveys (Selvi, A. F., 2019; Truman, L., 2019; Su, F. Y. & Cetin, A., 2021). It consists of having authentic written or spoken language to analyze and should allow deviations from the interview questions. As participants freely converse or write, the researcher can discover subtle clues about their language attitudes. Poplack (2006) writes about bilinguals in Quebec and uses content analysis to interpret and understand the language attitudes of the research participants by breaking the content analysis into six broad categories: “reaction to the language laws, social consequences of language choice, the fate of the English language and culture in Quebec, anglophone-francophone relations, perceived value of the languages, and linguistic manifestations of language contact.” Every time that a participant talked about any of these concepts of their own accord, it was noted, and the participants compared to each other. Krippendorff (2018) suggests methods to use when synthesizing these data, including: “focusing on relations, contingencies, or semantic connections between” (p. 411) the content. These methods include finding simple ideas/words, recognizing how often the interviewee refers to the English language on their own and/or how often they refer to a specific law or idea around a language. The author goes on to say that the researcher can then look for patterns and trends within the content, which will result in an understanding of what is going on in the minds of the research participants.

### **Public and Private Domains**

Fishman describes domains as the places where language use occurs. If the bilingual community is diglossic, the native or first language will likely be maintained. On the other hand, if the bilingual community is not diglossic, shift will occur (Fishman, 1967). This shift is linked

to two main contexts: private/familial domains and public/social domains (Fishman, 1965). Fishman (1967) explains that “as role compartmentalization and value complementarity decrease . . . Languages and varieties formerly kept apart come to influence each other phonetically, lexically, semantically and even grammatically much more than before” (p. 35-36). In other words, the lack of separation of language use in different domains and roles will result in shift to the more useful language.

Studies involving Mexican Spanish speakers in the United States have noted that the familial domains are recognized as the most important factor in deciding maintenance and shift (Kenji & d’Andrea, 1992) in the Mexican demographic. Within the familial domain, the frequency of visiting monolingual Spanish-speaking family members and visiting their countries of origin are also essential actions (Bayley, Schechter, and Torres-Ayala, 1996).

Pauwels (2004) discusses using a questionnaire to investigate “the language use patterns of bi- or multilingual persons in a specific context (domain analysis), their language proficiency, and their attitudes toward the languages and LM/LS [language maintenance/language shift].” (p. 723) Public domains include education (Cheng, 2003), non-familial community (García, 2003), church, and social media. According to Stoessel (2002), use of Spanish in different domains has also proven to be an important factor in maintenance and shift. Domains can be used when referring to different types of communication situations. For example, Pauwels (2004) explains: “Domains are seen to be configurations of particular participants (interlocutors), places and time (locales), and topics.” (p. 723) Hence their relevance for language maintenance and shift.

### **Social Network Density and Multiplexity**

To further investigate the possible language trajectory of a community of Ecuadorians residing within the greater Sacramento region, it is necessary to understand the density and

multiplexity of this community's social networks. Social network density and multiplexity within a community deals with the nature and number of connections that bind or link community members together. If all, or most, members share the same ties (they work, worship, study, and socialize together), the community's network will be dense and multiplex and likely maintain its core values and traditions.

Milroy and Llamas (2013) describe important ideologies to understand and identify dense and multiplex networks. Density is determined by how many potential links there are among the members and how many links currently exist among them. There is a center of contact labeled ego. Ego is a person or a center point of contact among the group. Multiplexity is determined by the number of relationships shared by any two members of the group. If there is just one tie, it would be a uniplex relationship, not multiplex. Milroy and Llamas (2013) also indicate that multiplexity and density generally occur together.

Milroy and Llamas (2013) characterize dense, multiplex networks as follows: (1) "membership of a high-density, territorially based group (e.g., one organized around a sport or pastime);" (2) "kinship ties with more than two households in the neighborhood;" (3) sharing the "same workplace as at least two others from the neighborhood;" (4) "same workplace as at least two others of the same gender from the neighborhood;" (5) "voluntary association with workmates in leisure hours" (2013, p. 413).

### **Qualitative Data**

Ezzy (2002) defines qualitative data by stressing how important it is for researchers to understand their participants' cultural world and perspectives. It is particularly essential to accurately assess how language attitudes impinge on language maintenance and language shift within the community being studied. Letts et al. (2007) state that many different methods are

available to retrieve data for a qualitative analysis. These include participant observations, interviews, document reviews, and focus groups. The authors also mention that surveys are sometimes used to gather supplementary data. Each of these techniques has advantages and disadvantages. Observations, for instance, are a good tool, but retrieving the data sometimes takes a long time. Interviews, on the other hand, allow one to conduct a qualitative study within a shorter time frame. This study combines interviews with a qualitative survey.

## **Research Designs and Methods**

### **Research Question**

What are the language attitudes of Ecuadorians in Northern California, and what might these attitudes mean for either maintenance of Spanish or shift to English?

### **Methodology**

To retrieve data, I utilized two instruments: An online survey (Appendix B) and a video interview over Zoom (Appendix A). Within the modules of my interview, I asked indirect and direct questions to gain a clearer understanding of attitudes toward the two languages (Spanish and English). For example, I asked direct questions, like: *¿Qué significa el español para usted?* I also asked indirect questions such as: *¿Cuánta familia suya vive todavía en Ecuador?* *¿La visita mucho?* *¿Cuánto tiempo le gusta quedarse?* and *¿Qué hace allá?* These direct and indirect questions served to help me understand the feelings, thoughts, and beliefs about English and Spanish in various thought-provoking ways (Coronel-Medina, 2009). I divided all of the content from the interviews into four different themes or categories: (1) positivity about English, (2) positivity about Spanish, (3) negativity about English, and (4) negativity about Spanish. These different content-related categories were discoverable by looking for words or phrases such as: “I like” vs. “I don’t like,” “I’m comfortable” vs. “I’m not comfortable,” and “difficult” vs. “easy.”

When the participants referred to language, I looked for keywords and phrases like these in order to decipher the participants' language attitudes. I further analyzed the content from the interviews by categorizing them into different domains (i.e. private or public), noting whether Spanish or English is used in each of them.

The survey was divided into 3 sections: (1) demographics, (2) density/multiplexity of the network, and (3) language attitudes. In the first section, I asked various questions to retrieve data about their ages, gender, and work. In the second section, I posed many questions to discover the interconnected networks within this group of Ecuadorians. I investigated potential networks in the group and the number of existing networks to determine density and I used the number of interrelated network ties to two or more individuals to gauge the multiplexity of this group. The last section gave more insights into language attitudes and use of language different domains. In all the sections I asked questions that were both multiple choice and open-ended. In the last section, the participants had to give their self-perceived comfort and bilingual level in English and Spanish using a percentage scale of 1% to 100%.

One study that is very similar to mine was Truman's (2019). She writes about the language attitudes of bilingual women in the Yucatan and how they affect the maintenance of the minority language (Maya). In her study, she uses a questionnaire to organize and structure the interview with the participants; she also uses content analysis to help her understand common trends and patterns that come to light during the interviews. The 21 bilingual women she interviewed were all either family members or friends of each other. This pool of participants may seem rather small. However, Becker (2013) argues that qualitative analyses can be effective, even when comprised of a limited number of participants. My study is similar to Truman's in that I conducted a qualitative analysis of interviews to understand the level of language loyalty



displayed by a relatively small number of Ecuadorians living in the Sacramento area. I supplemented this methodology with a survey (see Appendix B) to gauge more accurately whether the participants show signs of language maintenance or shift.

