

Isolation Lost: an Analysis of Changing Bilingualism in Rural Paraguay

Abstract

Rare amidst the New World's history of language death, indigenous Guaraní has survived alongside Spanish for nearly 500 years in Paraguay. Because geo-economic isolation and cultural pride sustain Guaraní, Spanish threatens Guaraní more in cities—where links to international economies and cultures do exist—than in rural areas. As late as 1965, rural areas remained isolated. Wrote linguist Joan Rubin, “the importance of Spanish in the outside world is clearly recognized, but most Paraguayans have very little to do with the outside world” (54). By my arrival in 2005, however, Spanish had made inroads into rural linguistics. My goal was to explore changes to rural Paraguayan bilingualism, from Rubin's day to our own, and reason why they are occurring. Embedded in a community for two months as a volunteer, I observed the rural community's sociolinguistics and surveyed its high-school students. I discovered that Spanish-Guaraní bilinguals now outnumber Guaraní monolinguals and that Spanish is acquired at earlier ages than previously reported. Also, Spanish is now shared in intimate spaces that once were the exclusive realm of Guaraní—between girlfriend and boyfriend, between mother and son. Why? Along with increased schooling and global-cultural influences, economic benefits associated with Spanish proficiency—which drove lower-class urbanites to learn Spanish—now entice rural Paraguayans. Women, who seek work as maids for urban families, have economic impetus to learn Spanish and even report having proficiency greater than is likely. Nonetheless, women are more bilingual than men—different from Rubin's time—and will most likely impart greater Spanish proficiency to their children than past generations. I show that a basic trend in rural Paraguayan bilingualism is evident: just as urban areas have long tilted towards Spanish, rural areas—by now bilingual—are also moving towards Spanish.

Word Count: 289

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I. Introduction

Paraguayan bilingualism has been lauded as nothing short of a miracle. First encountered by the Spanish in 1511, the indigenous Guaraní language has survived a half-millennium of diverse pressures and remains in use today. So remarkable was Guaraní's survival alongside Spanish that in 1965 linguist Joan Rubin—who wrote the seminal work on Paraguayan bilingualism—looked back on a 400-year equilibrium between Spanish and Guaraní (86) and ahead to a shift "not from the use of one language to another but rather to the use of both" (92). Forty years later, however, urban researcher Jinny Choi would write that "Guaraní is losing ground" (2003, 88).

Paraguay's geography and history account for Spanish-Guaraní coexistence. Through much of its development, Paraguay was isolated. Landlocked and lacking the precious metals encountered elsewhere in the new world, Paraguay's interaction with Europeans was moderate. Spanish Jesuit missionaries supported Guaraní culture and penned the first Guaraní dictionary in 1624 (Choi 2003, 84). The dictatorships of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries isolated and therefore continued to protect Guaraní. José Gaspar Rodríguez de Francia, for example, closed Paraguay for thirty years and promoted Guaraní culture for political reasons, even expelling Spanish-speaking elitists (De la Sobera). Nationalism associated with the Triple Alliance (1865-1870) and Gran Chaco (1932-35) wars further strengthened Guaraní (Rubin).

But since 1965, when Rubin began her study, Paraguay has accelerated out of isolation. In 1989, Paraguay transitioned from a 30-year dictatorship and into democracy, bringing international business, politics and culture—concerns for which Spanish is preferred. Although its 1992 arrival as an official language of Paraguay excited Guaraní pride, the new global influences were already drawing practical emphasis from Guaraní and reshaping Paraguayan sociolinguistics (Chin 2003, 84-86).

These changes were sufficiently dramatic that walking out of Asunción's airport in Luque, where Rubin had studied forty years prior, I saw British-influenced graffiti which read "el hardcore punk no está muerto." It was summer 2005, and I had arrived in Paraguay as a volunteer with the nonprofit youth-organization Amigos de las Américas. Having prepared with research and reading, I planned to simultaneously explore Paraguay's rural sociolinguistic situation. In that regard, my role as a volunteer allowed me to observe rural Paraguayan language use as I shared the home of my host family and community: an intimacy that Rubin desired when she wrote that she wanted "to live with [several families] for a period long enough to pass the politeness barrier and get more natural data" (9).

