

LANGUAGE USE, LANGUAGE ATTITUDE AND MOBILITY:
THE CASE OF THE RURAL AND THE URBAN OF CORONEL OVIEDO, PARAGUAY

by

KERRY STEINBERG

(Under the Direction of Chad Howe)

ABSTRACT

Studies investigating language use in Paraguay, a country known for its widespread bilingualism, have focused on populations in and around the nation's capital, Asunción. In these studies it has been established that one of, if not the most important, variables determining language use has to do with the geographical, be it rural or urban, location of the speaker and the linguistic situation. This study looks at the language use and language attitudes of 24 Paraguayan speakers living and working in Coronel Oviedo, a city located 132 kilometers from Asuncion, and/or the rural areas surrounding this urban center. A mobility index is created in order to determine if one's geographical mobility and movement between a rural and urban environment has an effect on his/her language use and language attitude.

INDEX WORDS: Paraguayan Bilingualism, Language Attitude, Mobility

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1. Purpose of the Study

For centuries indigenous languages in Latin American societies have been given an inferior status that, in most cases, has led to a language shift, or an increase in the usage of Spanish in traditionally indigenous areas. Paraguay's indigenous language, however, has resisted language shift and caused Paraguay to be known for its enduring and widespread bilingualism. Both the Guaraní and Spanish languages are spoken in nearly all areas of the country, but the different functions of and attitudes towards these two languages are far from equal, creating a complex social stratification of interest to many in the field of sociolinguistics. In previous studies of Paraguayan bilingualism it has been determined that one of the most significant variables determining language use is that of the rural/urban dichotomy. Traditionally Guaraní has been the language spoken in rural environments and Spanish has been the language of the urban areas. The stability of Guaraní has been possible because, culturally and economically, Paraguay has remained a principally rural country.

In recent years, however, Paraguayans have become more mobile and due to urbanization and internal migration the line between the rural and the urban is becoming less and less clear. Most studies have been conducted in the capital city of Asunción, and few, if any, have concentrated on areas of the country's interior where it may be assumed that urban influence is felt to a lesser degree. This study was conducted in the city of Coronel Oviedo and two of its surrounding rural areas, Pindoty and Olegario. Coronel Oviedo is an urban center, one-fifteenth the size of Asunción, where there is frequent contact between the rural and urban economies, cultures and languages. Both Pindoty and Olegario are rural communities, located approximately 5-7 kilometers from Coronel Oviedo, each with a population of approximately 100-200 families (see Appendix 2).

Whereas in the past it may have been easy to classify speakers as pertaining to either the rural or the urban, now many, due to their frequent mobility between the two environments, are not easily defined into one or the other of these classifications. In this study a mobility index is created in order to determine if one's rate of rural/urban mobility has an effect on his language attitude and language use. It is proposed that the more "mobile" a speaker is, and therefore the more linguistic experience he has in both rural and urban settings, the more likely he is to be bilingual and to have a positive attitude towards the Guaraní language. It is also proposed that due to an increase in urbanization, the rate of Guaraní monolingualism is decreasing. Furthermore, although many maintain a positive attitude towards the language, this is not always reflected in one's language use, which is revealed by an intergenerational language shift occurring in both rural and urban areas.

After this introduction and a brief history of the linguistic history of Paraguay, I provide a review of the literature covering studies of Paraguayans' linguistic attitudes and language use as well as a brief overview of studies which have also focused on the issue of mobility as a factor in language change. Next I provide data, collected through a series of sociolinguistic interviews, regarding the language use and language attitude of 24 Paraguayan speakers grouped into six different mobility types. In this study it is confirmed that the rural/urban dichotomy is a principal factor in determining one's language use. The purpose of this study is to analyze the mobility of each speaker in an effort to determine if one's mobility between rural and urban environments has an effect on his/her language use and language attitude.

It is determined that for Guaraní speakers, frequent mobility, urbanization and one's access to modern technologies causes an increase in the use of Spanish and a decrease in Guaraní monolingualism. Frequent mobility between the rural and the urban is not shown, however, to have a clear effect on one's language attitude. Although it is determined that those Guaraní speakers who have spent a significant and continuous period of time (at least 2 years) in an urban environment demonstrate the most positive attitude towards the Guaraní language, discrepancies between language use and language attitude are found and there is evidence of intergenerational language shift in both urban and rural environments. As

Paraguay's cultural and economic landscape becomes increasingly urban, we may conclude that Paraguay's linguistic may also follow this trend.

2. History of Paraguayan Bilingualism

The circumstances of Paraguay's history have allowed the Guaraní language to resist extensive loss or extinction and to become a part of the country's mainstream linguistic culture. In comparison to other Latin American countries, where there is a marked cultural and linguistic division between speakers of indigenous languages and speakers of Spanish, Paraguay has gained a reputation as a bilingual, mono-cultural nation (Choi 2005: 236). While in other parts of Latin America, indigenous populations were dominated politically, socially, and linguistically by their European colonizers, Paraguay's history represents more of a union between the two peoples. Various factors contributed to the unification of the Guaraní natives and their colonizers including the absence of European women, Paraguay's geographical isolation from areas in contact with Spain, and its lack of gold and other attractive resources. Quickly, through intermarriage of the European men and the Guaraní women, a racial and linguistic mixture was created. Raised by their Guaraní-speaking mothers, the children of these unions grew up in an environment that preserved both the Guaraní culture and its language (Choi 2005: 235).

At the time of the colonization of Paraguay, Guaraní had no formal writing system. In 1587, shortly after the colonies were founded, the Jesuit missionaries traveled their way into the country, organizing the Guaraní tribes into religious cooperatives, or *reducciones*. In these *reducciones* the use of Guaraní was encouraged and seen as an effective tool in spreading the Christian faith. Father Montoya was the first to use Spanish orthography to systemize the Guaraní language in his two published works: *Tesoro de la Lengua Guaraní* and *Arte y Vocabulario de la Lengua Guaraní*. For the next one hundred years Guaraní in its written form was seen only in religious texts, catechisms, and sermons (Engelbrecht and Ortiz 1983: 6).

Paraguay's various governmental leaders also had an affect on its country's language usage. The first president, José Gaspar Rodríguez de Francia (1814-1840), cut off all relations and exchanges with

other countries, leaving Paraguay in political, social, and linguistic isolation. This dictator's policies discouraged all things foreign, weakening the usage of Spanish and therefore fortifying the use of Guaraní. The next dictator, Carlos Antonio López, felt differently and implemented educational programs promoting the Spanish language. However, soon after his reign, during the devastating War of the Triple Alliance (1865-1870), 90% of the country's male population and the majority of its Spanish speakers were killed. It was during this war and the Chaco War of the 1930s that Guaraní was allowed not only to continue as an actively used language but also to strengthen its status as a national symbol.

The stability and uniformity of Paraguay's bilingualism, however, may be disputed. Although, according to the 2002 census, 52.6% of Paraguayan households are bilingual, the linguistic experiences of each Paraguayan bilingual may be considerably different. Studies have shown that Paraguayans' language use greatly depends on their economic and educational status, as well as the particular social setting at hand. The different functions of and attitudes towards these two languages are far from equal, creating a complex social stratification of interest to many in the field of sociolinguistics. Historically and traditionally these languages are on opposite sides of a multifaceted dichotomy contrasting the urban from the rural, the wealthy from the poor, the written from the oral, and the prestigious from the everyday. Up until recently it was the standard belief that "Guaraní is a barrier to social progress, typical of rural usage among undereducated people" (Solé 1996: 106). While this view is still held by many, recent language policy changes have caused a shift in attitudes towards the Guaraní language, its value and functionality in Paraguayan life, and the need for linguistic preservation planning.

After centuries, Paraguay made its first change in the treatment of Guaraní by finally recognizing it as a national language in the Constitution in 1967. While Spanish had always been the exclusive language in schools, an educational reform act was then passed in 1973 recognizing that bilingual education programs in rural areas were necessary for Guaraní monolingual students. This program outlined its educational goals as teaching literacy in Spanish using the oral language of Guaraní when necessary. In her article "Guaraní Literacy in Paraguay," Engelbrecht and Ortiz describe the problem with this method:

“since literacy is not developed in Guaraní, critics charge that the main purpose of the bilingual program is actually to teach Spanish better, and in effect, to more quickly and effectively Hispanicize the monolingual Guaraní child. Furthermore, the attention Guaraní receives is only symbolic and cosmetic, since no full development of Guaraní is intended by the program” (1983: 88).

Although this first program was unsuccessful it brought about the bilingual education movement which eventually led to the *Plan Renovado* of 1994, stating that instruction in both Spanish and Guaraní would be required in all areas of the country, setting a goal for proficiency and literacy in both languages. This plan was instated in response to the decision in 1992 to finally declare Guaraní as having an “official” status equal to that of Spanish.

The sudden introduction of Guaraní, a language with little tradition of literary or technical use, into the academic arena presented many challenges. Nancy H. Hornsberger in her observations after a meeting in 2001 with the Curriculum team at the Ministry of Education and Culture of Paraguay noted that the “complexity of issues needing to be addressed are staggering” (2006: 286) Among these issues she lists “a lack of bilingual teacher preparation, inadequate language teaching methodology, a lack of consensus on which variety of Guaraní to use in schools, and negative attitudes towards the use of Guaraní in schools from some parents and communities” (2006: 287). Jinny K. Choi in her study “Language Attitudes and the Future of Bilingualism : The Case of Paraguay” states that “the greatest challenge for educators is written Guaraní...the standardization of the spelling system and familiarization with the written form of the language constitute a great obstacle to both the learning and teaching of Guaraní” (2003: 84).

This standardization has lead to the development of an academic, or “pure,” Guaraní different from the Guaraní that is spoken by the everyday Paraguayan. Several participants of the present study made the distinction between the academic variety of the language, which many termed *Guaraní-Guaraní*, and the Guaraní spoken by themselves and their neighbors, which they term *jopara*. The term

jopara, literally meaning “mixture” in Guaraní, refers to spoken Guaraní – that which expresses the lexical, semantic, discursive and phonetic influence from Spanish. Paraguayan Spanish and Guaraní have without a doubt greatly influenced each other over centuries of contact and this contact has generated many effects on the structure and sound systems of these two languages, a topic of interest to many linguists.

Many other linguists have focused instead on the sociolinguistic results of the prolonged contact between the Spanish and Guaraní languages in Paraguay. The lasting presence of these two languages has created a unique culture in which language use and language choice can be a reflection of not only the linguistic situation at hand, but also of the individual characteristics of the speaker – including his socioeconomic status, level of nationalistic pride and identity, geographic residency and level of education. This unique sociolinguistic situation began to interest the linguistic community during the 1950s and interest increased after Joan Rubin’s 1968 study. Studies on language use, language policies and linguistic attitudes in Paraguay have continued up until the present day.

CHAPTER TWO

PREVIOUS STUDIES

1. Rubin and other studies

In the 1950s, a few members of the linguistic community began to take notice of the uniqueness of Paraguay's bilingualism. Since then, the overall stability of Paraguay's indigenous language, the sociolinguistic variables determining language use and the linguistic attitudes of the Paraguayan people have been the focus of many studies over the past 60 years. During these 60 years, however, a great many changes have occurred, politically, culturally and linguistically, which have caused linguists to revise their focus. At first these linguists took a descriptive approach, concentrating on the variables determining language use and language attitude in a mostly bilingual country. Later, due to several changes in the treatment of the Guaraní language, studies were focused on the effects of these policy changes on language use and attitude. More recently, however, due to the effects of globalization and modern economic development, studies have begun to focus on the future of the Guaraní language.

Although a few articles were published in the 1950s and 1960s, the first major work discussing Paraguay's linguistic situation was Joan Rubin's 1968 publication, "National Bilingualism in Paraguay." In this study, Rubin surveyed language use in the semi-urban town of Luque, 16 kilometers from Asunción, and in Itapuami, a rural community 8 kilometers from Luque. She created a framework of analysis in which Paraguay's bilingualism is examined by linking the linguistic characteristics of language use and language attitude. Nearly all subsequent studies of Paraguay's linguistic situation have followed a similar framework.

In analyzing the people's language attitudes through the use of questionnaires and interviews, Rubin found that the average bilingual Paraguayan valued Spanish as the language of prestige used in education, government and foreign affairs and rarely exhibited a negative attitude toward the language. These same individuals, however, exhibited ambivalent feelings toward the Guaraní language, viewing it

with a combination of negative and positive attitudes. While seen as the language of intimacy and a symbol of national pride, many Paraguayans also felt that Guaraní “entorpece la lengua” (dulls the tongue) inhibiting the use of correct Spanish (1968: 64). Many monolingual Spanish speakers tended to think that the Guaraní language was of little cultural or economic value and that non-Spanish speaking Paraguayans were even less intelligent.