### **Data Collection**

I administered a survey (see appendix B) and recorded Zoom interviews (see appendix A) for my data collection. I adapted the survey questions from Stoessel (2002), Kuncha & Bathula (2004), and Kondo (1997) and the interview questions from Truman (2019), Kuncha & Bathula (2004), and Jacinto & Wendy (2017) in order to obtain results that are comparable to other studies in the field. The interviews were completed using modules (in my case– direct and indirect questions) as used by other researchers (Labov, 1981; Becker, 2013; Escobar, 2019). I collected qualitative and descriptive data from these interviews and the survey.

### ***Interview***

I completed and recorded the interviews online through Zoom. I posed 12 questions in either Spanish or English (depending on what the participant stated was preferred). I divided these 12 questions into two modules (see Appendix A). The first module consists of direct questions about language attitudes; the second module consists of questions that will help to understand language attitudes using questions that are indirect and less obvious to the interviewee. I also modified the form of certain questions due to the different ages of my interviewees (changing from familiar to formal forms of address). I also transcribed the important statements from the recordings for my research, particularly answers and data related specifically to my research question. These relate to public and private domains and to positivity or negativity towards Spanish/English. I did not transcribe responses that did not show patterns and connections that would help to discover maintenance for future generations.

### *Background and Language Attitudes Survey*

I prepared a survey composed of 41 questions. These questions are designed to elicit information regarding the use of Spanish and English in different contexts (domains), the density/multiplexity of this group, and the language attitudes of the participants. The nature of the group's network (its density and multiplexity) will be a likely predictor of what the future holds for language maintenance or shift. Use of Spanish and English in different domains will help us to understand if the community is diglossic, and this will give insights into potential maintenance or shift among future generations. Lastly, participants' language attitudes (positive or negative) may be passed down to future generations and affect maintenance and shift as well.

## Description of the Sample

**Table 1**

*Participant Demographics*

	<b>Age of Arrival</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Married</b>	<b>Number of children</b>	<b>Religion</b>	<b>Current Residence</b>	<b>Work</b>
<b>Participant 1</b>	6	30	No	0	LDS	Rancho Cordova	Voice teacher
<b>Participant 2</b>	39	63	Yes	7	LDS	Roseville	Buisness
<b>Participant 3</b>	18	42	Yes	4	LDS	Roseville	Self-made family buisness that offers a variety of services
<b>Participant 4</b>	13	37	Yes	5	LDS	Rocklin	Sales
<b>Participant 5</b>	34	40	Yes	3	LDS	Roseville	Granite installer
<b>Participant 6</b>	36	60	Yes	7	LDS	Roseville	Stay at home parent
<b>Participant 7</b>	12	35	Yes	5	LDS	Roseville	Tax preparer
<b>Participant 8</b>	40	47	No	3	LDS	Roseville	Childcare provider
<b>Participant 9</b>	10	34	Yes	4	LDS	Roseville	Tax preparer
<b>Participant 10</b>	16	40	Yes	3	LDS	Roseville	Accountant

My study participants consisted of 10 Ecuadorians residing in the greater Sacramento area (see Table 1). All are close friends or family members. Four are women and six are men. All were born in Ecuador. Their ages range from 30–63 years old. The range of ages when the participants moved to the Sacramento area from Ecuador is between 6 years old and 40 years old.

Seven of the participants reported being married. Nine of the participants have children. They all work: two tax preparers, one business owner, one salesperson, one child care provider, one accountant, one voice teacher, one stay at home parent, and a granite cutter and installer. All 10 are members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Eight reported living in Roseville, California, one in Rocklin, and one in Rancho Cordova.

The participants have varying levels of fluency in Spanish and English. All have at least some knowledge of both languages. Although all participants learned Spanish as their first language, nine consider Spanish to be their native language, and one claimed to be native in both. Six of the participants reported feeling more comfortable when speaking Spanish. Two reported feeling more comfortable when speaking English. One participant did not answer that question but indicated in another question that English was more difficult to speak than Spanish.

### **Participants' General Language Attitudes**

The 10 participants indicated using both languages, depending on the circumstances. When interviewed, one participant mentioned that they “feel” in Spanish more than they do in English and she used vulgar language as an example and explained that vulgar language hurts more when used in Spanish. Four participants reported that English is a valuable language to know for work, travel, and to be monetarily successful. For example, Participant 7 states that “it is a global language” and that English is important for tourism and business. Also, Participant 3

stated that speaking English “means becoming more wiser.” All ten participants agreed that English is an important means of communication and 7 referred to English as a language offering new opportunities. All 10 participants reported using Spanish with at least some of their family members. Of the seven married participants, three have spouses that speak Spanish as their native language. These are all important data to better understand the participant’s responses in the survey and interview, regarding which language is more important to them and the correlating language attitudes.

## Participants' Views on Language Importance

**Table 2**

*Importance of Spanish and English for the Participants*

	English Importance vs. Spanish Importance
Participant 1	English is what the people here speak
Participant 2	English because its the countries language
Participant 3	Spanish because it is my language. I can feel in Spanish
Participant 4	N/R
Participant 5	English
Participant 6	English because I'm in the U.S.
Participant 7	No
Participant 8	They are equal
Participant 9	Spanish?
Participant 10	Spanish, because I can express my ideas better

Table 2 shows participants' responses to the questions about how they view the relative importance of English and Spanish. The participants were given the opportunity to respond freely, in the survey, to this question. While four of them favor English, three favor Spanish. Participant 4 chose not to respond to this question. There are no apparent patterns regarding age and time of arrival. For example, Participant 9 is thirty-four years old and moved to the U.S. when he was ten. He, like most of the participants, lives in Roseville, California. He states that “Spanish?” is the more important language. The question mark leads me to believe that there was some insecurity; however, Participant 9 chose to write Spanish still. In contrast, Participant 8 is forty-seven years old, moved to the U.S. at forty, and lives in Roseville, California. She says “they are equal” and does not appear to feel that Spanish is more important, even though she has not spent much time in the U.S.

It is clear that the majority of the participants feel that English and Spanish are important for different reasons. Many participants feel that there is an emotional attachment to Spanish. The Spanish language is associated with family and that brings importance. Many of the participants also stated that English was important (in other questions) to communicate with their children or to experience more financial success. Spanish appears, overall, to be vitally important to communicate within the network of Ecuadorians in this community. However, Spanish is not aiding upward social mobility unless the participants work with Spanish speakers outside of the home. Participants 2, 3, 4, 7, 9, and 10 all work together, and these participants reported Spanish being used at work. Only one of these participants, Participant 2, reported English as being more important. Participant 4 chose not to answer this question but mentioned that both languages are important in another question talking about work and family. Participant 7 stated that one is not more important than the other. Participants 3, 9, and 10 all explicitly stated that Spanish is the more important language (in their opinions). Most of the participants who work in a field that require use Spanish, like a tax preparer (in the case of most of these participants), appear to (create a pattern in) consider Spanish to be more important.