In this intimate environment, I observed striking changes from Rubin's time. While many of Rubin's generalizations still describe the sociolinguistics I encountered, such as Guaraní being associated with the countryside and Spanish with the city and government, bilingualism in rural Paraguay has risen immeasurably. When Rubin wrote that "the importance of Spanish in the outside world is clearly recognized, but most Paraguayans have very little to do with the outside world" (54), she could not have anticipated the infiltration of Mexican soap-operas into the

crackling TV-sets which illuminate the thatched shacks each evening in rural towns, nor the steady movement of rural women to and from cities, hired as maids.

My paper aims to illuminate consistencies and differences in linguistic usage and attitude between Rubin's time and our own, and explain those findings in light of the changing educational, economic and cultural aspects of the rural environment. Given its limited scope, my paper focuses on Spanish proficiency according to gender—source of the most striking contrasts. In 1965, Rubin reported that men were 20% more likely than women to be proficient in Spanish. At present, the situation is reversed and women show greater Spanish proficiency than men. After introducing the community and summarizing general findings, I describe this phenomenal shift in gender-related proficiency, assess how it evidences economic and cultural changes, and analyze how it signals coming changes to Paraguayan bilingualism.

II. Research Setting

Background on Study Community

Santo Domingo Savio lies along a dirt road between vast grasslands and rolling hills several hours south of Asunción. A "typical" home in the 60-70 household community has brick floor, ceramic or thatched roofing, a latrine and an exterior shack for cooking over fire. Running water and electricity arrived within the last decade. Families plant corn and tubers to subsist. The community is truly rural—where Guaraní's use would be expected (Rubin 1968; Choi 2003).

Domingo Savio is home to an elementary school and the five-community high school where I conducted my survey. Students come by foot, bicycle and bus from as far as ten kilometers to attend. Although public, the schools charge tuition and in difficult years some families cannot afford to send their children. By twelfth-grade, a typical student has missed one enrollment—some miss as many as seven, but attending school is the overwhelming norm.

Daily life revolves around agriculture. Men harvest crops, while women cook, wash and maintain house. Gender roles are as dated as the oxen carts, but while men and women are aware of the modern advancements in both, change in either is far from becoming practical.

III. Research Procedures

Varied Roles and Limitations of the Researcher

My research was coexistent with volunteer work with Amigos de las Américas. My energies were dedicated to teaching, organizing youth and realizing community projects. Many observations, then, were couched in education and politics, traditionally Spanish-speaking spheres. Also, my "Greenness" in Guaraní provoked the use of Spanish towards me. My observations were therefore influenced by my presence as an observer (see Milroy 1987 for an explanation of "The Observer's Paradox").

Integration and solidarity, however, were necessary to my volunteer work. Over the course of two months, I became an accepted member of the community, broke through the self-conscious restraints of those around me and observed and participated in authentic linguistic interchanges. My exposures ranged from discussing local politics while planting corn with old men, to discussing recipes while cooking native cornbread with young women.

Observational Study

I collected data by hourly maintaining a language diary (see Appendix B, Form 2) and daily recording anecdotal experiences. One omission, however, was a method to record *Yopara*, the rapidly spoken code-switching between Spanish and Guaraní.

Questionnaire

I also gave a questionnaire to 121 students from the upper grades of Colegio Nacional Santo Domingo Savio. The composition of those surveyed was 46.3% male / 53.7% female, ranging in age from 14 to 24 with a median and average age of 17. The survey is not entirely representative of the community nor even of youth, as surveying upper grades means surveying those who have managed to pass through a good amount of schooling. However, as schooling becomes the norm rather than the exception, these findings are increasingly viable indicators of developing linguistic norms.

I used a survey based upon Choi's 2003 linguistic survey of Asuncion schools. In the future, it would be best to prepare additional questions relating to the rural setting's mixed dialect of *Yopara*. My questions focused on "Guaraní" and "Spanish," yet some informants offered "Yopara" as their preferred "language."