Rubin was also the first to define the rural/urban dichotomy as an important social variable affecting language use in Paraguay. She argued that “the rural-urban contrast is extremely relevant in first language acquisition and proficiency” (1968: 81). 91% of Rubin’s sample population in the urban area of Luque was defined as bilingual, whereas only 47.5% of the residents of the rural area, Itapuami, were considered bilingual. Although it was found that Guaraní was the first language learned by both those in the rural and urban areas, it was determined that bilingual proficiency was higher in Luque. She identifies the social factors determining language choice within this bilingual situation to include: the location, formality and seriousness of the linguistic situation and the level of intimacy and sex of the individuals engaging in the discourse. She determines that there are three situations in which language use can be predicted: Guaraní in rural settings, Spanish in formal, public interactions and Spanish in the schools. In all other situations considerable free variation in the choice of language was found.

Rubin also discusses the stability of Paraguay’s bilingualism during its socio-linguistic history. She finds that during the past 300 years, Paraguay has demonstrated “a relative equilibrium in the relationship between Spanish and Guaraní” (86). During the time of her study, however, she finds evidence for an increase in bilingualism and a decrease in Guaraní monolingualism. Rubin hypothesizes that the equilibrium between the two languages will remain as long as the distribution of language usage is “both mutually exclusive in certain situations and in free variation in others” (112).

Since Rubin’s study several others have concentrated on the issue of language attitudes in Paraguay. While Rubin insisted that feelings of pride and loyalty are associated exclusively with the Guaraní language, De Granda finds that “la lealtad lingüística hacia el español existe en el paraguay con vigor semejante,” (1981: 10) especially when contrasted with Argentinean Spanish. Rubin found that

Guaraní “has associated with it strong attitudes of language loyalty and pride as well as attitudes of rejection,” something that “causes great ambivalence on the part of the bilingual speaker” (68). De Granda, however, claims that due to changes in the political and socio-cultural climate, “es extremadamente raro oír, en el Paraguay actual, juicios negativos respecto al guaraní” (1981:11). Gynan, later states that De Granda misinterpreted Rubin’s conclusions and that even later, in 1998, there is clear evidence for such ambivalence. The participants in Gynan’s study “see Guaraní as being in their blood and a sweet language, but... they strongly disagree that Guaraní is needed to progress economically” (1998: 47).

De Granda also discusses the issue of Paraguayans’ linguistic insecurity caused by the interference and convergence of the two linguistic systems. De Granda affirms that “como resultado del largo e intenso contacto entre guaraní y español en territorio paraguayo, ambos sistemas lingüísticos se han interferido mutuamente de modo profundo” (1981: 15). He argues that the majority of Paraguayans stigmatize the features of their own language use, in both Spanish and Guaraní, as less pure than other varieties. In Guaraní, the “pure” form would be that of either the rural speakers from older generations or of the written, academic variety. The Spanish of Argentina or Columbia is seen as more “pure” than the Spanish spoken in Paraguay (1981: 16). Gynan offers a different perspective saying that “a significant majority disagrees with the idea that the languages influence each other negatively” (1998: 49). He does, however, mention a small group of language “purists,” mostly those that are concerned with issues of language policy, planning and standardization, who promote the use of an academic version of Guaraní cleansed of all Spanish influence (1998: 49).

The relatively recent debates involving language policies and Guaraní standardization have had an important and measurable effect on Paraguayans’ language attitudes. As Choi points out “the last three decades of the 20th century have been the most crucial period in the history of the Guaraní language” (2005: 237). Since the proposed *Plan de Enseñanza Media* of 1971 up until the implemented *Plan Nacional de Educación Bilingüe de Mantenimiento* of 1992, the status of the Guaraní language has undergone significant changes. Before Guaraní literacy programs it was thought that “intellectual

achievement was measured by proficiency and fluency in Spanish” (Choi 2005: 237) and that Guaraní speakers were “less intelligent, less eloquent, less grammatically correct, and less self-assured than a Spanish speaker” (Solé 1996: 104). While there are some who would still agree with these statements, countless Paraguayans have changed their views on the importance of Guaraní’s future as an academic, intellectual, and literary language.

2. Three defined language attitude views

In Engelbrecht and Ortiz’s study on Paraguayans attitudes towards Guaraní literacy they divide Paraguayan nationals into three groups, each with their own idea of the importance of Guaraní in their everyday lives and its future as a productive and valuable language. These views are defined as the Nationalist view, the Traditionalist-functionalist view, and the Hispanicist view (1983: 85). The first attitude highlighted is that of the “purists” mentioned by Gynan. Engelbrecht and Ortiz refer to this attitude as the Nationalist view. The archetypal Nationalist is defined as an urban resident with a very high level of education who is intent on preserving the Guaraní language “as a national treasure and as a cultural possession that is uniquely Paraguayan” (1983:85). In her study of language and nationalism in Paraguay, Solé discovers that this view is rare since “few [people] are actively language-maintenance oriented” and only three out of her twenty informants thought Guaraní should be “used, defended and promoted” (1996:104). The activists who form a part of this relatively small group vigorously campaign for more governmental and educational assistance in the movement to support Guaraní literacy and education. They focus less on Guaraní in its communicative role and tend to concentrate more on the language’s past as a national tradition as well as its academic and literary potential.

The nationalists argue for a “pure” Guaraní, something that after centuries of contact with the Spanish language no longer exists. Choi describes this view as an aspiration to “conservar la ‘lengua pura’ sin ningún tipo de ‘españolismo’ o intervención ‘agringada’” (Choi 2004: 253). This “pure” form is unrepresentative of the linguistic reality in which “la influencia del español sobre el guaraní no se ha limitado al mayor o menor número de palabras que le dio en préstamo sino que ha invadido también la morfología y la sintaxis” (Morínigo 1931: 51). In reality, there are few “pure” Guaraní speakers, as the

majority of the country speaks “jopará” or “a continuum of Hispanized Guaraní, embodying a wide range of fluency in each language and Spanish penetration of Guaraní” (Lipski 1994: 311) Due to centuries of language contact, there are multiple Paraguayan “languages”: Spanish influenced by Guaraní, Guaraní influenced by Spanish, and any number of realizations on a continuum between the two.

Historically Paraguay has represented a diglossia where Spanish has been the language of high prestige and Guaraní the language of low prestige. The Nationalists argue for the creation of an “academic” Guaraní “which is as uncommon as the more elevated forms of Spanish” (Saguier 1987: 33). The new academic form of the low prestige language creates a third tier in the sociolinguistic hierarchy which is awarded a higher prestige than the language it is trying to represent. Accessibility to the written, academic form is also an issue since “the language continues to be overwhelmingly oral, spoken by people with generally low educational levels and little tradition of reading” (Ceaser 2002: 32).

On the opposite end of the spectrum is the Hispanicist, an urban Spanish monolingual who retains the view that Guaraní has no real cultural or social value and is “an impediment to individual and national development” (1983: 86). The Hispanicist is a minority in a country where the majority are bilinguals who value both languages. In her study, Solé confirms that this group is also small; only four out of every one hundred Paraguayans she surveyed reacted negatively to the language. Those that reacted this way view Guaraní as “a language on the way to extinction because it is crude, bothersome, vulgar, and without any intrinsic beauty” (1996: 104).

The typical Hispanicist sends her children to private schools where the languages of instruction other than Spanish are English, German, or other international languages. Those whose children attend public schools may feel resentment toward the newly implemented Spanish-Guaraní bilingual education programs, “produc[ing] a backlash against a language some feel is forced upon them” (Ceaser 2002: 4). They view the role of the school as “one promoting Spanish and hispanization in general” (Engelbrecht and Ortiz 1983: 87) and they do not see the value in the development of Guaraní literacy.

Although denying its value, many of these Paraguayans understand and have a working knowledge of Guaraní but may deny their ability to speak the language. While denying their ability to

speak and understand Guaraní, the Hispanicist may also deny the influence it has had on the Spanish spoken in their country. According to Lipski's synopsis of the Spanish of Paraguay, "that Guaraní profoundly influenced the Paraguayan lexicon is beyond question, and long-lasting bilingualism has more subtly shaped the Paraguayan linguistic profile for centuries" (1994: 306). He also describes these Spanish monolinguals as "expatriate Paraguayan professionals [that] rarely if ever exhibit the features of Paraguayan Spanish, and may even deny their existence" (1994: 310).

The last view mentioned by Engelbrecht and Ortiz represents a segment of the Paraguayan population much larger than that of either the Nationalist or the Hispanicist. This view, the traditionalist-functional, represents those that use Guaraní in their everyday lives to communicate with their family, friends, and neighbors. These speakers learn Guaraní in the home, not at school, and continue to speak the language for habitual and pragmatic reasons, rather than ideological ones (1983: 86). The largest representation of this group is found in rural areas of the country where access to education and literary or news materials is limited. These Guaraní speakers have exposure to Spanish through radio, television, and an increasing contact with urban centers, therefore influencing their speech and expanding the influence of Spanish in their everyday communications. Although many of these speakers are somewhat orally proficient in Spanish, they do not learn to read or write the language until entering the educational system. Since 1992, along with the study of Spanish, they have been exposed to a new form of their spoken language, that of the aforementioned "academic," or written Guaraní previously untaught and unknown to their parents (Engelbrecht and Ortiz 1983: 85-86).

The implementation of The New Educational Reform of 1992, which mandated the instruction of both languages in all Paraguayan public schools, allowed Guaraní to enter the academic arena officially for the first time. In Gyman's 2005 study, he finds that this change in language policy caused a drastic shift in language use and language attitudes. He surveys education professionals and parents in Asunción in both 1995, just as bilingual education programs were being piloted, and in 2001, after six years of participating in the program. He concludes that whereas in 1995 32.1% of bilingual couples were using nothing but Spanish with their children, in 2001 only 5% speak to their children solely in Spanish. It

appears that after the implementation of bilingual education programs, “the pattern of intergenerational language transmission appears to have been substantially altered” (2005: 35). Gynan finds that this change can be attributed to a change in attitude toward the Guaraní language. Whereas before Guaraní was often seen as the language of the uneducated, rural population and a barrier to social progress, with the educational reform “the stigma of Guaraní has certainly not been erased, but public use of the language and a pride that had been much more sublimated earlier, have risen” (2005: 36).

Other studies confirm a shift in language attitude, but an inconsistency with language use in younger populations. In Choi’s 2003 study, she compares the attitudes of students of public and private schools in Asunción and finds that these students demonstrate a positive attitude toward the Guaraní language, but that this attitude is not reflected in their linguistic behavior. Whereas 85.6% of public school respondents and 72.4% of private school respondents indicated a positive attitude toward learning Guaraní in school, 0% of the private school students and only 1.5% of the students in the public sector indicated that they express themselves better in Guaraní. In 2005, Choi repeated Rubin’s survey in the town of Luque and also found a general decline in Guaraní monolingualism and an increase in the use of Spanish (2005: 245).

3. Effects of Migration

In the recent past there has been an increase in rural-to-urban migration and along with it, an increase in Guaraní speakers in urban areas. According to Choi, both this population shift and the implementation of bilingual education programs has caused a “decrease in the monolingual use of Spanish and, at the same time, [an] increase in the use of both languages... indicating a language shift from Spanish to Spanish-Guaraní bilingualism in urban areas” (2005: 183). She also determined that “modernization and foreign influence continue to flourish and with these sociocultural advances, language change will be more inclined toward the extended use of Spanish and an increase in its domains” (2005: 245).

Previous studies have found that rural-to-urban migration has an important effect on language attitudes and usage. In Polomé’s study in Tanzania it was found that one’s access to urban areas creates

an increase in the use of multiple languages and a shift in attitude toward one's native language (1982). In Soylemez's study on language shift in Turkey dialectal variation was argued to be a result of geographical rural-to-urban mobility. Other studies examine the role of technology as a factor in urban-to-rural migration. In Vail's study examining the relationship between the Thai and Northern Khmer languages he finds that:

“massive infrastructural changes have fundamentally transformed rural life. Better roads and cheaper transportation have brought villagers to the cities; electricity, spurring the influx of Thai mass media (especially television – what Krauss [1992] calls “cultural nerve gas”) has brought the cities to the village” (2006: 141).

These changes have caused a shift away from Khmer towards the Thai language.

In nearly all studies on Paraguayan bilingualism the rural/urban dichotomy is noted as one of the, if not the single, most important factors determining language use. Solé describes how this dichotomy also influences language attitudes. She states that:

“Spanish is valued by everyone, particularly rural-origin individuals, who seek to emulate the urban Spanish speaker; Guaraní is valued by Guaraní speakers, who justifiably remain identified with their language, and by Spanish-speakers, who remain economically tied to the land” (1995: 134).

Recently, however, due to modernization, urban economic dependency on agriculture has decreased and younger generations from rural areas are seeking employment in urban areas. Urbanization, the geographical mobility of the individual and an increase in technology in rural areas have caused the line between the rural and the urban to become less clearly defined.