## Self-reported Confidence in Spanish/English

**Table 3**

*Language Difficulty and Preferred Language*

	Which language do you like speaking more?	The more difficult language
Participant 1	English	Spanish
Participant 2	Spanish	English
Participant 3	Both	Sometimes Spanish and sometimes English
Participant 4	Both	Niether
Participant 5	Spanish	English
Participant 6	English	English
Participant 7	Spanish	English
Participant 8	Both	Niether
Participant 9	Spanish	Spanish
Participant 10	Spanish	English



**Figure 1**

*Participant's Level of Comfort when Speaking English and Spanish*

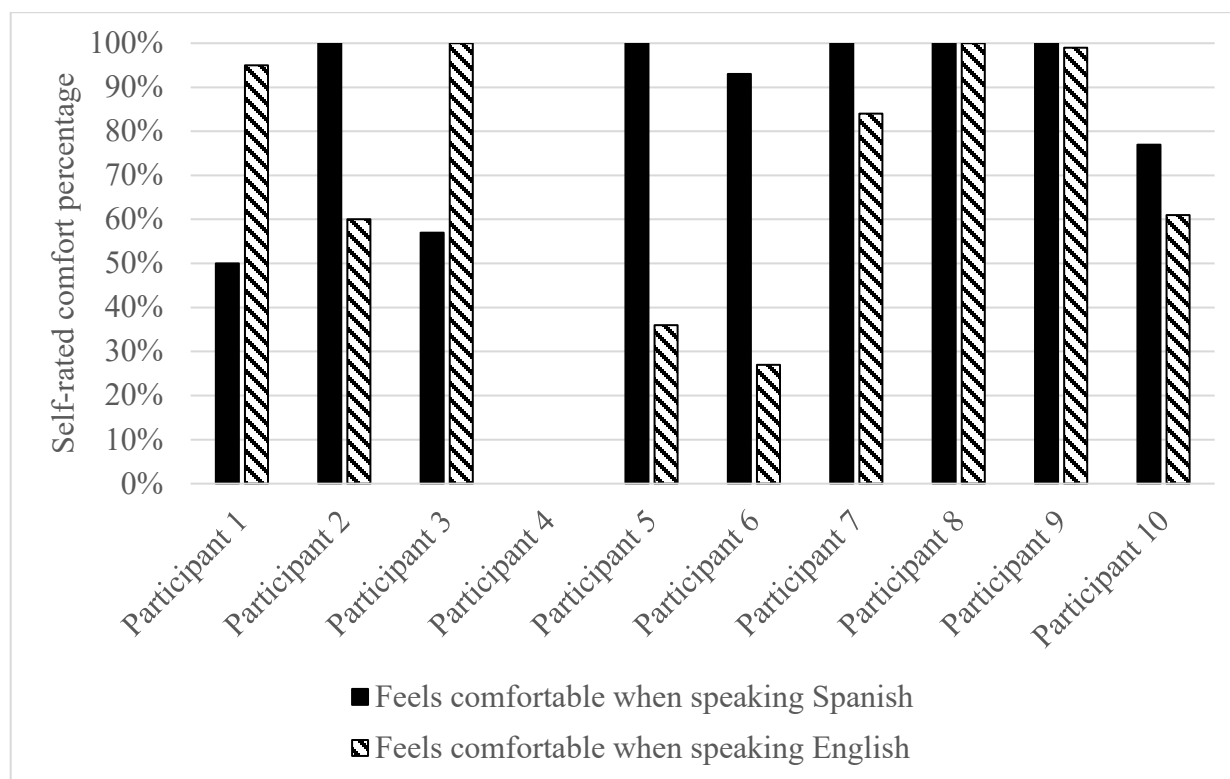


Table 3 gathers participants' responses regarding questions about their confidence in English and Spanish. Most of the participants feel more comfortable speaking in Spanish, and report that English is more difficult. However, some reported feeling equally confident in both languages. Curiously, two participants responded that they preferred speaking the language that was also the more difficult language for them to speak. Participant 9 reports that Spanish is more difficult, but he still prefers to speak Spanish. On the other hand, Participant 6 reported that English is the more difficult language; yet, English is also the language that they like to speak. This participant reported speaking English at home with her grandkids, whom she cares for during the day. This participant also is not working with other Ecuadorians and using Spanish at work. This may be evidence of a shift of emotional attachment from Spanish to English. English

is now being used more often in the home with grandkids; thus, this may be a factor leading to a shift to English for future generations.

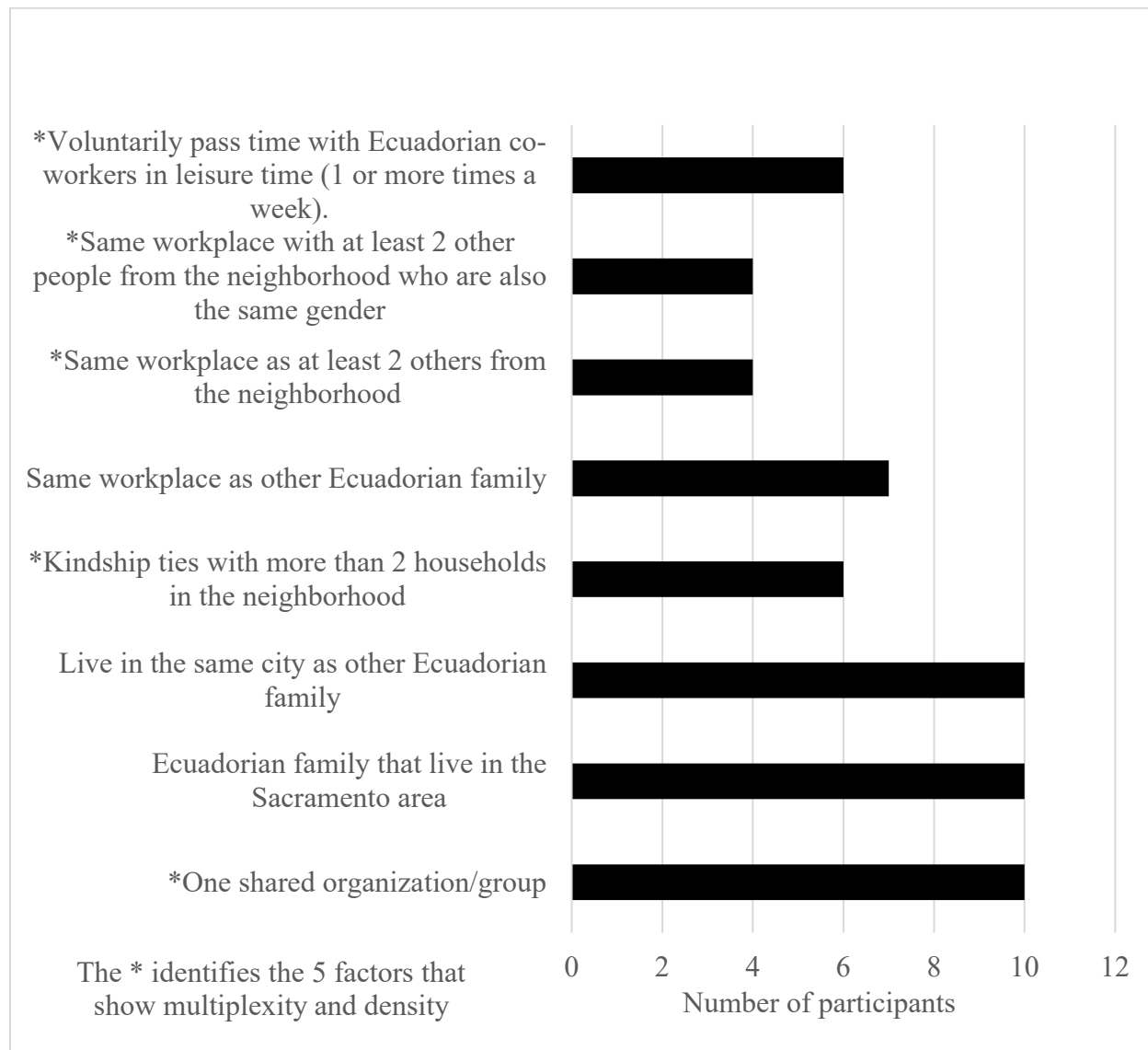
Participant 9 reported that Spanish is more difficult to speak for them but is the language they like to speak. Participant 9 moved to the United States at 10 years old from Ecuador. This participant also mentioned in the interview that he is not sure which language is his native language. Being young when he moved and reporting Spanish as the more difficult language would appear to be connected, as he would have completed much of his schooling in the United States. Peculiarly, Participant 9 reported that he likes speaking Spanish more. This participant reported working with many Ecuadorian family members and speaking Spanish at work. This participant's close ties with his Ecuadorian family may have influenced his preference for speaking Spanish even though he perceives it as more difficult.