IV. Discussion of General Trends

General State of Rural Bilingualism

Bilingualism in rural Santo Domingo Savio is now more widespread and dynamic than both the bilingualism encountered by Rubin in her studies of rural areas in 1961 as well as that encountered by Choi in her 2003 study of urban areas.

In Rubin's 1965 study, linguistic proficiency in rural Itapuami favored Guaraní monolingualism (52.5%), with bilinguals shortly behind (47.5%) (81). In contrast, my 2005 study found Guaraní monolinguals to be nearly nonexistent in rural Domingo Savio. Even a 104 year-old Veteran of the Chaco War—a war decorated with pro-Guaraní nationalism (Rubin)—chastised his daughter for making him look foolish by translating my Spanish into Guaraní and insisted that he be spoken to in Spanish. The linguistic shift is far-reaching and, as the age of the veteran shows, not just the result of modern schooling.

In fact, rural bilingualism has grown so dramatically that 79.1% of students surveyed reported being equally capable of self-expression in both languages. In urban Asuncion, however, Choi

found that to this same question only 1.5% of students answered "both languages," the vast majority being monolingual Spanish speakers (2003, 86). While urban centers are traditionally thought to be most bilingual and rural areas most Guaraní monolingual, Choi's study and mine together show that rural Paraguay is now more bilingual than urban centers, which are increasingly Spanish monolingual (Choi 2003).

Bilingual Proficiency Related to Education

The correlation of Spanish proficiency with years of schooling has, however, remained consistent since Rubin's time. Recognizing the correlation, youth at times jokingly "translated" Spanish into Guaraní for the "uncultured" and "uneducated." My survey results agree with the believed correlation. The most common response to "Where do you speak the most in Spanish?" was "in school" (44.4%). Furthermore, most respondents reported learning Spanish between ages 5-7 (37%), when children typically enter school.

Rubin predicted that bilingual proficiency would increase as education became accessible to more people for longer periods of time (73). This has been the case: greater accessibility to education has accompanied the growth in bilingual proficiency. The age of entrance for school has declined by three years since Rubin's time and the number attending has grown. Rubin found that only 22.2% of those surveyed in Itapuami had completed four or more years of schooling. In contrast, Colegio Nacional Santo Domingo Savio is so overbooked that two sets of students rotate through the building and a third group crams tightly into an extra room in the elementary school. Fewer than four years of schooling has ceased being the norm—as Rubin noted—and has become the exception.

But my observations and survey results show that schools alone are not responsible for the growth of Spanish in rural Paraguay and suggest that Spanish is often acquired before attending school. In fact, 28.3% reported learning Spanish while or before learning Guaraní—that is, in early childhood. To remain accurate, Rubin's remark that Guaraní is "the first language of the overwhelming majority" (81) should be rewritten without the adjective "overwhelming." To make comparison, in urban Luque in 1961, 45% of those surveyed were bilingual or Spanish-speaking from birth (Rubin 1968). In 2005, rural Domingo Savio is now approaching that figure, with 28.3% reporting to be bilingual or Spanish-speaking from birth.

Informal Opportunities to Learn Spanish

The trend away from Guaraní monolingualism and towards bilingualism in the rural setting is therefore attributable not only to increased schooling, but also to new, informal opportunities. Spanish is no longer "for purposes of reading and performing simple arithmetic operations," as Rubin said a half-century ago (82). Rather, it has been infused into rural life: in leisure, in work, with family and friends.

Spanish music is pervasive. I saw a three-year-old dancing around his family's one-roomed house and shouting, for better or worse, "¡Culo!" (ass) each time Cuban-American rapper Pitbull did so in his hit song. Spanish in music, however, is not limited to obscenities and not always foreign. The town musician, while illiterate, composed and sang roughly as many polkas in

Spanish as he did in Guaraní. Once, before a meeting, the youth took turns singing songs: four sung in each language. Even adults remarked on the nostalgia they felt when listening to 1970s Spanish love songs.