In Barbara Johnstone's recent study of the effects of globalization, urbanization and geographical mobility on language use, she determines that this modern transformation “both erases objectively visible linguistic difference via leveling and dialect loss and creates ideological difference among imagined language varieties via increased attention to variation” (2009: 10) She discusses the situation in Pittsburgh, where before the 1960s regional speech forms could be correlated with social class and

localness and “many sounded like working-class Pittsburghers because they had no other way to sound” (20). These working-class families lived in insular communities that gave them “little opportunity to become aware that they spoke differently from people elsewhere, that some people would consider the way they talked nonstandard, or that the use of nonstandard features varied with socioeconomic class” (21). With urbanization and an increase in geographical mobility during World War II, these Pittsburghers “began to develop class and regional consciousness” (23). Through an increased access to technology and the media, this consciousness was heightened. For example, Johnstone argues that these speaker’s awareness of their own dialect was “enhanced by the increased speed with which popular culture circulated on television” (23).

During the 1970s and 1980s this increased familiarity with other regional dialects through geographical mobility and technology led to dialect leveling. Over the next several decades the working-class dialect, or “Pittsburghese,” became less common. At the same time, as an effect of increased geographical homogeneity, speakers began to demonstrate “self-conscious performances of ‘Pittsburghese’” as a way to reclaim local identity. This pattern of linguistic behavior is also seen in Paraguay where, due to an increase in geographical mobility, a leveling of Spanish and Guaraní, in this case signifying an increase in bilingualism, has occurred. An increase in the use of Spanish and a decrease in Guaraní monolingualism is, in part, due to the common attitude that, in the face of globalization, Guaraní is of less functional, economic and social importance. Alongside this leveling, however, is an increase in Paraguayan’s attempts to reclaim their national identity, which can be observed in Paraguayans’ attitude of pride and loyalty towards the Guaraní language.

4. The present study

The present study, analyzing Paraguayan’s responses to questions regarding language use and language attitude, confirms the rural-urban dichotomy first proposed by Rubin in 1968. Also, in order to classify these speakers’ language attitudes toward the Guaraní language, a system based on Engelbrecht and Ortiz’s categorizations is used. In Engelbrecht and Ortiz’s study, however, language attitude is directly linked to language use. One with a Nationalist view is always described as an educated, urban

bilingual. Hispanicists are urban Spanish monolinguals and Traditionalist-Functionalists are Guaraní speakers mostly from rural areas. In the current study the definitions of these classifications are redefined so as to allow language attitude and language use to function as independent variables. It is determined that Engelbrecht and Ortiz's system is inadequate and that language use and language attitude are rarely linked.

A mobility index is also proposed in order to examine Choi's claim that those speakers with more access to urban areas and technologies are more likely to broaden their usage of the Spanish language. As a comparison we have also tested the effects on language use by urban-to-rural mobility (those living in urban areas but working in rural communities) in order to determine if this opposite movement has an effect on language use and attitude. The results of this study verify that the broader one's exposure to both rural and urban environments, the more likely he is to develop Spanish-Guaraní bilingualism and a more positive attitude towards the Guaraní language.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

1. Interview Design

The current study is based on a series of questionnaires conducted in an interview format and recorded in Paraguay during July and August of 2009. The purpose of the interview was to generate responses to a variety of questions regarding the speaker's attitude towards the Guaraní language as well as to determine the circumstances of the speaker's language use. Each speaker was also classified according to his/her rate of mobility. This data was used in order to examine the effects of mobility between rural and urban environments on language use and language attitude. Some sample questions from the interview protocol are listed below. Table 1 represents those questions regarding language use. Table 2 lists four questions representative of those regarding language attitude. For the complete list of interview questions see Appendix 1.

TABLE 1: Questions regarding Language Use

In what language do you...?	Guaraní	Spanish	Guaraní and Spanish	n/a
Speak with your family?				
Speak with your friends?				
Speak with your children?				
Prefer to tell stories or jokes?				
Speak at church/religious meetings?				
Speak at the market/store?				
Speak with local officials?				
Speak at the medical clinic?				
Speak at school/with child's teachers?				

TABLE 2: Questions regarding Language Attitude

1. In your opinion, how are people who speak Guaraní perceived in Paraguayan society?
2. How do you feel about people who only speak Guaraní?
3. Do you think Guaraní speakers should learn to read and write in Guaraní?
4. What do you think would happen if Guaraní disappeared?

The role of the investigator was to guide the interview so that the participant was able to respond freely. The questionnaire included questions regarding where, when, and with whom the participant speaks each language in question, Spanish and Guaraní. Also included were questions concerning demographic information (age, gender, level of education completed, current residency, etc.) The independent variables of gender, education, and age may be relevant determiners of language use and attitude which shall be discussed in the results section of this work. I will not be considering these factors in detail, however, since I am looking at rural versus urban residency and one's geographic mobility between these two environments as primary indicators of language use and language attitude.

Those participants interviewed in rural areas were selected from one of two sites. First, five participants were interviewed at the Colegio de Olegario, a secondary school in a small rural community located approximately 8 kilometers from Coronel Oviedo. Two of these participants were administrative assistants at the school, one was a Geography and History teacher, one was a Guaraní language teacher, and the last was the Director of the school. The children attending the Colegio de Olegario are residents of several surrounding rural communities, some of which travel several kilometers in order to receive a secondary education. The classes are mostly conducted in Spanish, with the exception of Guaraní language class. Outside of class, however, during recreational time and during community parent meetings, Guaraní is the primary language spoken.

The other rural site is that of Pindoty, another small, rural community located approximately six kilometers from Coronel Oviedo. The residents of Pindoty, ten of whom were interviewed for this study, are representative of those in most rural areas outside of Coronel Oviedo. The houses are one-roomed structures made of wood with either straw or tin roofs, there is no running water, and most families cook

over an open fire. Although most Pindoty residents understand and speak some Spanish, Guaraní is the first language learned and the language spoken in the home. Most children in Pindoty first begin to learn Spanish at primary school, the closest of which is located in a neighboring community. Most families in Pindoty survive from agricultural production.

2. Participants

A total of 24 participants were surveyed. The participants of this study are mostly female. Of the 24 speakers, 17 are female and 7 are male. The median age of the participants was 31. Table 3 shows detailed age ranges for those surveyed. Also, the participants were asked which language, Spanish or Guaraní, they learned first. 79% of the total participants claimed Guaraní as their first language whereas only 21% claimed Spanish as their first language.

TABLE 3: Age Range of Participants

AGE RANGE	# of Participants
< 20	2
20-29	8
30-39	8
40-49	5
>50	1

The majority of the participants had received either a university education or some sort of post-secondary technical training. The distribution of these variables is not representative of Paraguay's national education statistics in which the average level of education is significantly lower. This is due primarily to the selection of specific survey sites, many of which were either schools, educational programs or governmental agencies in which the employees are required to have a certain level of education. Table 4 shows the level of education of the participants.

TABLE 4: Education of Participants

EDUCATION	# of Participants
Not finished primary	6

Some secondary	4
Some university	14

The professions of the participants varied as well although the majority of rural residents are farmers and/or homemakers and the majority of urban residents, again due to interview site selection, are teachers or education professionals. Table 5 shows the distribution of the speakers' professions.

TABLE 5: Professions of Participants

PROFESSION	# of Participants
Teacher/Education Professional	7
Agriculture Extensionist	2
Lawyer	1
Farmer and/or Housewife	9
Student	2
Hotel Restaurant Manager	1
Journalist	1
Municipality/government worker	1

These interviews were conducted in and around the area of Coronel Oviedo, a city located 132 kilometers from the capital city of Asunción (see Appendix 2). This site was selected precisely because of its distance from the capital and its size. Most sociolinguistic studies in Paraguay have been conducted in Asunción or its surrounding areas. Coronel Oviedo represents a smaller, less industrialized urban city which serves as a center for its many surrounding rural communities. According to the 2002 census, Coronel Oviedo has a population total of 85,500, compared with 1,300,000 people in Asunción. Of Oviedo's total population, 37,400 live in rural areas and 48,100 are urban residents. Of the 24 participants in this study, 12 are residents of rural areas and 12 are residents of the urban center of Coronel Oviedo. The variable of rural/urban residency, the principal variable for this study, is evenly stratified.

Those interviewed in the urban center of Coronel Oviedo were interviewed at one of four locations. First, the lawyer was interviewed in her home. The two agricultural extensionists were interviewed at their place of employment: the office of the *Dirección de Extensión Agraria*. This is an office of the *Ministerio de Agricultura y Ganadería*, a Paraguayan governmental institution which serves to further develop Paraguay's rural areas through agricultural education. Two teachers and one student

volunteer were interviewed at a local NGO's after-school tutoring program. The journalist was interviewed at a local radio station and the hotel restaurant manager was interviewed at her place of employment.

All of the staff interviewed at the *Colegio de Olegario* received a university education or technical degree in Coronel Oviedo. Two of these professionals, however, were raised and currently live in rural communities. The other three staff members live in the urban center of Coronel Oviedo and commute to work five days per week. The majority of the residents of Pindoty, the other rural site, have lived there all their lives. Some travel to Coronel Oviedo two to five times per week to sell their products at the market or to attend a secondary school. Most, however, rarely leave their community.

3. Mobility

These sites were selected either because of their location in either a rural or urban area or because of the mobility of their inhabitants. A “mobile” individual, for the purposes of this study, may be defined as one who travels frequently between his/her place of residence (be it rural or urban) and his/her place of work (a geographic environment, again rural or urban, different from the individual's residency). Many teachers, agricultural engineers, journalists and some governmental employees, while living in an urban area, may travel to rural areas for work. Many farmers living in Pindoty and other rural areas travel frequently to Coronel Oviedo in order to sell their products at the local market or to conduct church related or other types of business. Defined as “semi-mobile” individuals, for the purposes of this study, are those that while living and working in one environment, either rural or urban, have spent significant and continuous periods of time in the past (at least 2 years) living in the opposite environment. The prediction of this study is that the more frequently an individual moves between the rural and the urban environment or the more time he/she has spent in the environment opposite from their current residency, the more likely he/she is to demonstrate a tendency towards bilingualism as well as a more positive attitude towards both Spanish and Guaraní.

A mobility index of 6 types, which will be described extensively in the data analysis chapter of this study, was created in order to classify the “mobility” of each participant. Type 1 (Rural-Rural)

includes those that have always lived in a rural area and who leave that area infrequently. Type 2 (Rural-Urban^A) includes those that grew up in a rural environment, presently live and work in a rural environment but have lived for at least 3 years in Oviedo in the past for his/her education or work. Type 3 (Rural-Urban^B) includes those living in a rural area and but who travel frequently to Coronel Oviedo for work, education, or other purposes. Type 4 (Urban-Rural^A) includes those who grew up in a rural environment but have since re-located to Oviedo and have lived there for at least 3 years. All Type 4 speakers also presently work outside of the urban environment. Type 5 (Urban-Rural^B) includes those that grew up in Oviedo or another urban environment and although they have never lived in a rural area they have some experience with rural communities for work, education, or other purposes. Type 6 (Urban-Urban) includes those that live and work in Oviedo. Type 6 speakers have very little experience with rural areas and/or the people from those areas. This study hypothesizes that these various mobility types will demonstrate differences in language attitude and therefore in language use.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA AND ANALYSIS

In this analysis I consider each speaker's daily geographic rural/urban movement as the principal factor in determining his/her rate of mobility. Through qualitative analysis I was also able to group each speaker into one of three attitudes based on the classifications specified by Engelbrecht and Ortiz (1983). This classification is cross-examined with the individual's mobility status so as to determine if mobility has an effect on language usage and attitude. It is determined that more mobile individuals demonstrate a tendency away from Guaraní monolingualism and toward Spanish-Guaraní bilingualism but that their language attitude is not always reflected in their language use.

1. Mobility

In Milroy and Gordon's discussion of sociolinguistic methods and interpretation it is mentioned that mobility, "especially in fast-developing modern cities with a high migrant population," may create problems for the analyst who hopes to study the "interaction between the variables of status, class and ethnicity" (2006: 45). When a speaker becomes more geographically mobile, he may also experience a level of social mobility which may have an effect on his language use. The current study analyzes the geographic mobility of 24 Paraguayan speakers in order to determine if their level of mobility affects their social mobility and language use. For the purposes of this study a "mobile" individual is one that travels between a rural and urban environment on a frequent and regular basis. In this analysis "frequent and regular" is defined as more than once per week. Also considered as part of our definition of "mobile" are those that, while living and working in either a rural or urban environment, may have frequent and regular contact with populations from the opposite environment. Considered "semi-mobile" are those individuals that while spending the large majority of their life in either a rural or urban environment may have at some point temporarily (for 2-4 years) lived in the opposite environment. "Non-mobile" individuals are

those that live and work in a certain environment and have never had frequent or regular contact with speakers from the opposite environment. Using the mobility index described in the previous chapter I was able to classify each of the 24 participants into one of 6 types.