Figure 1 data records answers to a question in the survey where the participants had to give a percentage based on their perceived confidence level in Spanish and in English. Participants 1 and 3 are the only participants that reported feeling significantly more confident in English than in Spanish. The rest of the participants feel equally bilingual or more confident in Spanish. In these questions, 1% means the participant is very uncomfortable and 100% means the participant is very comfortable in the given language. The lowest self-rated English level was 27% and the lowest self-rated Spanish level was 50%. Seven of the participants felt confident in Spanish while recognizing to a greater or lesser extent the importance of knowing English. Participants 1 and 3, on the other hand, respond differently. They report a preference for English. As a whole, this group appears more confident in Spanish than in English.

## Social Network Density and Multiplexity

**Figure 2**

*Participants that Meet the Requirements for Being in a Multiplex Group*



Five factors that are used in my assessment of this community's network multiplexity and density. Milroy and Llamas (2013) define dense, multiplex networks as (1) "membership of a high-density, territorially based group (e.g., one organized around a sport or pastime)," (2) "kinship ties with more than two households in the neighborhood," (3) sharing the "same

workplace as at least two others from the neighborhood” (4) “same workplace as at least two others of the same gender from the neighborhood,” (5) “voluntary association with workmates in leisure hours” (2013, p. 413).

First, identifying what kind of networks the participants belong to is important. The participants in this study are all members of the same religion. They all have direct ties to Participant 2 and Participant 6 (these two participants are married and live together) based on family members and the family friends stating that they know and have spent time at Participant 2’s and 6’s home in the past. Second, six of these individuals reported living in close proximity to other family members. Third, seven share the same workplace as other Ecuadorian family members within this group. Fourth, four participants with kinship ties with co-workers who live in the same neighborhood also share the same gender. Finally, six participants reported spending leisure time with Ecuadorian family. However, the four participants who met the other four requirements reported spending their leisure time (at least one day a week) with the same Ecuadorian family members with whom they work and live near.

To sum up, four participants in this study meet all five defining characteristics of a multiplex network. Seven participants reported having more than one tie to at least two or more people in the group, which would be considered multiplex (not uniplex) as well. Regarding network density, all the participants know each other. These 10 potential ties (the 10 participants who could know each other) exist in the group because the participants are all interconnected in some ways and they know each other. In other words, it appears that this is, overall, a dense and multiplex community.

If this group remains within their dense, multiplex network, experts predict that there is a chance that their children and grandchildren will retain their Spanish (Milroy and Llamas, 2013).

The asterisks in figure two refer to the questions that relate directly to the five factors that show multiplexity. The other questions give more information about the group and their ties to each other.

### ***Ecuadorian National Culture; Social Networks***

As shared above, Ecuadorian culture tends to be collectivist, which encourages Ecuadorians who have emigrated to the U.S. to form dense, multiplex networks in this country and so to use Spanish not just within the home or while engaging in leisure activities, but also at work and at church. In other words, they use Spanish within public and private spheres. So, if Spanish satisfies many of their linguistic needs (instrumental and affective), we can expect them to keep using the language rather than abandon it wholesale in favor of English (Fishman, 1967). In order to explore this hypothesis further, the next section looks at the language choices the participants make in a range of different domains.

### **Spanish in Different Domains**

I asked a series of questions to understand better the amount of Spanish used within the different private and public domains or contexts. Spanish usage in different contexts helps to understand what this group may be doing to help future generations maintain Spanish or shift to English. Overall, it would appear that the participants in my study are using Spanish in many domains or contexts, including in many public domains; however, a few of the families are not using much Spanish in the home with their children, which is a sign of language shift. Another factor that may lead to a shift to English is that five participants have married native English speakers who do not speak much, if any, Spanish. Three of the participants are married to native Spanish speakers. Two of the participants are not married.

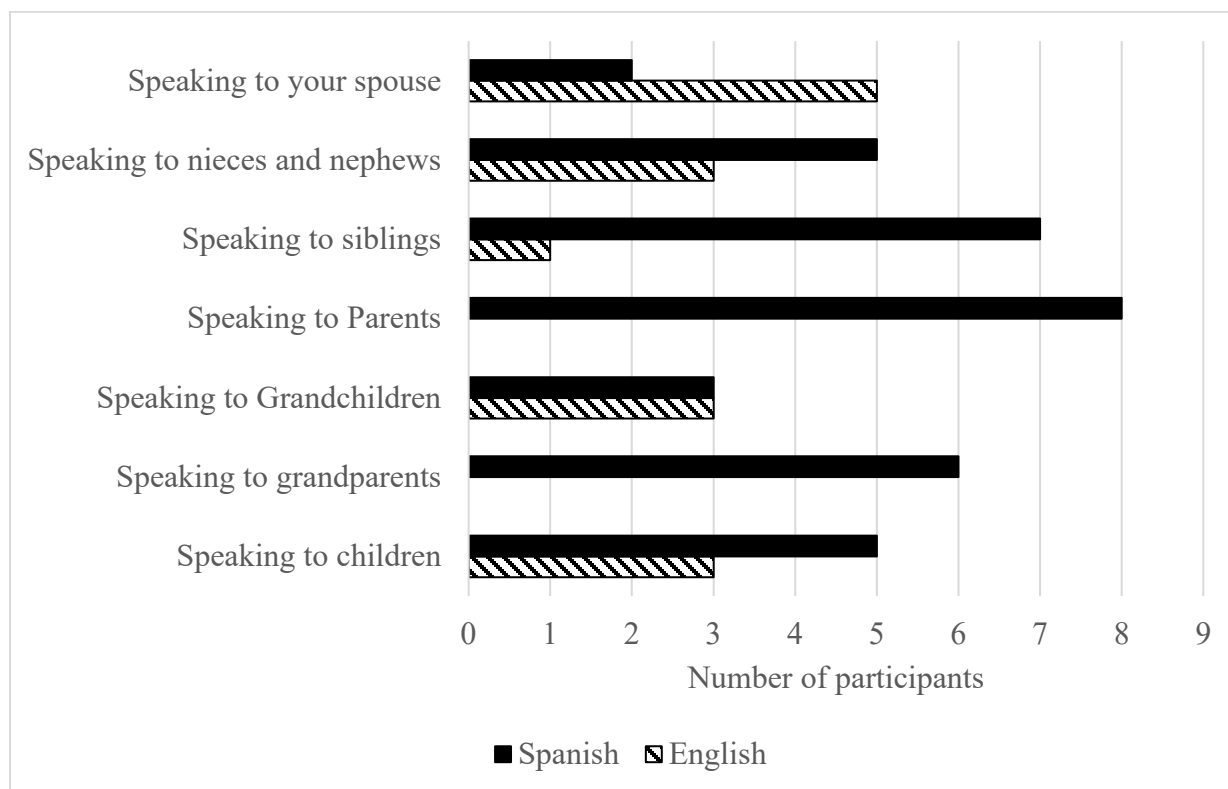
The fact that some are involved in mixed language marriages creates an interesting spread of language usage in different contexts. This group uses English at home much of the time with their children, grandchildren, and spouses. Yet, they use Spanish with siblings and parents, who they spend time with frequently. These familial domains seem to be shifting to English as reported by many of the participants.