Another opportunity for casual Spanish exposure is television. Nearly every family has a television, often in disrepair. The programming is directed towards middle and upper classes—as commercials for weight-loss and dog food reveal—and therefore in Spanish. Only one program was in Guaraní: a 4:30am comedy show. Many women watch Mexican *telenovelas*, or soap operas, with great consistency. A group of 60 year-old women gathered daily to watch and shout at the characters, and two girls I knew often watched *telenovelas* alone to keep with the story. In contrast, men were fairly indifferent as to what, when, or how much they watched TV.

Linguists, however, argue whether listening to radio or watching television programming in other languages imparts linguistic ability (Di Paolo). Nonetheless, the pervasiveness of Spanish in music and television—leisure activities—shows the significant Spanish inroads into rural culture.

A third informal opportunity to learn Spanish is from family members. 16.3% of highschoolers interviewed reported speaking Spanish the most with family. Of those, 68% mentioned brothers, sisters, or relatives. This breakdown alludes to two points: first, that the younger generation is more conversant in Spanish than their parents and, second, that family working outside of the house is more conversant in Spanish than those remaining in the rural home. Men leave Domingo Savio for military training and required term of service, and also to seek urban work in factories or with the police (rarely). Women who leave rural homes nearly always work as maids in Asuncion, Buenos Aires, or even Spain. Housecleaning appears easier to encounter than the jobs men seek and also more consistent, lasting until women decide to return and establish their own homes back in the campo.

Linguistic Usage

Whereas a summary of Rubin's work would paint the impression that Spanish was reserved for extremely formal situations and regarded as only marginally useful in the rural setting, Spanish has since ingratiated itself with the local culture.

In the rural setting, Spanish proficiency is now expected. Guaraní is no longer used by default and speakers now have language choice. At a youth conference, I noticed that introductions were made in Spanish. An informant explained that it was best to introduce oneself in Spanish before showing more familiarity with Guaraní. A rural Paraguayan who joined my organization to volunteer in Domingo Savio waited two days before speaking Guaraní. These findings support Rubin's observation that Spanish is chosen over Guaraní by bilingual speakers of less familiarity (106); roughly 15% of those I surveyed said they spoke Spanish most frequently with strangers.

Ironically, however, rural Spanish usage is sufficiently complex that it is now not only for strangers but also for lovers. After "classmates," the most common response to "With whom do you speak most in Spanish?" was "with my boyfriend/girlfriend" (18.5%)—superseding the expected response of "with strangers"! One girl told me that she feels uncomfortable saying "rohajju" ("I love you" in Guaraní) and prefers to write love letters in Spanish. In fact, I never

found love letters in Guaraní (I saw nine or ten), although I saw stacks of history notes written in Guaraní. My Paraguayan bilingual co-volunteer began a relationship, unfortunately, with a girl from the community. Although I discouraged their relationship, I asked him in which language she spoke to him privately. He said "Spanish." The girl rarely spoke Spanish publicly for fear of grammatical ridicule, yet spoke it fluently to her boyfriend in private. Because Guaraní is traditionally associated with intimacy, and at deeper levels of intimacy most likely still is, these findings show Spanish's significant movement against tradition.

The scope of my paper does not permit further investigation into these radical findings. My research, however, indicates that the "Ordered Dimensions in the Choice of Language" which Rubin defined (109), are no longer so orderly. Spanish is challenging tradition, and changing usage patterns should be researched further.

V. Analysis of Gender Issues

Overview

In 1965, Rubin found that rural men had greater bilingual proficiency than women, by a difference of 20% (73). Rubin attributed this difference to the "greater amount of education for men, and the increased opportunities for exposure through travel, army service, and work experience" (73). My 2005 findings show, however, that the situation is now reversed. Women are typically more proficient in Spanish, attend more school and have greater opportunity for exposure through work than do men.

Expectations for Spanish Proficiency based on Gender

In Domingo Savio, the belief that "women speak Spanish better than men" is pervasive. When I used the statement for a class on generalization versus fact, the students considered it factual.

The sentiment is so strong that self-reported responses tend improbably towards it. Women preferring to express themselves "in both languages" believably outpace men by 10%. But women who report learning "both languages simultaneously" outnumber men two to one, and women who report having learned Spanish first again outnumber men by a factor of two.