Type 1 speakers are farmers and homemakers living and working in the Pindoty community. Four of the five Type 1 speakers were born and raised in this community and have never lived anywhere else. One was born and raised in a nearby rural community and moved to Pindoty with her husband when she was married, one year before the interview, at the age of 16. Three of the five speakers are female homemakers and rarely leave the Pindoty community. Due to the fact that these female homemakers are commonly responsible for the cooking and the cleaning as well as the animal husbandry and much of the farm work, they have limited time to travel to Coronel Oviedo. The other two speakers are male and travel more frequently. Speaker 1A works in a brick factory in another rural area and travels by motorcycle for 40 minutes each way six days per week. He rarely visits Coronel Oviedo, however, and therefore is not considered a “mobile” individual for the purposes of this study. Speaker 1E is the principle farmer in his family and although he travels to a church in Coronel Oviedo several times per month, he is also considered a “non-mobile” individual since his rural-urban travel is neither frequent nor regular.

Type 2 speakers were also born and raised in a rural area, presently live in a rural area, and travel infrequently to Coronel Oviedo. These speakers, however, at some point in their life, spent a significant amount of time (two years or more) living in an urban environment and are therefore considered “semi-mobile” for the purposes of this study. Speaker 2A, for example, was born and raised in a rural area but spent three years in Coronel Oviedo studying at the *Instituto de Formación Docente*. She received a teaching certificate but was never able to find employment. She moved back to Pindoty, started a family, and now works as a homemaker. Speaker 2B lived most of his life in Pindoty but spent two years in Ciudad del Este, the second largest city in Paraguay, living with his sister, attending high school and working in a small store. He has since moved back to Pindoty. Both Speakers 2C and 2D were born and raised in rural areas around Olegario but spent approximately 3 years attending higher education

institutions in Coronel Oviedo. Both these participants have since moved back to Olegario and work in the local school.

Type 3 speakers are those “mobile” individuals that live in a rural area but travel frequently to Coronel Oviedo for education, work or other purposes. Speaker 3A is 14 years old and travels to attend a high school in Coronel Oviedo five times per week. Speaker 3B is a homemaker and farmer who travels 5 mornings per week by bicycle to Coronel Oviedo to sell the herbs she grows in her garden. Speaker 3C travels frequently (2-3 times per week) to teach bible study and to attend meetings at her church in Coronel Oviedo. This speaker has also had frequent and regular contact with American Peace Corps volunteers, working as their local community contact, for the past six years. She explains that this contact has greatly influenced her language use.

Type 4 speakers represent the increasing trend towards rural-to-urban migration that has occurred over the past several decades. Gynan confirms that internal migration is a factor in the “changes in relative language populations” in Paraguay and that “the basic pattern of migration is movement of the rural population to urban areas in search of employment” (1998: 262). These Type 4 speakers were all born and raised in rural communities but have since re-located to Coronel Oviedo and have lived there for at least 10 years. All of these speakers are considered “mobile” since they all either work in a rural community or have frequent and regular contact with rural populations. Speakers 4A and 4B work at the school in Olegario. Speakers 4C and 4D work for an after-school tutoring program at a local community center, which, although located within Coronel Oviedo city limits, serves families that live in public housing developments recently constructed for underprivileged families from rural areas. Speaker 4E is an agricultural technician who works at the *Dirección de Extensión Agraria* office in Coronel Oviedo and whose job requires frequent travel to rural areas.

Type 5 speakers differ from Type 4 speakers in that they were born and raised in the urban environment of Coronel Oviedo and have never lived in a rural community. Type 5 speakers are also considered “mobile,” however, because of their frequent travel to rural areas for work purposes. Speaker 5A also works in the *Dirección de Extensión Agraria* office and she travels frequently to rural

communities to work with women's groups and to promote health and sanitation. Speaker 5B works as a teacher at the school in Olegario. Speaker 5C is an employee of the Coronel Oviedo municipality. His job also frequently takes him to rural areas where he works with community leaders and local neighborhood associations. Speaker 5D works at an after-school program for underprivileged students and has frequent contact with rural populations. The last Type 5 speaker, 5E, is a journalist for a national news radio program concentrating on the everyday life of the Paraguayan national. Many of his stories focus on residents of rural areas and he is frequently traveling to these regions to conduct interviews and to investigate possible news stories.

Type 6 speakers were also born and raised in Coronel Oviedo, but have little to no contact with rural populations, and therefore are considered "non-mobile." Speaker 6A is the manager of a hotel restaurant and Speaker 6B is a lawyer. These two women never travel to rural areas and their contact with the residents of rural communities is rare.

2. Language use and linguistic domains

According Rubin and other studies Guaraní is used in rural settings and in informal or intimate interactions and Spanish is used in formal, public interactions in urban settings. In other situations, it has been found that language choice is variable. The data collected through these 24 interviews allows us to test this claim by analyzing the participants' perception of the general patterns of language use in their area. The speakers in the current study were asked about common language use in the following social settings and linguistic situations: while working in the fields, in an office, in schools, in the marketplace, in stores, in church, during neighborhood gatherings, and when talking to a stranger. In two of these settings, all participants, whether urban or rural residents agreed that a standard language is used. In other settings most participants agreed that the language used was not entirely variable, but instead dependent upon either the geographic (rural/urban) location of the linguistic situation or the geographic origin of the speakers.

All 24 participants unanimously agreed that Guaraní is the language spoken by farmers while working in their fields. In offices, however, it was collectively agreed that Spanish is the language used.

Speaker 5d, when asked which language is spoken in offices answered:

- (5.1) *Siempre en castellano porque tienes que ir bein presentable, con buena expresión, entonces, es forma de respecto y todo eso*
 ‘Always in Spanish because you have to be presentable and have good expression, so, it is a form of respect and everything’ (Speaker 5D)

Several speakers noted that, not only does everyone working in the municipality and other office settings speak only Spanish, they also discriminate against those that speak Guaraní. Speaker 4A explained that if she speaks Guaraní in an office setting the employees will treat her differently:

- (5.2) *yo voy llegando, les saludo todo en castellano y luego les hablo en Guaraní pero me miran como si fuera no sé que cosa*
 ‘I arrive, I greet them and everything in Spanish and then I speak to them in Guaraní but they look at me as if I were I don’t know what’ (Speaker 4A)

Another speaker explained the advantage of speaking Spanish in an office setting:

- (5.3) *si reñee’e guaraníme ndojapoi caso, pero si nde renguahe ha reñee’e castellano, ha’e pya’eva ojapo caso la gente*
 ‘if you speak Guaraní they won’t pay attention to you, but if you get there and you speak Spanish, they will pay attention to you faster’ (Speaker 1B)

Several Guaraní monolinguals noted that the anticipation of having to speak Spanish in most offices keeps them from feeling comfortable in these settings and prevents them from visiting such places.

Also agreed upon was the idea that both languages are used in schools, but that the degree of usage of each language depends on the geographic location of the institution. Since the educational reform of 1992 it has been mandated that the Guaraní language be taught in schools, but the amount of Guaraní used while teaching other subjects, during recess and outside of the classroom varies. Speaker 4A teaches language classes both at the rural school in Olegario and at a public school in Coronel Oviedo. She describes how in Olegario she has to speak Guaraní to her students when explaining Spanish grammar concepts and she has to speak Spanish to her students in Coronel Oviedo when explaining Guaraní grammar concepts. Speaker 4E confirms that:

- (5.4) *Hay mucha diferencia en la escuela rural y la escuela urbana, en la zona rural las profesoras más se adopta de enseñar en guaraní que le llegamos más al alumno, en cambio de acá no, en la zona urbana castellano. ¿Porque? Porque el alumno entiende mejor el castellano*
 ‘There is a lot of difference between the rural and the urban school, in the rural zone the teachers are more used to teaching in Guarani because they can better reach their students, but here no, in the urban zone Spanish. Why? Because the students understand Spanish better’ (Speaker 4E)

Within Coronel Oviedo the distinction is also commonly noted between public and private schools:

- (5.5) *yo tengo un sobrino que fue de un colegio privado a un publico y él habla el Guarani porque se fue al publico...entonces tuvo la oportunidad de aprender el guarani, pero antes él no decía ni una palabra en Guarani*
 ‘I have a nephew that went from a private school to a public school and he spoke Guarani because he went to the public one... then he had the opportunity to learn Guarani, but before he didn’t know how to say even a word in Guarani’ (Speaker 5C)

Speaker 5E is an example of a parent whose child attends a private school and who is resentful that his child is obligated to study Guarani in school. When asked how he felt about his daughter taking Guarani class he responded:

- (5.6) *Es una imposición del estado y en mi caso es algo incómodo porque en el promedio general baja el rendimiento de mi hija, pero yo soy conciente de que el Guarani va a aprender en una forma natural. Si yo insisto con ella, por ejemplo, que aprende el guarani, va a bajar su rendimiento en matemática*
 ‘It is an imposition of the state and in my case it is uncomfortable because my daughter’s average grade goes down, but I am conscious that she is going to learn Guarani in a natural way. If I insist, for example, that she learns Guarani, her grade in math will lower’ (Speaker 5E)

There is a general understanding that one would never find Guarani speaking students at a private institution and that Guarani use in the public institutions of Coronel Oviedo is exceedingly limited compared to the amount spoken at the schools in rural areas.

In medical clinics there is also a public/private distinction. One speaker explained that:

- (5.7) *depende mucho, si es privado, claro allí llega gente que puede, verdad, pagar y se habla castellano, pero en lugar publico, en el centro de salud, si en Guarani los doctores hablan*
 ‘depends a lot, if it is private, of course people come there that can, right, pay and that know how to speak Spanish, but in a public place, in a health center, yes the doctors speak Guarani’ (Speaker 4E)

These speakers link the economic status of the individual with his/her geographic origin. Speaker 4C explains that, because of the cost, it is fairly uncommon for people from rural areas to seek medical assistance, and that therefore, in general, doctors speak more Spanish:

- (5.8) *Es muy costoso entonces ya tiene que ser un caso muy grave para que van la gente del campo... los profesionales se utilizan muy poco todavía lo que sea el guaraní para relacionarse con sus pacientes porque la gente que se utiliza estos servicios son gente un poco más adinerado, más culta, entonces ellos se relacionen entre si hablando en castellano*
 ‘It is very costly so it has to be a very grave case for the people from the country to go... the professionals use very little Guaraní in order to relate to their patients because the people that use those services are wealthier, more educated, so they relate to each other speaking Spanish’
 (Speaker 4C)

Most speakers also agree that Guaraní is spoken in the *mercado* and that Spanish is the language used in *tiendas*. The *mercado*, located directly outside the city center of Coronel Oviedo, is a large indoor marketplace in which farmers and mostly people from rural areas go to buy and sell meat, vegetables, fruit and other consumables. *Tiendas*, or stores, are located within the city center and sell things like furniture or clothing. Speaker 5A explains why in the *mercado* people speak Guaraní and in the *tiendas* Spanish is spoken:

- (5.9) *el mercado es más bien un lugar de gente popular, hay más barro, hay más olor, en un lugar más limpio se presenta en una manera diferente...no hay campesinos allí [en las tiendas], no hay productos campesinos allí, el que se habla guaraní tiene poca plata, es un prejuicio*
 ‘the market is more a common people’s place, there is more mud, more smells, in a cleaner place all is presented in a different way... there are not country people there [in the *tiendas*], there are no products that come from the country there, he who speaks Guaraní has little money, its prejudice’ (Speaker 5A)

It was also mentioned by several speakers that one speaks Guaraní in the *mercado* because the saleswomen are older whereas at the *tiendas* young women are normally working. Young women are particularly associated with the Spanish language, a fact that will be discussed later.

In settings such as church or neighborhood gatherings, there is again a rural/urban distinction:

- (5.10) *si es urbano, rara veces que vengan gente de la zona rural, pero si la iglesia está en la zona rural el pastor va a hablar en guaraní para llegar a esas personas*
 ‘if it is urban, rarely do people from the rural zones come, but if the church is in a rural zone the priest is going to speak Guaraní in order to relate to those people’ (Speaker 5D)

Guaraní has been utilized in religion for centuries and many Guaraní speaking churchgoers own a copy of the Bible in Guaraní. Several speakers, however, discussed the difficulty of reading and understanding this text since it is written in *Guaraní-Guaraní*, or the “pure” and academic version of the language.

Those attending church in urban areas read the Bible and listen to mass in Spanish, whereas Guaraní is

used in churches located in rural areas. When speaking with your neighbors the same distinction is made; if you live in a rural area, you speak Guaraní with your neighbors, if you live in Coronel Oviedo you are more likely to speak Spanish.