There is also financial success associated with English and Spanish. Therefore, the participants in this group of Ecuadorians appears to have different opinions regarding Spanish and English and their instrumental value (value associated with completing tasks in the area where the person lives). They give importance to both languages in different contexts. For some in this group, English is the high variety as it signals financial success and upward mobility. However, Spanish is described as a high variety by some (specifically, by the participants who use Spanish at work frequently) as well. It appears though that Spanish, generally, is seen as a low variety language in that it is used with family and in less formal settings.

*Private/Familial Domains*

**Figure 3**

*Speaking with Family in Private/Familial Contexts (Spanish vs. English)*



Regarding figure 3, Some of the questions only applied to some participants. Participant 1 did not report having children or nieces and nephews. Participants 2, 6, and 8 are the only participants that reported having grandchildren. Nine of the participants have children. One participant chose not to answer certain questions. The questions about the different familial contexts come from the survey. The participants chose English or Spanish in a multiple-choice response regarding different familial settings. In figure 3, the numbers at the bottom refer to the number of participants, and the different familial contexts are listed vertically. The seven different familial contexts that were investigated in this study are as follows: (1) language use

with spouse, (2) language use with nieces and nephews, (3) language use with siblings, (4) language use with parents, (5) language use with grandchildren, (6) language use with grandparents, and (7) language use with children.

Overall, most of the participants speak Spanish in private contexts at times. Some of the spouses are native English speakers, which sometimes makes speaking English more necessary in their homes. Three of those who speak English to their wives in the home still chose to speak to their children in Spanish much of the time. Using Spanish in the home will likely influence Spanish maintenance among future generations; however, one of the parents speaks only English, which means that the children have fewer opportunities to practice their Spanish. Because this speech community does not speak one language exclusively in the familial/private settings, this community is not diglossic, and therefore is likely to experience a shift to English by future generations (Fishman, 1967).



### *Public/Social Domains*

**Figure 4**

*English vs. Spanish in Public/Social Contexts*

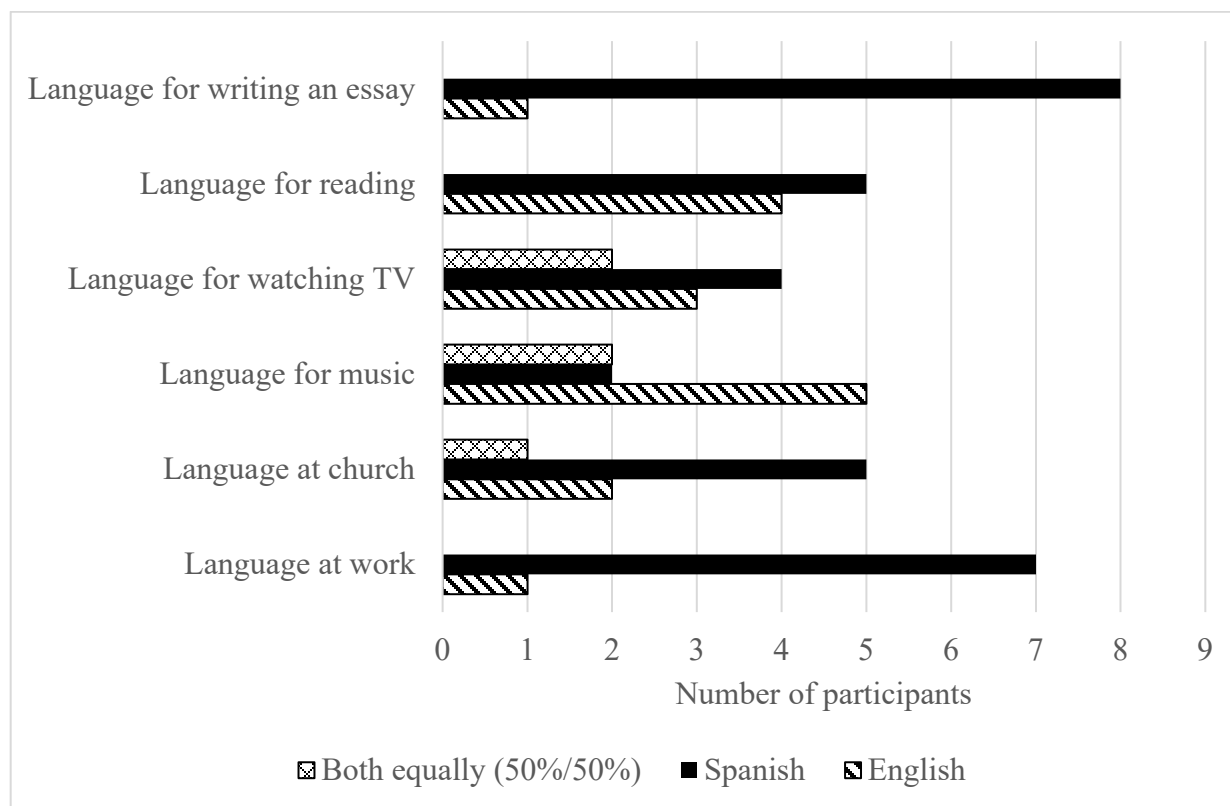


Figure 4 highlights the participants' social contexts or domains and preferred language in public/social contexts or domains. The numbers on the bottom refer to the number of participants and the vertical axis lists the different public/social settings. Figure 4 shows the language use in these different contexts. Eight or nine participants responded to these questions depending on the question. While at work, at church, watching TV, reading, and writing an essay, the participants generally prefer Spanish. In contrast, most of the participants listen to music in English. Many of the participants reported that in Ecuador many people listen to English music. Because of this, music in English may not, necessarily, indicate to shift to English.

Overall, in every category, the participants use more Spanish than English and prefer Spanish to English, apart from when listening to music. This may be due to the density and multiplexity of this community's networks. These community members are working and spending time with the same Ecuadorians regularly (six participants reported spending time with Ecuadorian co-worker family members at least once a week). Seven participants report using mostly Spanish at work, and eight that report preferring to write an essay in Spanish (if they needed to for school or work). This shows that many prefer to use Spanish in high value social/public contexts. The amount of Spanish used in public domains by this community may encourage some of the younger generations to retain their Spanish. However, there is little to no diglossia present in this speech community. There is no domain in which either Spanish or English is used exclusively. Both public and private domains appear to require some English and Spanish. According to Fishman (1967), this means that this speech community would likely experience a shift to English.