When asked what language one speaks with a stranger, for example when traveling, responses varied. Many speakers from the urban environment explained different thought processes used when distinguishing which language to use. Speaker 4D confirms the idea that one always speaks Spanish when talking to younger women. He also explains that he decides according to the different bus lines, which to him represent the economic status of the passengers:

(5.11) *si hay allí una señorita y allí sentamos y hablamos castellano, por supuesto, pero en mi caso claro es más Guaraní. Pero si es una empresa de transporte directo claro que va a un centro grande claro que se va gente un poco más fina que va a hablar más en español. Pero si es un ómnibus de, como se llama, movido, eso se va hasta el chanco y la gente se utiliza más el guaraní* ‘if there is a young girl and there we sit and we speak Spanish, of course, but in my case of course I speak more Guaraní. But if it is a transportation company, of course, that goes directly to a large city, of course, there are more refined people that speak Spanish. But if it is a hectic and crowded bus people use more Guaraní’ (Speaker 4D)

Several speakers responded that one knows by looking at the person which language to speak:

(5.12) *uno va a mirarle y saber si va a hablar en castellano o en guaraní, por la forma de vestirse* ‘one looks at the person and knows if he is going to speak Spanish or Guaraní, because of the way he dresses’ (Speaker 5D)

Another responded in a similar way when asked which language he speaks with strangers:

(5.13) *depende del imagen de la persona. Si tiene imagen de campesino directo en Guaraní. Si es una persona profesional, de imagen profesional, de corbata, castellano* ‘depends on the image of the person. If he looks like someone from the countryside, directly in Guaraní. If he is a professional person, with a professional image, if he wears a tie, Spanish’ (Speaker 5E)

Other speakers have more of a default language when speaking with people unfamiliar to them. Speaker 6A, when asked what language she speaks with her customers at a restaurant responded:

(5.14) *Siempre hablamos castellano por respeto* ‘We always speak Spanish because it is respectful’ (Speaker 6A)

This view of Spanish as the ‘respectful’ language may be a reflection of the idea that it is the language associated with the informal and unfamiliar, whereas Guaraní is linked to situations of informality and

intimacy. Many of the speakers from Pindoty and other rural areas either responded that they do not travel or that they speak Spanish with strangers by default.

As shown by these examples, language use and language choice is nearly always influenced by the rural/urban dichotomy initially proposed by Rubin. Several speakers confirmed this suggestion:

- (5.15) *cuidadpe oñee 'eve castellanope, campañape guaranime*
 'In the city Spanish is spoken more, in the country Guaraní is spoken' (Speaker 5A)
- (5.16) *siempre en la campaña se habla más guarani y en la ciudad castellano. Así es la diferencia. Después se aprende los dos. De la ciudad aprenden el guarani y nosotros en la campaña aprendemos el castellano*
 'Guaraní is always spoken in the countryside and Spanish in the city. That is the difference. Later one learns both. Those in the city learn Guaraní and we in the country learn Spanish' (Speaker 2C)
- (5.17) *nosotros aca en la campaña hablamos en guaraní, después de irnos a la escuela vamos a aprender castellano. En la ciudad, en casa, hablan castellano, pero al irse a la escuela empiezan a hablarse en guarani''*
 'we here in the country speak Guaraní, later when we go to school we learn Spanish. In the city, at home, they speak Spanish, but at school they begin to speak Guaraní' (Speaker 2D)

As these examples show, the perception of general language use universally links Guaraní to rural environments and Spanish to urban environments. It is noted by most speakers that urban residents speak Spanish as their first language, but learn Guaraní at school and that rural residents speak Guaraní as their first language, but learn Spanish at school. One's proficiency in his second language, however, depends on many factors. In the following sections we will discuss each speaker's individual perception of their own language use.

3. Age, sex and personal language use

The participants' perception of their own personal language use also confirms the rural/urban dichotomy. Table 6 below describes the participants' first language and their self-reported language usage in the home. This data outlines a general tendency towards Guaraní monolingualism in rural areas, bilingualism amongst more mobile individuals, and Spanish monolingualism in urban areas.

TABLE 6: Participants' First Language and Language used in the Home

Speaker Type	First Language	Language usage in home
TYPE 1	Guaraní	Guaraní
TYPE 2	Guaraní	Guaraní
TYPE 3	Guaraní	Guaraní
TYPE 4	Guaraní	Bilingual
TYPE 5	Guaraní / Spanish	Bilingual Spanish
TYPE 6	Spanish	Bilingual Spanish

All Type 1, 2 and 3 speakers report Guaraní as both their first language and the language they speak primarily in the home. All Type 4 speakers report Guaraní as their first language and report bilingualism in the home. Of the Type 5 speakers, four out of five report Spanish as both their first language and the only language they speak in the home. One Type 5 speaker reported that Guaraní was his first language and that both Guaraní and Spanish are spoken in his home. Both Type 6 speakers reported Spanish as their first language. One uses Guaraní with her mother, who is from a rural area, but Spanish only with her siblings. The other Type 6 speaker uses Spanish only in the home.

Of the 24 speakers, a total of seven claim bilingual language use in the home. Five out of these seven speakers describe their language use as speaking Guaraní with their spouse, but Spanish only with their children. Unlike Gyman's 2005 study in Asuncion where he found a decrease in Spanish monolingualism and an increase in bilingual intergenerational language transmission, the evidence in the current study indicates the opposite is occurring in Coronel Oviedo. This sets up a possible situation of language shift and attrition in which the second generation in Guaraní-speaking homes is unable to communicate in the language of their parents. Many of the participants made reference to intergenerational language loss. Speaker 6B, a Spanish monolingual, talks about the Guaraní attrition that has occurred in her own family:

(5.18) *Me doy cuenta, eh, mi abuela habla mejor que mi mamá, sabe muchas más palabras, muchas más expresiones que mi mamá y yo mucho menos que mi mamá. ¿Y yo? ¿Qué voy a enseñar a mis hijos? ¿Entendéis?*

'I realize, um, that my grandmother speaks much better than my mother, she knows a lot more words and a lot more expressions than my mother does and I know a lot less than my mother. And me? What am I going to teach my children? Do you understand?' (Speaker 6B)

Speaker 5D had a similar experience. Her mother and father are from rural areas of Paraguay and speak Guaraní with each other. With her, however, they have only ever spoken Spanish. When asked about the possibility of Guaraní disappearing she responded:

(5.19) *Eso depende de los adultos. Si no enseñamos más el Guaraní a los niños, allí sí, si no les enseña más, allí va a dejar, va a desaparecer*
 'That depends on the adults. If we don't teach Guaraní anymore to the children, then yes, if we don't teach it anymore, then yes it will be abandoned, it will disappear' (Speaker 5D)

This speaker's hypothesis is confirmed by many sociolinguists including De Houwer who asserts that:

After all, children who are being raised bilingually, but do not in fact produce two languages, will not likely speak two languages to their offspring once they have become parents themselves. If this pattern is in evidence for a large group of people within more or less the same community at the same time, then on a more global scale one may get a clear pattern of language shift (1999:75)

The bilingual participants that speak Spanish only with their children were asked about their motives in doing so. Many asserted that in order to ensure the education, literacy and future employment of their children, they must guarantee their child's fluency in the Spanish language only. A few reasoned that Guaraní would negatively effect the pronunciation and fluency of their child's Spanish. Speaker 5C, a Spanish monolingual, explains why some parents may not want to teach Guaraní to their children:

(5.20) *En el Paraguay, hay hogares en que solamente al hijo se habla español, por más que hablan en guaraní los padres, para que hablen español, porque el español sería la fuente de poder, mañana, de poder defenderse. Porque el Guaraní les deja medio rezagado, atrás así, el que sabe solamente el guaraní es tipo, no es lo que creo pero es lo que mucha gente piensa, que es de segundo plano*
 'In Paraguay, there are homes in which they speak only Spanish to the children, even if the parents speak Guaraní, so that they speak Spanish, because Spanish would be the source so that they could, tomorrow, so that they can get by. Because Guaraní slows them down, they get behind, someone who speaks only Guaraní is, this is not what I think but how many people think, second class' (Speaker 5C)

Speaker 1E, a rural resident and mainly Guaraní speaker, is also aware of the fact that many parents choose to speak with their children only in Spanish. He also notes that this may be a recent change:

- (5.21) *Por eso el madre ahora enseña su hijo desde chiquito castellano. Para que puede sobrevivir porque si solamente habla en Guaraní ahora ya es muy difícil*
 ‘That is why mothers now teach their children Spanish when they are very young. So that they can survive because if they only speak Guaraní now it is very difficult’ (Speaker 1E)

Speaker 5E, a Spanish speaker who also communicates in Guaraní, explains why he does not want his daughter to learn the language. Not only does he believe Spanish to be the only language that will ensure his daughter’s future success; he also believes that his daughter’s Spanish will suffer if she attempts to speak Guaraní as well:

- (5.22) *yo quiero que mi hija llegue a niveles superiores a lo que yo llegué. Entonces estoy consciente de que si ella tiene un lenguaje atrofiado o, como explicarte mejor, un lenguaje frenado por el Guaraní, no va a tener tanto desarrollo, va a tener problemas en la universidad porque los textos vienen todo en español*
 ‘I want my daughter to reach a superior level than I reached. So I am conscious that if her language is stunted, how can I explain better, if her language is slowed down by Guaraní, she will not develop as much, she will have problems at the university because all texts are in Spanish’ (Speaker 5E)

The majority of the participants that reported speaking Spanish only with their children were Type 4 speakers; those that grew up in a rural environment but have since migrated to Coronel Oviedo and have lived there for a significant amount of time. Kees de Bot proposes that “migration to an environment in which another language is spoken and accordingly in the amount of use of contact with the L1 is the most obvious life event for L1 attrition” (2007:58). These speakers’ in-home language practice may be an influence of the urban, Spanish-speaking environment in which they now live.

There is also evidence, however, for a language shift from Guaraní to Spanish amongst younger generations in rural areas. Speakers 1D, age 18, and 3A, age 14, are the youngest of the rural participants and the only residents of Pindoty that may be considered balanced bilinguals. Speaker 1D speaks Guaraní with her parents, siblings and friends, but speaks Spanish only with her husband, who is her age. Speaker 3A speaks Guaraní at home, but speaks Spanish with her friends from school as well as with her relatives that live in Coronel Oviedo. Speaker 3A says that she feels more comfortable with the Spanish language and that only in Pindoty does she use Guaraní:

- (5.23) *a mi me gusta más el idioma castellano que el Guaraní, la verdad que no sé, me gusta más porque siempre me acostumbré hablar en castellano. Me acostumbré siempre hablar más en ese idioma y hasta ahora, aca no más estoy hablando en Guaraní*

‘I like Spanish more than Guaraní, the truth is I’m not sure, I like it more because I got used to speaking in Spanish. I got used to always speaking that language and even now, here is the only place I speak Guaraní’ (Speaker 3A)

Several adult speakers also noted a difference between their own language use when they were adolescents and the language use of the younger generation today. Speakers 1E and 3D describe how there has been a recent change in language usage amongst the youth in the Pindoty community:

- (5.24) *el tiempo cambió creo que cuatro años, por allí no más. Antes cuando yo fui a la fiesta tenemos que hablar en Guaraní con las señoritas. Ahora casi todos los jóvenes están hablando más castellano. Si encuentro en mi edad hablamos Guaraní, pero si es más joven tengo que hablar con ella en castellano*
 ‘it has changed only in the last four years. Before when I went to a party we had to speak Guaraní with the girls. Now all the young people are speaking more Spanish. If I find a girl my age we speak Guaraní, but if she is younger I have to speak Spanish with her’ (Speaker 1E)
- (5.25) *si encuentran como los jóvenes y mujeres empiezan a hablar en castellano si quieren hacer novios. No es en Guaraní, no funciona eso*
 ‘if young men and women are speaking they begin speaking in Spanish when they are courting. It is not in Guaraní, that doesn’t work’ (Speaker 3D)

Although nearly all the youth in this community speak Guaraní at home with their parents, this data shows that they are beginning to associate the Spanish language with not only the functional categories of employment and literacy, but also with the intimacy of friendship and romance. This change provides further evidence for a shift from Guaraní monolingualism to bilingualism in rural areas.

There is also evidence that sex, along with age, may play a role in increased Spanish usage among youth. When asked if what type of people tend to discriminate against Guaraní speakers, Speaker 5C answered that:

- (5.26) *Creo que en la etapa de la adolescencia y la mayoría son mujeres que intenta ser, por ejemplo, más populista’*
 ‘I think during adolescence and the majority of them are women that try to be, for example, more popular’ (Speaker 5C)

Other speakers noted that sex, independent of age, may influence one’s language use:

- (5.27) *El hombre paraguayo, su estilo es más así, hablamos en Guaraní, mientras mujeres hablan más el español. Es una diferencia marcada*
 ‘For Paraguayan men, the style is more like that, we speak more Guaraní, while women speak more Spanish. It is a marked difference’ (Speaker 4D)

(5.28) *las mujeres siempre se orgullese de su persona y alli no quiere hablar en Guaraní, oñemotavy, pero ontende*

‘women always are too proud and don’t want to speak Guaraní, they lie and say they can’t, but they understand’ (Speaker 1A)

According to the data in the current study, the younger the speaker the more likely he is to speak Spanish.

If the young speaker is female, the likelihood of her being a Spanish speaker is even greater.

This results in findings similar to those found by Woolard in her study of gender and language difference among youth peer groups in Barcelona. In this study Woolard finds that girls social networks are more exclusive and cohesive than boys’ peer group structures and that the girls tend to use language much more than boys for identity purposes. She hypothesizes that

“Since Catalan is associated with higher social status, and is acquired by most Castilian-speakers almost exclusively through the formal institution of schooling, it is possible that the languages are taking on distinct connotations that play into the ideologies of femininity and masculinity” (1997: 553).

It is also possible that something similar is occurring in Paraguay. Many speakers referred to the Spanish language as refined or of a higher class than the Guaraní language. Speaker 4D, for example, said that he speaks Guaraní with his male friends, but speaks Spanish with his female co-worker. He described his co-worker as someone who likes society and is refined, and delicate and that this is why he speaks Spanish with her. It appears that Spanish may be associated with these traditionally feminine qualities.

4. Language use outside of the home

Myers-Scotton defines balanced bilinguals as being “equally at home in their several languages.” (2006:380) This definition is used for the purposes of classifying the participants’ personal language use in the current study. Of the 24 participants, seven speakers claim bilingual language usage in the home, and may therefore be considered “balanced bilinguals.” The language spoken in the home, however, cannot be the sole determiner of one’s language use, as is demonstrated by Speaker 3A. Although this participant’s first language, as well as the language she speaks in the home, is Guaraní, she is considered a “balanced bilingual.” This speaker attends school in Coronel Oviedo and speaks Spanish with her

teachers and friends and as noted above, reports feeling even more comfortable with the Spanish language than with Guaraní.

Several other participants may be considered “passive” bilinguals with a bias towards either Spanish or Guaraní. Myers-Scotton defines a passive bilingual as someone who “may be able to understand a certain L2, but not speak it.” This definition is difficult to apply, however, since for these speakers it is nearly impossible to not be exposed to their L2 to a degree which facilitates understanding. Speaker 2B explains that although few people in his community speak Spanish, they all understand the language because of their exposure to communication media:

- (5.29) *si uno, o sea que, un extranjero que habla español, si viene y le habla, el paraguayo conoce el idioma. Solo que no sabe expresarse. No sabe que decir, contestar, pero sabe todo. Así son la gente del campo, son así. Entiende todo. Escuchan cuando se habla en la televisión*
 ‘if someone, I mean, a stranger that speaks Spanish, if he approaches and speaks to you, the Paraguayan knows the language. He just doesn’t know how to express himself. He doesn’t know what to say, how to answer, but he understands it all. That is how the people are in the countryside, they are like that. They understand it all. They hear [Spanish] when it is spoken on the television’ (Speaker 2B)

Speaker 1E explains that Spanish monolinguals understand Guaraní:

- (5.30) *Todos comprenden. Algunos hablan castellano siempre, pero al hablarle en Guaraní comprenden. Siempre comprenden.*
 ‘They all understand. Some always speak Spanish, but when they are spoken to in Guaraní they understand. They always understand’ (Speaker 1E)

Therefore, for the purposes of this study, “passive” bilinguals are considered those that use one language over the other for nearly all his/her daily interactions with family and friends, but may have some experience speaking the other language in some specific linguistic setting outside of the home.

Myers-Scotton quotes Grosjean as saying that:

“because the needs and uses of the two languages are usually quite different, the bilingual is rarely equally or completely fluent in the two languages. Because the bilingual is a human communicator (as is the monolingual), he or she has developed a communicative competence that is sufficient for everyday life” (1985: 471-2)

It may be that a speaker does have the capability of speaking both languages, however, due to the “needs and uses” of each language, in his “everyday life” interactions he may rarely find himself in a linguistic situation which calls for the use of his second language.

The determined language use of each participant can be seen in Table 7.

TABLE 7: Determined Language Use

“NAME”	1 st Lang.	home	Determined lang. use
1A	Guaraní	Guaraní	Gm
1B	Guaraní	Guaraní	Gm
1C	Guaraní	Guaraní	Gm
1D	Guaraní	Guaraní	BB
1E	Guaraní	Guaraní	pbG
2A	Guaraní	Guaraní	pbG
2B	Guaraní	Guaraní	pbG
2C	Guaraní	Guaraní	BB
2D	Guaraní	Guaraní	BB
3A	Guaraní	Guaraní	BB
3B	Guaraní	Guaraní	Gm
3C	Guaraní	Guaraní	pbG
4A	Guaraní	Bilingual	BB
4B	Guaraní	Bilingual	BB
4C	Guaraní	Bilingual	BB
4D	Guaraní	Bilingual	BB
4E	Guaraní	Bilingual	BB
5A	Guaraní	Spanish	pbS
5B	Guaraní	Bilingual	BB
5C	Spanish	Spanish	Sm
5D	Spanish	Spanish	Sm
5E	Spanish	Spanish	pbS
6A	Spanish	Bilingual	BB
6B	Spanish	Spanish	Sm

For example, Speaker 1E speaks Guaraní at home and at work but reports some Spanish usage at church. For the purposes of this study, this speaker is considered a passive bilingual with a bias towards Guaraní (pbG). An example of a passive bilingual with a bias towards Spanish (pbS) is Speaker 5A. This participant speaks Spanish in the home and with friends, but uses some Guaraní at work. The remaining speakers are considered either a Balanced Bilingual (BB), Spanish monolingual (Sm) or Guaraní monolingual (Gm). Balanced Bilinguals are those that report either bilingual language usage in the home

or frequent usage of both languages on a daily basis. Spanish monolinguals may understand Guaraní, but they never speak the language. Guaraní monolinguals understand but never speak Spanish.

Whereas all Type 1 speakers report Guaraní as both their first language and the language they speak in the home, Speakers 1D and 1E may be considered bilinguals. Participant 1D speaks Guaraní with her parents and siblings and friends, but speaks Spanish with her husband. She is only 18 years old, however, and her language use could be a reflection of her youth and the influences previously discussed. Speaker 1E speaks Guaraní at home and at work, but is an active member of a nearby church where Spanish is also spoken and is therefore considered a passive bilingual with a bias towards Guaraní.

All Type 2 speakers also report Guaraní as both their first language and the language they speak in the home. Speakers 2A and 2B report some Spanish usage with either friends or fellow church members in Coronel Oviedo. Speakers 2C and 2D use Spanish on a daily basis while working at the school in Olegario.

Type 3 speakers also report Guaraní as both their first language and the language they speak in the home. Speaker 3A, a balanced bilingual, uses Spanish daily at the school she attends in Coronel Oviedo. Although Speaker 3B, a Guaraní monolingual, works daily in Coronel Oviedo selling herbs, she reports very little usage of the Spanish and says that she rarely, if ever, speaks the language. Speaker 3C speaks some Spanish at her church.

All Type 4 speakers, having grown up in rural areas, report Guaraní as their first language, but demonstrate a notable change in the language spoken in the home. Four out of five of these participants report using Guaraní with their spouse, parents or siblings, but Spanish only with their children. Speaker 4A, a Guaraní teacher with an intensely nationalistic attitude towards the language, is the only Type 4 speaker that reports using both Spanish and Guaraní with her children. All Type 4 speakers may be considered balanced bilinguals.

With Type 5 speakers, both the first language and the language spoken in the home begin to shift towards more Spanish use. Three out of five of these participants report Spanish as their first language. Speaker 5A speaks Spanish with friends and family, but uses Guaraní when working with rural

communities. Speaker 5B uses both Spanish and Guaraní at home and at work. Speakers 5C and 5D, although frequently working with rural populations, all report extreme difficulty when speaking Guaraní and do so infrequently. Speaker 5E also reports some difficulty when speaking Guaraní, but does so more frequently for work purposes and even hosts a radio program where he is required to interview Guaraní monolinguals.

Both Type 6 speakers report Spanish as their first language. Speaker 6A grew up in an environment in which her father prohibited her from speaking Guaraní. Her father passed away, however, many years ago and she now speaks in Guaraní with her mother, who is from a rural area, as well as with some friends and co-workers. Speaker 6B reports little to no Guaraní usage.

As is demonstrated by the determined language use of each mobility type, a general pattern of language usage is found where one's first language is entirely dependent on his/her geographic origin, be it rural or urban. The language spoken in the home, however, especially with one's children, is influenced mainly by one's geographic residency at present. Participants of rural origin speak Guaraní with spouses and friends, but if these speakers now live in Coronel Oviedo they are likely to speak Spanish only with their children. The evidence in this study tells us that it is now rare for an adolescent in Coronel Oviedo to speak Guaraní and that adolescents in rural areas are speaking more Spanish than ever before, something that does not speak well for the future of the Guaraní language. In Janse's description of the five stages of language endangerment he explains that stage one, or a "potentially endangered" language, is one in which "the children start preferring the dominant language" (2003: x).

This evidence shows that the mobility of the individual also has an effect on his language use. Due to the speaker's status as a "mobile" individual for work, religious or educational purposes, the speakers' first language and the language he speaks in the home may differ from the language he speaks in other settings. The more "mobile" the individual, the more domains he encounters in which he is required to use his L2 and therefore the more likely he is to become bilingual.

5. Linguistic Attitude

According to the literature, another factor that may influence a speaker's linguistic behavior is his/her language attitude. Choi defines 'linguistic attitude' as "an individual or collective expression towards a language and any issues related to language; it is the act of responding to certain aspects of language, linguistic ideologies and linguistic use." She also confirms that "linguistic attitude and linguistic usage mutually influence each other" (2003: 82). Bradley, linking this mutually influential relationship to the vitality of a language, states that "perhaps the crucial factor in language maintenance is the attitudes of the speech community concerning their language" (2002: 1). In the current study, each speaker's linguistic attitude towards the Guaraní language is measured in order to determine if this, along with the variables of age, sex, geographic location, and rate of rural/urban mobility, has an effect on his/her language use and whether it may have an effect on the future of the Guaraní language itself. Through a qualitative analysis of each speaker's responses to these questions it was possible to calculate a total numeric attitude value for each participant and to therefore group each individual into one of three language attitude types based on the classification system developed by Engelbrecht and Ortiz (1983).

These questions, listed below in Table 13, were related to the four general attitude areas proposed by Lewis (1975): (1) 'general approval', revealed by, e.g., "I like speaking/hearing Guaraní"; (2) 'commitment to practice', as in "I want to maintain Guaraní"; (3) 'ethnic identification', represented by the idea that "Guaraní is strongly linked to the Paraguayan culture and tradition"; and (4) 'economic & educational importance', as in "In getting a good job, it is helpful to be able to speak Guaraní" or "Guaraní literacy is important and should be taught in schools." The questions in the current study's interview protocol were designed to elicit responses that would enable the researcher to categorize the speaker's attitude as related to these four general areas. Some questions elicited different types of responses, and depending on the speaker, may have revealed an attitude related to multiple or various attitude areas.

The responses to each of these questions, through qualitative analysis, were categorized as having one of three general responses, each given a numeric value. Those answers achieving a larger numeric value denote responses of those with a more "negative" attitude towards the Guaraní language. A

“negative” attitude, for the purposes of this study, is that which represents feelings of (1) general disapproval, (2) the lack of a need for Guaraní language maintenance, (3) the idea that Guaraní has little to no national or cultural importance, and (4) that the language has little to no utilitarian value and should not be used in schools. A “positive” attitude is that which achieves a smaller numeric value. A speaker with a highly positive attitude towards the Guaraní language would demonstrate (1) a general approval of the language, (2) a commitment to preserving the language, (3) the idea that Guaraní is an essential part of Paraguayan culture and society, and (4) that Guaraní serves many practical purposes and that Guaraní literacy should be promoted and taught in schools. A response that does not indicate a clearly negative or positive attitude regarding the Guaraní language is assigned a neutral classification. Each question is examined individually and through qualitative analysis each speaker will be assigned either a negative, positive, or neutral value according to his/her response to these questions. Each speaker’s total attitude values will then be calculated and compared in order to determine his/her overall linguistic attitude toward the Guaraní language.