### ***Maintenance within the Home***

Maintenance within the home is one of the most important ways to pass a language from one generation to the next (Kenji & d'Andrea, 1992). A deeper look into what is happening in the home will give insights into what could result in either a maintenance of Spanish or a shift to English by future generations. Participants 4, 7, 9, and 10 are all siblings. They reported in the interviews that they are all married to native English speakers, and that they speak some Spanish with their children, but not a lot. As a result, they report that their children do not speak much, if any, Spanish. On the other hand, the other five participants who have children stated in the interview that their children speak well in Spanish. Participant 3, for example, was the eldest

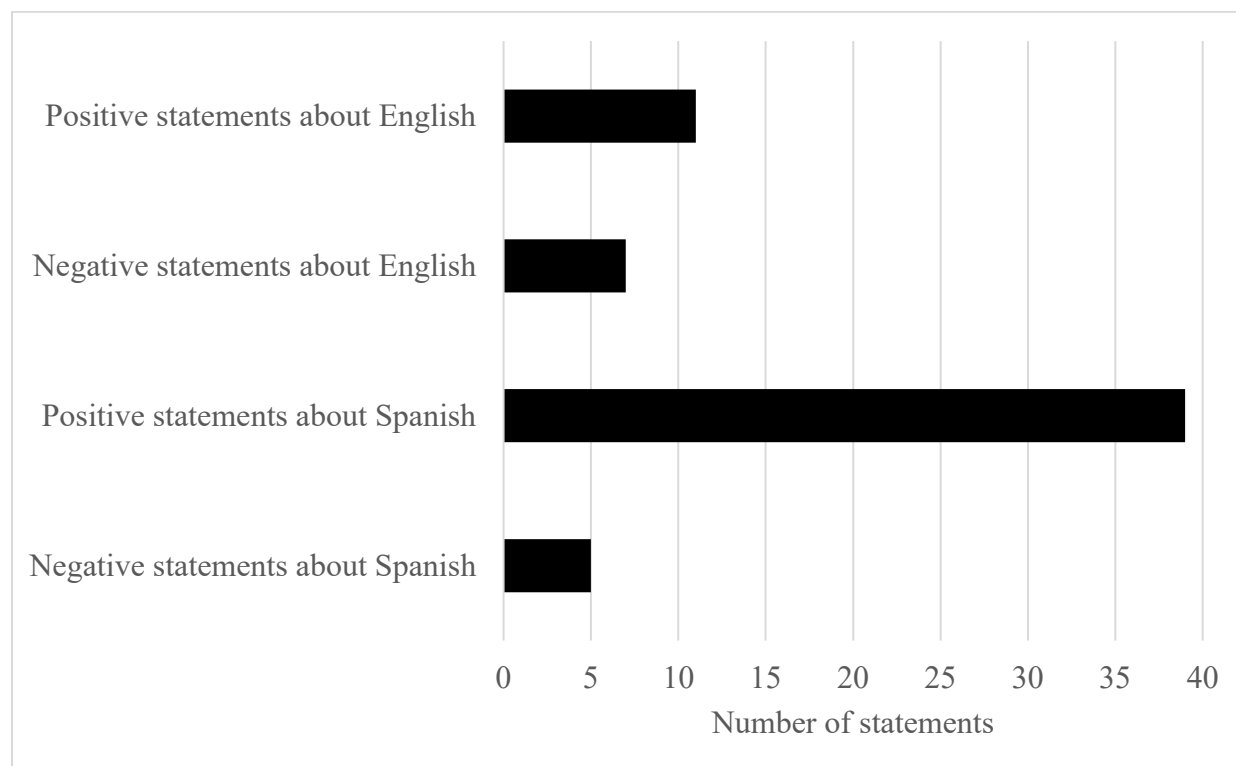
sibling when the family moved to the U.S. She was 18 years old, and she is also married to a native English speaker.

The age of the participants when they moved to the U.S. and their spouse's native language appear to be important factors in how much Spanish is being used within the home. There is still an effort in many homes to speak Spanish, which shows that it is important to the participants, but it may not be enough to have the desired effect. Having one parent who is monolingual in English would seem to favor a shift away from Spanish. However, such a shift may be offset or delayed by the dense, multiplex nature of the network to which most members of the group belong. Additionally, the fact that some of the group's older members express themselves better in Spanish than in English and therefore use mostly Spanish when speaking with grandchildren, nieces, and nephews is bound to encourage some degree of maintenance. Maintenance will, of course, become more difficult following the death of these older speakers.

## Attitudes towards Spanish and English (Content Analysis)

**Figure 5**

*Positive and Negative Statements about Spanish and English (Content Analysis)*



It is evident from figure 5 that most of the participants have deep/strong feelings toward Spanish. There were 39 positive statements about Spanish, as opposed to just 11 about English, and five negative statements about Spanish, as opposed to seven about English. Five participants stated in different ways that Spanish is what identifies them. For example, participant 8 said, “Spanish is like who I am– my culture and my hometown.” Other participants made similar statements, though in less direct ways. Participant 4, for example, said, “para que sepan su descendencia [sic]” (so that they know about their ancestors) when discussing why it is important for their kids to learn Spanish. Through learning Spanish, the participant feels their children will be more connected to their ancestors and heritage. Only one participant stated they were unsure

what their native language was; all the other participants stated that Spanish was their native language. I received unique responses when I asked the participants how well their kids speak Spanish. Participant 9 talked about his trip to Ecuador. When visiting Ecuador, he mentioned that people said he did not sound Ecuadorian. He said, “I lost my accent. . . . I was kinda sad.” This led him to talk about his children not speaking much Spanish. Another participant, Participant 10, answered the same question about whether or not his children speak Spanish, saying, “no están hablando español y para mí es. . . ouch.” (they are not speaking Spanish and for me. . . ouch) These two responses show that the participants feel some regret and deep emotions about their children not speaking Spanish as much as they would like. It is evident that the participants have strong familial connections to Spanish.

Participants’ attitudes and responses about English were revealing. The participants mostly felt favorable toward English due to the importance for progressing and building business and financial success. This, accompanied by the comments about learning English being a struggle, shows that English is critical for survival, but is less personal to the participants. Participant 2 said, “necesito saber inglés para vivir en este país.” He also said, “Tengo que hablar inglés.” (I have to speak English) These two responses show that the participant feels that speaking English is required to live in the United States, and their responses appeared to disconnect English from their emotions. Participant 9 called English a “restructured language” and expressed that to him this meant that it was a difficult language to learn. Several agreed that English is hard, or was challenging, to learn. The difficulty with English and the identity that is connected to the Spanish language appeared to cause a disconnect from English, even if participants felt English was important for success and for communication with their children/spouses. For example, participant 8 explained what happens when English speakers

come to their home, saying, “we speak in their language.” This shows that this participant is not claiming the English language to be their own. (see Figure 5).

### **Maintenance by Future Generations**

Results show that the participants are members of a dense and multiplex community. These participants use Spanish in domains outside of the home, which would generally encourage maintenance by future generations. As noted, the Spanish language is appreciated and important to many of the participants as well, and the participants generally feel that it is an integral part of who they are and defines their identity. These are all important factors for the maintenance of Spanish by future generations. However, five participants married monolingual English Speakers and currently use Spanish less in their homes, although many would like to have more Spanish spoken in the home. These are the familial domains, and they create an identity around the language. Some of the participants are beginning to feel that English is important because it is the language that their children use and speak better. This makes this language more personal to the parents and would seem to encourage a shift to English by future generations. The participants who have spouses that speak Spanish state that Spanish is the primary language in the home and that their children all speak Spanish well, and this leads me to believe that the spouses who speak English are a part of what may cause a shift to English by future generations, even though many of the participants have the desire to keep and have Spanish in their lives in many contexts. Much of their children’s Spanish would likely be learned within their grandparents’ home (concerning the eight participants who have children within the family group), and in a dense network, and with much frequency, this may help. Overall, four of the families feel that their children cannot speak Spanish well or at all. This suggests that shift has already occurred.

## Discussion

My research question was: What are the language attitudes of Ecuadorians in Northern California, and what might these attitudes mean for either maintenance of Spanish or shift to English? This group of Ecuadorians have positive attitudes towards the Spanish language; however, this does not appear to be sufficient to maintain Spanish among the younger generations especially if Spanish is not spoken in the home. The spouse's native language is likely crucial for the maintenance of Spanish or a shift to English. This private domain is critical for the maintenance of the language as García (2003) states. The two participants who have a Spanish-speaking spouse state that their children speak Spanish well. The married participants who reported that their children do not speak a lot of Spanish are the families with spouses who are monolingual English speakers. Participant 3 is the exception. This may be due to the amount of time in the home or the age of her arrival in the United States because this participant arrived at 18 years old and is the eldest sibling and because she is the mother. The influence of the mother would seem to be greater than that of the father. This is reinforced by the fact that one of the male Spanish speakers, who married a monolingual English speaker, stated that his kids only speak English, and there is only a two-year difference between them in the time spent living in Ecuador. Most of his schooling was also completed in Ecuador.

According to Fishman (1965), studying different familial and social domains is important to understand what causes maintenance of the minority language or a shift away from it. I asked various questions in the survey and interviews to help me better understand how this group of Ecuadorians in Northern California use Spanish and English. The familial contexts are considered private domains, while the social contexts are considered public domains. The participants in this study have a unique community. They speak Spanish in many public

domains; however, they do not all speak Spanish in the home very often. These familial contexts are where language is used with the people they feel most comfortable with. If the minority language is not spoken in private domains, it is not likely that the language will be maintained. This would seem to be true for this group of Ecuadorians in Northern California. However, public domains are also essential (Stoessel, 2002). The more Spanish used in public domains may result in a higher level of maintenance. If friends and acquaintances are speaking Spanish, this creates more motivation to speak Spanish. The participants speak in Spanish within these domains, frequently with friends and colleagues who are also family and live in the same city. This fact showed, it seems on the surface, to promote the maintenance of Spanish. However, if more Spanish is not spoken in the home, the future generation may not feel the same importance for the Spanish language as their Spanish-speaking parents feel. The public domains in which this dense/multiplex community communicates may help the children understand some Spanish and realize that it is part of their family's culture. However, it will likely not be something that is maintained if they do not get more Spanish exposure in the home.

The self-reported confidence in Spanish demonstrates that the amount of Spanish in the home also changes the perception of Spanish by the individuals. It seems that those who do not speak Spanish in the home frequently, due to children and spouses who speak mostly English, tend to rate themselves higher in English speaking than in Spanish. However, two participants with monolingual English-speaking partners reported speaking both languages well but having slightly better Spanish; Four of these individuals state that English is vital for success; some look to English as a language that brings more opportunities. Furthermore, the amount of English in the home makes English more personal and creates another path to potential shift for them. For example, Participant 9 stated that he was unsure if Spanish or English was his native language.



This appears to indicate a shift in identity as well. This participant moved to the U.S. when 10 years old, and has often used English in the home. This Spanish or U.S. identity is critical for Spanish language maintenance or loss. King (2013) wrote about an Ecuadorian family stating, “We saw how Diana was framed as the unsuccessful English language learner, Debbie as the problematic Spanish speaker but proficient English user, and Daniela as the English monolingual.” These identities that the children in the family developed became their reality. Participant 9 was one of the younger participants to move to the U.S. Participant 9 felt that he could speak English well, which may have created difficulty in deciding if Spanish or English is his native language. This fear could cause a shift in identity and, accordingly, a shift to English in future generations. He also mentioned that his child was unaware that he was half Ecuadorian, which shows that their identity associated with Spanish has not been maintained well.

Overall, the results are positive as regards to Spanish. The attitudes of the participants tell us nothing, or little, about whether younger generations will retain Spanish. The results of this study suggest, then, that although there are positive language attitudes toward Spanish and the community is dense, the participants married to English monolingual speakers would see a shift to English for future generations. Families in which both parents are Spanish speakers may see more Spanish maintenance across future generations.

### **Limitations and Directions for Future Studies**

Some of the limitations of this study are the small sample size and the relatively small geographical area being studied. The participants were also found through family and friends. A broad-scale study might well yield different results. Further limitations include that my interview may have only sometimes elicited responses that dove deeper into ideas and thoughts behind the language. I allowed my participants to do a Zoom call and choose where they wanted to be and

when to complete this with me. However, I had a participant do it outside when the family was there, and another did it at work. I believe this may have caused some of the responses to be rushed. Another limitation of my study is that my participants were all 30 years or older. To understand the children's perspective on Spanish and if there is a desire to learn it, would be very insightful. In a future study, if the scope of participants were changed to parents and children, this could give more evidence in further understanding how these attitudes may affect the maintenance of Spanish or a shift to English for future generations.

### **Conclusion**

Data provided by the interview and survey allow us to draw the following conclusions: This study adds to the field of research in five main facets: (1) The survival of dense, multiplex networks is improbable among hispanics that migrate to the United States. Through the years, these networks tend to become more and more porous. (2) Porous networks present opportunities for English to be let into the networks. For instance, working in an English-speaking environment, or being married to a native speaker of English would result in English entering into the networks. In other words, once some functions, domains, or contexts require use of English, and the community is not diglossic, shift begins to occur. (3) Shift may sometimes be delayed by the older generations who speak much better Spanish than English. Therefore, they then speak to their grandchildren, nieces, and nephews in Spanish, at the very least points to the children's ability to understand Spanish if not to be able to produce it. A future study might explore passive as opposed to active competence. (4) Regardless of point 3, the qualitative data collected here that a number of participants regret that their children speak little, if any, Spanish. As far as these individuals are concerned, shift to English has already occurred. (5) Although collectivism permeates Ecuadorian culture and this speech community appears to be, generally,

dense and multiplex, shift is unavoidable. There are many Ecuadorians in Florida, New York, and New Jersey. Only in states like these, where Spanish would be instrumental and affective, can we expect it to survive the constant onslaught of English.

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## APPENDIX A: Language Attitudes Interview

### 1. *Direct questions*

- a. ¿Qué significa el español para usted?
- b. ¿Qué significa el inglés para usted?
- c. ¿Habla mucho español en casa?
- d. ¿Cómo reaccionan otras personas en el área de Sacramento cuando usted habla español?  
¿La gente piensa que es algo bueno o no?
- e. Hablando del inglés y el español, ¿Cuál idioma es más importante para usted? ¿Por qué?
- f. ¿Qué idioma considera que es su lengua materna, el inglés o el español? ¿Por qué?
- g. ¿Quiere que sus hijos/nietos hablen español? ¿Por qué? ¿Qué planes tiene para ayudarlos hablar español? ¿Sus hijos/nietos hablan español bien?
- h. ¿Usted habla con sus abuelos en inglés o español?

### 2. *Indirect questions*

- a. ¿Qué tipo de relación tiene con sus abuelos?
- b. ¿Cuánta familia suya vive todavía en Ecuador? ¿Visita mucho? ¿Cuánto tiempo le gusta quedarse? ¿Qué hace allá? ¿Usted se mudaría a Ecuador para vivir allá otra vez? ¿Por qué sí/no?
- c. ¿Va a una iglesia? ¿Habla inglés o en español allí? ¿Cuál prefiere usar en la iglesia? \*
- d. ¿Qué tipo de música escuchaba de niño/joven? ¿Era música española o inglesa?
- e. ¿Qué idioma usa generalmente en el trabajo? ¿Por qué?
- f. ¿Pasa mucho tiempo con otros ecuatorianos? Si es que sí, ¿Qué hace con ellos? \*

**APPENDIX B: Survey for Demographics, Language Attitudes, and Density/Multiplexity***Demographics***1. Sexo:**

- Hombre
- Mujer
- Prefiero no contestar

**2. ¿Cuántos años tiene?****3. ¿Cuántos años tenía usted cuando se mudó a los Estados Unidos?****4. ¿Está casado/a?****5. ¿Tiene hijos? Si es que sí, ¿cuántos?****6. ¿Cuál es su ocupación?****7. ¿A qué religión pertenece?****8. ¿En qué ciudad vive ahora?***Density and Multiplexity of network***9. Con respecto a sus amigos, ¿cuántos de sus amigos son ecuatorianos?**