Recall that in Engelbrecht and Ortiz’s study the Nationalist view is defined as an urban resident with a high level of education who believes in preserving the language through the promotion of Guaraní literacy and the use of the academic, or “pure,” form of the language. However, for the purpose of testing language use, geographic residency and linguistic attitude as independent variables, in the current study the definition of the Nationalist view will not be limited to urban residents, nor those with high levels of education. For the purposes of this study, a speaker with a Nationalist attitude is an individual who exhibits a positive response to questions pertaining to all four of Lewis’ attitude areas. Engelbrecht and Ortiz also limit the definition of the Hispanicist to urban Spanish monolinguals. Here, however, any participant who illustrates a negative response to questions pertaining to all four of Lewis’ attitude areas will be considered a Hispanicist. Traditionalist-Functionalists, as well, are not necessarily those that use Guaraní in their everyday lives, but those that exhibit a more ambivalent attitude towards the Guaraní language. Whereas Engelbrecht and Ortiz directly associate language attitude with language use, the current study will show that this is not always possible.

Although the responses to each question varied greatly, it was possible to divide each of the participants' responses into the more general category of a negative, neutral or positive response. The sample responses below exhibit a positive, negative and neutral attitude towards the Guaraní language and illustrate the functionality of this classification system:

(5.31) *Question 8: ¿Cómo sería diferente si el Guaraní desapareciera?*

'How would Paraguay be different if Guaraní were to disappear?'

Negative (numeric value = 3)

cambiaría mucho, porque implica eso, de educación sistemática y una política del gobierno que va a traer mucho cambio, que probablemente el pueblo va a vivir mejor

'it would change a lot, because it implies that, systematic education and the politics of a government that will bring a lot of change, and probably we will live better' (Speaker 4D)

Neutral (numeric value = 2)

no seríamos más bilingües

'we wouldn't be bilingual anymore' (Speaker 6A)

Positive (numeric value = 1)

perderíamos totalmente nuestra identidad porque viste que un idioma no es solamente hablar distinto, es pensar, es como uno se ve al mundo, como uno es, o sea, que el idioma se expresa muchas cosas, entonces si se moriría el Guaraní sería morir el Paraguay

'we would totally lose our identity because, you know, a language isn't only speaking distinctly, it is thinking, it is how one sees the world, what one is like, I mean, a language expresses many things, so if Guaraní died, Paraguay would die' (Speaker 6B)

Table 8 illustrates the ten questions asked of each participant relating to their linguistic attitude toward the Guaraní language and the general positive, neutral and negative possible responses to these questions along with their corresponding numeric values.

Table 9 illustrates the total numeric value of the linguistic attitude of each speaker. Not a single speaker received the lowest possible value, representing a full, positive response to every question, and even the most negative attitude did not reach the highest value of 30. The numerical attitude values of the speakers ranged from 11-24. Those speakers that demonstrated one to two neutral responses, but not a single negative response, resulting in a point value of either 11 or 12, are classified as Nationalists. The Hispanicists are those that respond negatively to at least three of the questions, exhibit a high level of neutral responses, and a lower level of positive responses, resulting in values from 18-24. The

Traditionalist-Functionalists in this study mostly exhibit a mixture of positive and neutral responses, with the occasional negative response, which resulted in point values from 13-17.

TABLE 8: Responses to Attitude Inquiries

Question	Attitude Area	Sample responses Numeric Values
1. What do you think about a person that only speaks Guaraní? Does this place limitations on his/her life?	Economic/Educational Importance	Very much - 3 Some - 2 Not at all - 1
2. What do you think about a person that only speaks Spanish? Does this place limitations on his/her life?	Economic/Educational Importance	Not at all - 3 Some - 2 Very much - 1
3. Do you think Paraguayans should learn to read/write in Guaraní?	Economic/Educational Importance Commitment to Practice	No, of little importance - 3 Neutral - 2 Yes - 1
4. Which language should be used in schools?	Economic/Educational Importance Commitment to Practice	Spanish only - 3 More Spanish - 2 Both equally - 1
5. Governmental institutions should use Guaraní.	Commitment to Practice	No - 3 Neutral - 2 Yes - 1
6. There should be more Guaraní television channels and radio programs.	Commitment to Practice	No - 3 Neutral - 2 Yes - 1
7. True/False: People should know how to speak Guaraní.	Commitment to Practice Ethnic Identification	No - 3 Neutral - 2 Yes - 1
8. How would Paraguay be different if Guaraní were to disappear?	Commitment to Practice Ethnic Identification General Approval	Not different/better - 3 Somewhat different - 2 Very different/worse - 1
9. True/False: Guaraní is the language of the uneducated	General Approval	True - 3 Neutral - 2 False - 1
10. True/False: Guaraní sounds sweeter than Spanish.	General Approval	False - 3 Neutral - 2 True - 1

TABLE 9: Attitude Values

SPEAKER	VALUE	ATTITUDE
1A	12	Nationalist
1B	14	Traditionalist-Functionalist
1C	19	Hispanicist
1D	18	Hispanicist
1E	12	Nationalist
2A	13	Traditionalist-Functionalist
2B	18	Hispanicist
2C	12	Nationalist
2D	14	Traditionalist-Functionalist
3A	23	Hispanicist
3B	11	Nationalist
3C	12	Nationalist
4A	11	Nationalist
4B	14	Traditionalist-Functionalist
4C	12	Nationalist
4D	16	Traditionalist-Functionalist
4E	12	Nationalist
5A	20	Hispanicist
5B	13	Traditionalist-Functionalist
5C	13	Traditionalist-Functionalist
5D	16	Traditionalist-Functionalist
5E	21	Hispanicist
6A	24	Hispanicist
6B	11	Nationalist

The language attitude data from the current study demonstrate what De Houwer describes as a “mismatch between overtly expressed beliefs (and attitudes) and actual behavior” (1999: 84). In Rindstest and Aronsson’s study of intergenerational Quechua-Spanish speaking practices among family members in a community in Ecuador, they find an “ethnic revitalization paradox,” or a “mismatch between ideology and daily practices” (2002: 721). In this community there is a strong nationalistic attitude towards the Quechua language and most see it as an essential part of their cultural identity and heritage. These speakers cannot imagine their world without Quechua and when asked if one day the language will disappear “they look perplexed, calmly shrugging their shoulders and saying this is impossible” (2002: 739).

Fewer and fewer of these families, however, are actively transmitting this language to their children. A similar paradox can be found in Lewis’ study of English-Welsh bilingualism. Lewis states

that “ there is a marked discrepancy between entertaining the idea of approving the Welsh language or supporting it in principle on the one hand, and actually engaging in the use of Welsh or encouraging it in the family” (1975: 121). Studies of the language attitudes in Paraguay have revealed a comparable inconsistency between linguistic attitudes and linguistic use. Choi, in her study of high school students and their parents in Asunción, concludes that “their positive attitude towards their minority language is not reflected in their linguistic behavior” (2003:91). This mismatch between language attitude and language use is also demonstrated by many of the participants of the current study. Among the participants there are examples of Guaraní monolinguals with a Hispanicist view as well as Spanish monolinguals with a Nationalist view, therefore corroborating Englebrecht and Ortiz’s evaluation of Paraguayan’s linguistic attitudes as inadequate.

A speaker with an overall attitude value of 10-12 is classified as a Nationalist. There were no speakers with an attitude value of 10, however there were three participants demonstrating a highly nationalistic attitude with a value of 11. These speakers demonstrate that language attitude and language use are not necessarily linked. Of the three participants with the most positive attitude toward the Guaraní language, one is a Guaraní monolingual (3B), one is a balanced bilingual (4A) and the third is a Spanish monolingual (6B). These participants demonstrate an extremely positive attitude toward the Guaraní language in all four of Lewis’ attitudinal categories and never once revealed a negative attitude towards the Guaraní language.

The Nationalist speakers demonstrate a high level of approval of the Guaraní language as well as a high commitment to practice. Both speakers 3B and 4A reported a fierce determination to speak Guaraní at all times, even in a normally Spanish-only linguistic domain. Speaker 3B describes her reaction when people in Coronel Oviedo refuse to speak Guaraní with her:

- (5.32) *oi heta la gente isinverguenza ointenta oñee’e cheve castellanope, oproba la añee’etama chupe, pero che añee’eta chupe guaranime*
 ‘there are a lot of shameless people that try to speak Spanish to me, they feel me out to see if I will speak back to them, but I speak to them in Guaraní’ (Speaker 3B)

Speaker 6B, although a Spanish monolingual, also demonstrates an intensely positive attitude toward the Guaraní language. She speaks of the embarrassment she feels at her inability to express herself in the language:

- (5.33) *Sabes que yo soy un caso especial. Todo el mundo habla Guaraní. A mi me da mucha vergüenza no hablar en guaraní, entendéis? Porque es mi país, es mi cultura y yo no sé mucho*
 ‘you know I am a special case. Everyone speaks Guaraní. I am really embarrassed that I don’t speak Guaraní, you know? Because its my country, its my culture, and I don’t know a lot about it’
 (Speaker 6B)

Speaker 4A, a balanced bilingual who is a Guaraní teacher at several schools, is extremely proud of her learned, academic skills in the language and believes that Guaraní should be used in more linguistic domains. Although all oral and written transactions in office settings are normally conducted in Spanish, she once proudly turned in some paperwork to the mayor’s office written entirely in Guaraní, something that she says had never occurred before. She also exhibits a strong ethnic identification with the language, suggesting that being Paraguayan is synonymous with speaking Guaraní.

- (5.34) *Siendo paraguaya, tengo que hablar guaraní. Un paraguayo que dice que no habla guaraní es mentiroso*
 ‘As a Paraguayan I have to speak Guaraní. A Paraguayan that says he doesn’t speak Guaraní is a liar’ (Speaker 4A)

The other Nationalist speakers also demonstrated a positive ethnic identification with the language.

Speaker 3B explains how she feels about people who do not speak Guaraní:

- (5.35) *Che apensa noñee’esente la Guaraní, oikuaavaer’a porque ha’e paraguayo*
 ‘I think they don’t want to speak Guaraní, they should know [how to speak Guaraní] because they are Paraguayan’ (Speaker 3B)

These speakers also believe that Guaraní is economically and educationally important and show a positive attitude towards Guaraní literacy programs in schools.

The seven speakers with the highest total attitude values (18-24) demonstrate a negative attitude in 3-4 of Lewis’ attitude areas and are therefore classified as having a Hispanicist view towards the Guaraní language. The Hispanicists also reveal a discrepancy between linguistic attitude and linguistic use. Among the Hispanicists are one Guaraní monolingual (1C), one passive bilingual with a bias towards

Guaraní (2B), three balanced bilinguals (1D, 3A, 6A) and two passive bilinguals with a bias towards Spanish (5A, 5E). There were no Spanish monolinguals with a Hispanicist attitude.

These seven speakers do not find Guaraní of any economic or educational importance nor do they show a desire to maintain the language. The Hispanicist's attitude is one of general disapproval, and while he/she may recognize that the language has some cultural significance, the idea of a Spanish-only Paraguay provokes little emotional response. Speaker 5E demonstrated a strong, overarching Hispanicist attitude with an attitude value of 21. This speaker made several statements demonstrating a general disapproval of the Guaraní language. This speaker indicated that it is better to not speak Guaraní because it would slow down one's development in the Spanish language. He said that Paraguay would be no different if Guaraní were to disappear and he declared the statement 'Guaraní is the language of the uneducated' to be true. Although he did demonstrate some level of ethnic identification with the language, for this speaker Guaraní is of little utilitarian importance.

(5.37) *Yo considero el Guaraní como ligado a la cultura de la sociedad paraguaya, pero para vivir a corde al desarrollo de la sociedad de la civilizacion – es español*
 'I consider Guaraní to be linked to the culture of the Paraguayan society, but in order to live in accordance with the development of civilized society – its Spanish' (Speaker 5E)

Speaker 1C, a Guaraní monolingual with an elementary level education, indicated that she would prefer to speak Spanish and that she believes that only Spanish should be taught in schools. She also declared the statement that 'Guaraní is the language of the uneducated' to be true.

Ten participants reached a total attitude value of 13-17 and are therefore classified as Traditionalist-Functionalists. These speakers demonstrate a level of ambivalence with a mixture of positive, negative and neutral attitudes towards the Guaraní language. The majority of these speakers may show a general approval of the language and a high level of ethnic identification with Guaraní, but assign little to no economic or educational importance to the language. Speaker 4B, for example, while indicating he prefers to speak Guaraní over Spanish, also stated that Paraguayan educational systems, and therefore the education of the people, would improve if Guaraní were to disappear. He also indicated a low level of commitment to practice, speaking some Guaraní with his wife, but Spanish only with his

children. Many of the Traditionalist-Functionalist speakers exhibited a higher frequency of neutral responses than either the Nationalists or Hispanicists.

6. Language attitudes and mobility

Table 10 shows the average attitude value for each mobility type. Although there are differences between the attitude values of the various mobility types, because of the low number of participants, it is difficult to make any concrete conclusions about the effect of mobility on language attitudes. For example, the Type 6 average demonstrates the highest, and therefore the most negative, attitude value; however, there are only two Type 6 speakers. Speaker 6A exhibited the most negative attitude value of all the participants and speaker 6B exhibited the most positive attitude value. The data for this mobility type is clearly insufficient.

TABLE 10: Attitude Averages by Mobility Type

Mobility Type	Average Value
TYPE 1	15.2
TYPE 2	14.25
TYPE 3	15.3
TYPE 4	13
TYPE 5	16.6
TYPE 6	17.5

In researching linguistic attitudes it is also important to recognize that the measurement of one's linguistic attitude based solely from his/her responses during an interview is unlikely to reveal his entire, true attitude. De Houwer describes that "attitudes and beliefs expressed in interviews are not necessarily the attitudes and beliefs that people actually hold...nor do these overtly expressed attitudes and beliefs necessarily coincide with covert or less consciously held attitudes and beliefs" (1999: 84). Baker also asserts that "people may respond to an attitude test in a way that makes them appear more prestigious,

more good than is real” (1992: 19). In some cases, the participants in the current study may not have revealed their true feelings and instead may have responded in such a way as to appear more socially aware or politically correct.

All six mobility types reveal attitude averages between 13-17 which allow us to classify each type as Traditionalist-Functionalist. There are, however, notable differences. Again, Type 6 speakers average as the most negative attitude type, but the data is insufficient. Types 1 and 3 have virtually the same attitude value. These two mobility types include those residents of rural areas that are either “mobile” or “immobile.” While the number of participants in these mobility types is also limited, this indicates that although effecting language use, as previously indicated, frequent rural-to-urban mobility may have little to no effect on the linguistic attitude of the speaker. Type 2 speakers, those that are rural residents but that are considered “semi-mobile” because of an extended previous residency in an urban area, illustrate a more positive attitude value than other rural residents. Type 4 speakers, all of whom are “mobile” balanced bilinguals born and raised in a rural area but who presently live in Coronel Oviedo, exhibit the most positive average attitude value. These Type 2 and Type 4 speakers, both originally from rural areas, have participated actively in urban culture by living in a city for an extended period of time and demonstrate the most positive attitude values. This implies that although frequent back-and-forth mobility between rural and urban environments may not affect one’s language attitude, one’s extended experience in both environments does. Type 5 speakers, those “mobile” urban residents born in Coronel Oviedo, demonstrate a slightly more negative attitude value than “mobile” rural residents.

Although the data here is limited, we are able to propose that one’s experience in rural and urban environments may have an effect on his language attitude. Again, we must exclude Type 6 speakers from this analysis since there were only two speakers. Type 5 exhibits the highest, and therefore the most negative, attitude value towards the Guaraní language. Types 1 and 3, those representing both the “mobile” and “non-mobile” rural speakers have the same attitude value, suggesting that one’s frequent mobility between a rural and urban area does not have a positive effect on his attitude towards the Guaraní language. Types 2 and 4, however, the mobility types in which a rural resident has spent

significant time in an urban area, exhibit the most positive attitude values. This extended experience in both rural and urban settings also makes these speakers the most likely of all the participants to be balanced bilinguals. For Guaraní monolinguals or those passive bilinguals with a bias towards Guaraní, a lack of fluency in Spanish may place them at a disadvantage or present feelings of insecurity and inferiority that may result in a level of negativity towards Guaraní. When one is able to speak confidently in both languages, however, he is able to maneuver all linguistic situations without difficulty, therefore permitting him to feel positively towards both languages.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

In this study I have analyzed the language use and language attitudes of 24 Paraguayan speakers who are either residents of the city of Coronel Oviedo or one of its rural surrounding communities. It is confirmed through both these participant's responses to language related questions and through previous studies on the bilingualism of the country that language use is frequently determined by the geographic (rural/urban) origin of the speaker or by the geographic location of the linguistic domain. Explored in this analysis is the question of whether one's mobility between rural and urban environments has an effect on his/her linguistic use and attitudes towards the Guaraní language. It is found that increased geographical mobility, urbanization and access to modern technologies does in fact have an effect on speaker's use and attitude towards the language and that it may, in fact, have an effect on the future vitality of the language itself.

There are several factors that may have limited the results of this study. The variable of mobility was equally stratified in that twelve of the participants were rural residents and twelve were urban residents. In attempting to evenly stratify this variable, other factors, such as participants' level of education, sex and profession resulted in a stratification unrepresentative of the general Paraguayan population. The majority of these 24 participants were females with some level of higher education and it is possible that this, along with the low number of total participants, yielded results that would differ when surveying a dissimilar population. A similar study of greater magnitude is necessary in order to claim definite conclusive results.

It is also necessary to recognize the challenges associated with language attitude surveys and the possibility that some participant's self-reported attitude responses may differ at times from their actual linguistic attitude. The current study did, however, confirm some of the language attitude findings

concluded in other related studies. In Gynan's study of language attitudes in the capital city of Asunción, he finds that after the implementation of language reform policies and mandated bilingual education programs there occurred a significant increase in positive attitudes towards the Guaraní language. Many of the participants in the current study confirmed Gynan's conclusion.

- [6.1] *Anteriormente era mal visto eso, hablar en guaraní. Muchos venían del gobierno y eso que el Guaraní entorpecía, por ejemplo, hasta ahora mi papa tiene está idea también que le metía en la cabeza, que al hablar guaraní, o sea, si vos hablas en guaraní, eso te impide hablar bien en castellano...ahora recién se está valorando esta cosa tan linda de la cultura*
 'Before it was looked down upon, speaking in Guaraní. People from the government came and said that Guaraní would show you down. For example my father has this idea also that they put in his head that, if one speaks Guaraní, I mean, if you speak Guaraní, that will keep you from speaking Spanish well.... Now, only recently, are they valuing this wonderful part of the culture' (Speaker 6B)

Gynan also finds that "the drop in support of Spanish monolingualism has been especially large" and that an increase in bilingualism, due to an increase in the ethnic and national identification and pride associated with the Guaraní language, has occurred (2005:32). The data from the current study supports Gynan's conclusion concerning Paraguayans' linguistic attitude. Although the majority of the participants in this study are not classified as Nationalists, all 24 speakers demonstrated some level of ethnic identification with the language.

However, as Choi proposes, "identification with the language and culture and a positive attitude towards both are not a guarantee of linguistic maintenance" (2003:86). National linguistic pride covers only one of Lewis' four attitude areas. Those that displayed ambivalent or negative attitudes towards the language did so by expressing their belief that Guaraní is of little economic and educational importance or through their low level of commitment to the practice and preservation of the language. In Gynan's study he concludes that "Guaraní is more strongly associated with pride, and Spanish with value, a finding which once again supports the notion that Guaraní represents deeper national values against the support of Spanish which is more utilitarian in nature" (2005:28). With an increase in rural-urban mobility and an increased access to urban technologies it appears that the utilitarian functional domains for Spanish are increasing.

Traditionally the linguistic domain for the Guaraní language is that of rural environments. Solé, in 1995, stated that:

“the continued vitality of Guaraní is easily explainable: two thirds of Paraguay’s population remain rural; the socioeconomic base of the country at large remains rooted in activities tied to the land.... Rurality is tied to Guaraní and Guaraní to rurality” (Solé 1995:128).

After the results of the present study, however, we must question if recent rapid increases in urbanization may be causing a movement away from the rural. As Speakers 3C and 2B explain, migration from rural to urban areas is more frequent and the younger rural generations are less interested in farming and are instead searching for opportunities in urban areas which require the use of the Spanish language.

(6.2) *porque muchos de los jovenes van a buscar trabajo en Oviedo. Porque estamos perdiendo también ese tradicion de trabajar en la chacra. Ellos prefieren ir a buscar su trabajo en Oviedo. Y si se va a Oviedo entonces él tiene que saber castellano también*
 ‘because many of the young people go to find work in Oviedo. Because we are also losing the tradition of working in the fields. They prefer to work in Oviedo and if one goes to Oviedo then he has to know Spanish too’ (Speaker 3C)

(6.3) *ahora no más la gente cambió, o sea, como cinco, cuatro años atrás, porque ahora el guarani casi no se utiliza más en la ciudad*
 ‘only now the people have changed, I mean, like four or five years ago, because now Guaraní is almost not used anymore in the city’ (Speaker 2B)

These changes confirm that both a decrease in Guaraní monolingualism and an increase in the use of both languages is occurring, not only in Asuncion, but also in areas of the country’s interior. An increase in rural-to-urban migration is causing a decrease in the use of the Guaraní language.

An increase in access to technologies and communication media also play an important role in the “mobility” of the speaker. While one may live and work in a rural area, an increase in cellular phones, access to television and radio programming and improved transportation options may make these areas less isolated than they were even five years ago. Although Guaraní literacy is promoted in schools, it is almost never used for written communication or in the media. In this study, the residents of rural areas are questioned about their use of cell phones and computers and it is found that access to these technologies also has caused an increase in their use of Spanish. Speakers 1E, 5E, and 2A explain:

(6.4) *mira, una persona nunca escribe en guaraní. Mensajea todo el tiempo en castellano, Oiko mucho en el colegio koa. todos tiene su celular ahora*

‘look, people never write in Guaraní. They always send text messages in Spanish. This happens a lot in the high schools, everyone has a cell phone now’ (Speaker 1E)

(6.5) *por la enorme influencia de otras culturas se hace que hay una necesidad de tener un correo electrónico. Se está convirtiendo a una necesidad ya y en el correo electrónico no viene en guaraní, entonces si se habla el guaraní y quieres comunicarte con el mundo, tienes que manejar el español*

‘the enormous influence of other cultures makes it so it is necessary to have an email address. It is becoming a necessity and Guaraní isn’t used in emails so if you speak Guaraní and you want to communicate with the world, you have to speak Spanish’ (Speaker 5E)

(6.6) *michive oñee’e guaranime. Yo creo qu va avanzando la tecnología y por eso*
‘people are speaking less Guaraní. I think technology is advancing and that’s why (Speaker 2A)

With these technologies, the division between the rural and the urban has begun to fade and many of these residents, especially adolescents and young adults, are frequently “migrating” to more urban environments without ever leaving their rural home.

Paraguay has been prided as a country unique for its stable bilingualism. It has been noted, again and again, that this stability is due to the enduring cultural, economic and geographic distances between the rural and the urban. In the last decade or so, however, the urban has been extending its boundaries into more and more rural areas. Urbanization, causing an increase in rural-to-urban physical migration, and communication technologies and media, causing a recent urban-to-rural cultural migration, have made the distance between the Guaraní-speaking and Spanish-speaking populations smaller and smaller. We must question how this will have an effect on the stability of the Guaraní language.

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APPENDIX 1
INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Date: _____ Participant Number: _____

1. Place of Birth: _____ 3. Profession: _____
2. Age: _____ 4. Sex: _____

1. Where do you live?
2. Have you ever lived in another city/country? If so, where and for how long?
3. Where do you work?
4. Do you speak Guaraní?
Do you understand Guaraní?
How did you learn this language?
5. Do you speak Spanish?
Do you understand Spanish?
How did you learn this language?

6. How much Guaraní is spoken in your home?

All the time _____
Most of the time _____
Sometimes _____
Never _____

How much Spanish is spoken in your home?

All the time _____
Most of the time _____
Sometimes _____
Never _____

7. <u>In what language do you...?</u>	Guaraní	Spanish	Guaraní and Spanish	n/a
Speak with your family?				
Speak with your friends?				
Speak with your children?				
Prefer to tell stories or jokes?				
Speak at church/religious meetings?				
Speak at the market/store?				
Speak with local officials?				
Speak at the medical clinic?				
Speak at school/with child's teachers?				

8. Did you speak Guaraní today/yesterday? If so with whom?

9. Did you speak Spanish today/yesterday? If so with whom?

10. Where do you think it is most useful/beneficial to speak Guaraní/Spanish?

the fields/agricultural setting _____

church _____

market _____

school _____

trips to other towns/cities _____

offices _____

stores _____

local committee meetings _____

11. In your opinion, how are people who speak Guaraní perceived in Paraguayan society?

12. How do you feel about people who only speak Guaraní?

13. How do you feel about people who only speak Spanish?

14. How do you feel about people that speak both Guaraní and Spanish?

15. When do you think it is best to use Guaraní and when Spanish?

16. Do you think Guaraní speakers should learn to read and write in Guaraní?

17. In which language should children be taught in schools?

18. What do you think would happen if everyone stopped speaking Guaraní?

19. Has the use of language changed over the past 20 years? Do people speak more or less of either Spanish or Guaraní?

20. How do you feel about the following statements? (agree/partly agree/disagree)

1. In this area people understand each other better if they speak in Guaraní.

2. People should know how to speak Spanish.

3. People should know how to speak Guaraní.

4. Guaraní is the language of the uneducated.

5. Guaraní is a sweeter sounding language than Spanish.

6. Governmental institutions should use Guaraní.

7. There should be Guaraní television and radio stations.

8. Guaraní may one day disappear.

APPENDIX 2

MAP OF INVESTIGATION SITES



http://www.maps.com/ref_map.aspx?cid=694,695,697,715&pid=12297