- La mayoría
- La mitad
- Algunos
- Ninguno
- Solo familia

**10. ¿Usted considera que las personas en su familia ecuatoriana son también sus amigos más cercanos?**

- La mayoría

- La mitad
- Algunos
- Ninguno

**11. Con respecto a las personas que acuden a funciones sociales que usted hospeda, ¿cuántas personas serían ecuatorianas?**

- Casi todos
- Alrededor del 75%
- Aproximadamente la mitad
- Alrededor del 25%
- Menos del 10%

**12. Con respecto a sus diferentes amistades dentro y fuera de su familia, ¿se siente más cerca de sus amigos ecuatorianos y / o familiares?**

**13. ¿Con qué frecuencia participa en reuniones sociales con familiares ecuatorianos?**

- La mayoría de las veces
- La mitad del tiempo
- Algunas veces

**15. ¿Juega deportes con su familia ecuatoriana o con amigos ecuatorianos?**

- Sí
- No
- A veces

**16. Viven dos o más miembros de su familia ecuatoriana que viven en el mismo vecindario?**

- Sí
- No

- Si es que sí, ¿Cuántos?

**17. ¿Viven dos o más miembros de su familia ecuatoriana que viven en la misma ciudad?**

- Sí
- No
- Si es que sí, ¿Cuántos?

**18. ¿Viven dos o más miembros de su familia ecuatoriana que viven en el área metropolitana de Sacramento?**

- Sí
- No
- Si es que sí, ¿Cuántos?

**19. ¿Asiste a la iglesia con su familia ecuatoriana o con sus amigos ecuatorianos?**

- No voy a la iglesia
- Sí
- No
- A veces

**20. ¿Va a la escuela con su familia ecuatoriana o con sus amigos ecuatorianos?**

- No voy a la escuela
- Sí
- No
- A veces

**21. ¿Trabaja con miembros de su familia ecuatoriana o con amigos ecuatorianos?**

- No trabajo
- Sí

No

**a. Si es que sí, ¿Cuántas de estas personas viven en su mismo vecindario?**

Todos

La mayoría

La mitad

Algunos

**b. ¿Cuántos viven en el área metropolitana de Sacramento?**

Todos

La mayoría

La mitad

Algunos

**c. En referencia a los miembros de su familia ecuatoriana con los que trabaja, ¿Con qué frecuencia se reúne con ellos fuera del trabajo durante el tiempo libre?**

Cada día

Unos días a la semana

Una vez a la semana

Unos días al mes

Una vez al mes

*Language Attitudes*

**22. ¿En qué idioma le cuesta más trabajo hablar?**

**23. ¿En qué idioma le gusta más hablar ahora?**

**24. Refiriéndose al inglés y al español, ¿hay algún idioma que le parezca más importante?**

**(Si es que sí) ¿Cuál? ¿Por qué?**

**25. ¿Quiere que sus hijos/nietos hablen español? ¿Por qué?**

**26. ¿Cuál es el primer idioma (idioma natal) de su esposa/esposo?**

- Inglés
- Español
- Tanto el inglés como el español
- No estoy casado/casada

**27. ¿Cuál es el primer idioma (idioma natal) de sus hijos?**

- Inglés
- Español
- Tanto el inglés como el español
- No tengo hijos

**28. ¿Qué hace para ayudar a sus hijos a hablar español? Explique. (si tiene hijos)**

**29. ¿Qué hace para ayudar a sus sobrinos a hablar español? Explique. (si tiene sobrinos)**

**30. ¿Qué hace para ayudar a sus nietos a hablar español? Explique. (si tiene nietos)**

**31. Limitándose al último año, indique qué porcentaje (escala de 1 a 100) del tiempo que dedica a las siguientes actividades.**

- Hablar con mis padres en español.
- Hablar español con mis abuelos.
- Hablar español con mis hermanos.
- Cuando veo televisión y/o películas, lo veo en español.
- Cuando escucho música, la escucho en español.
- Asistir a la iglesia en español.
- Hablar español en el trabajo.

- Cuando leo, leo publicaciones españolas (periódicos, libros, revistas).
- Con respecto a mis pensamientos, mis pensamientos están en español este porcentaje del tiempo.
- Contar en español.
- Pasar tiempo con mis amigos ecuatorianos o familia ecuatoriana en mi tiempo libre.

**32. ¿Hay algo que le haya hecho querer usar menos el español? Seleccione todo lo que corresponda.**

- Usted ha sido corregido o le han dicho algunos hablantes nativos del español que su español no es bueno.
- Usted cree que el español es inferior al inglés.
- Algunos ciudadanos en este país han expresado sentimientos negativos hacia el uso del español.
- Se siente más seguro hablando inglés.
- Poco a gusto en español.
- Falta de oportunidades para interactuar con la comunidad de habla hispana que lo rodea.
- Otra razón.

**33. ¿Hay algo que te haya hecho querer usar menos el inglés? Seleccione todas las que correspondan.**

- Ha sido corregido por otros hispanohablantes.
- Cree que el español es inferior al inglés.



- o Algunos ciudadanos de este país han expresado sentimientos negativos hacia el uso del español.
- o Se siente más seguro hablando inglés.
- o Siente que usted tiene un nivel bajo de español.
- o Falta de oportunidades para interactuar con la comunidad de habla hispana que le rodea.
- o Otra razón.

**34. Si me encontrara con una persona que parece ser de ascendencia hispana por primera vez, le hablaría (a ella/él) en español si la persona fuera (seleccione todas las que correspondan)**

- o Mi edad o menos
- o Un niño
- o Mayor que yo
- o Un empleado en una tienda/restaurante
- o Un maestro
- o Alguien en la calle con traje
- o Alguien en la calle usando jeans y una camiseta
- o No les hablaría en español

**35. ¿Hasta qué punto está de acuerdo o en desacuerdo con las siguientes afirmaciones? indique qué porcentaje (escala de 1 a 100)**

- o Me siento cómodo cuando hablo español.
- o Me siento cómodo cuando hablo inglés.
- o El español me hace sentir bien conmigo mismo.

- Hablar español ayuda a las personas a tener éxito en sus carreras.
- Hablar inglés ayuda a las personas a tener éxito en sus carreras.
- Puedo escribir un mensaje de texto en español.
- Puedo escribir un mensaje de texto en inglés.
- Puedo escribir un ensayo en español.
- Puedo escribir un ensayo en inglés.

**36. En cuanto a su capacidad actual como bilingüe, se considera usted:**

- Mucho más fluido en inglés que en español.
- Algo más fluido en inglés.
- Sus habilidades en español y en inglés son básicamente iguales.
- Un poco más fluido en español.
- Mucho más fluido en español que en inglés.

**37. Generalmente, ¿en qué idioma habla con sus padres?**

- Español
- Inglés

**38. Generalmente, ¿en qué idioma habla con sus abuelos?**

- Español
- Inglés

**39. Generalmente, ¿en qué idioma habla con sus hermanos?**

- Español
- Inglés

**40. Generalmente, ¿en qué idioma habla con sus sobrinos?**

- Español

- Inglés

**41. Generalmente, ¿en qué idioma habla con su esposo/esposa?**

- Español
- Inglés

**42. Generalmente, ¿en qué idioma habla con sus hijos?**

- Español
- Inglés

**43. Generalmente, ¿en qué idioma habla con sus nietos?**

- Español
- Inglés