The generalization that "women speak better Spanish than men" is evidence of sociology responsible for the discrepancy in what should have been equal upbringings. Regardless of the statement's truth, it has become the expectation—and women strive to embody it.

Education and Gender Discrepancies

Recalling the association of Spanish proficiency with education, one explanation for the gender discrepancy relates to schooling. Interestingly, women lead men in the composition of the student body by more than seven percentage points. My findings further show that men who attend school miss enrollments more frequently than women and therefore have more sporadic exposure to formal Spanish education. Reviewing ages, I further found that men miss two

enrollments for every one missed by women. Moreover, women who miss enrollments typically miss just one; men who miss enrollments typically miss three.

Agricultural and Economic Factors in Gender Discrepancies

In a subsistence community such as Domingo Savio, economic necessities dictate school attendance. When money for tuition is not available, children are not sent; when the crops need tending, youth are held back to reap them.

In light of these economic realities, the lower rate of male attendance suggests that schooling is less valuable for men than it is for women. Instead of work in school, men are consumed by and valued for agricultural work. My host family, for example, held back both sons to work in the fields during a hard year. When the mother passed away, however, only one daughter was held back to manage the house—and she returned to school after just one year of absence, whereas one son never returned. In general, men's daytime work in the fields interferes with schooling more than the mostly mealtime work of young women.

For women and their families, however, staying in school appears to be economically valuable—as shown by my host sister's quick return to class. In contrast to Rubin's observations (72), women now have better prospects for jobs which value education and formal Spanish than do men. To be a housemaid for Spanish-speaking families in Asuncion, Buenos Aires, or Spain (travel is arranged by employers) is a tangible possibility for rural women, and daughters send earnings back to their families. Men, however, have fewer prospects for labor requiring Spanish. Police work—which does require Spanish—is nearly unattainable because of costly training fees (well over a typical family's yearly earnings).

A Parallel Situation in Rural Austria

The research of Susan Gal in rural Austria (1978) parallels the situation materializing in rural Paraguay. Gal observed that Hungarian—the language of peasants—was dying out to make way for German—the language of factory workers, money and prestige. Leading the pro-German trend, Gal observed, were peasant women (300). Gal explained the difference by noting that, to women,

peasant life is a much less attractive choice than it is for men. Now that other opportunities are open to these young women, they reject peasant life as a viable alternative . . . [and] their language choices are part of this rejection (301).

Whereas men rationalized the toil of subsistence agriculture with the positive sense of independence it afforded them, peasant women subjected to patriarchy did not feel independently satisfied (301). As wife of a factory worker, however, a woman could have greater autonomy and an easier lifestyle. Women "do not want to be peasants," Gal concluded, and therefore "they do not present themselves as peasants in speech" (302).

In rural Paraguay, women similarly see Spanish—language of prestige and prosperity in the Paraguayan context—as a stepping stone to an improved life. Education is therefore desirable. Men, with less opportunity for Spanish-speaking jobs and with greater satisfaction in rural patriarchy, have less impetus to attend school and become proficient in Spanish.

Leisure Activities and Gender-related Spanish Proficiency

Differences in leisure activities further explain the correlation between gender and Spanish proficiency. Male leisure is dominated by activities strongly associated with Guaraní, such as traditional card games, drinking and soccer (a fifth of male respondents said they spoke the most Guaraní on the soccer field). Typical leisure for women, however, involves not only traditional drinks and foods where Guaraní is prevalent but also, more commonly than men, watching Spanish *telenovelas* in groups, working on homework collectively, and singing along to the radio around the house (while men are in the fields). Women, I observed, are also more apt to administer and participate in social groups. In the youth group, women outnumbered men four to one. While the president was male, the vice president, secretary and treasurer were all women. The group solicits aid organizations in Spanish, visits the government office for meetings, also in Spanish, and maintains minutes in Spanish, although the meetings themselves are conducted mostly in Guaraní. The catechists and caretakers of the local chapel—which gives its services in Spanish—are also women.

Implications

In Austria, Susan Gal describes a situation in which "sex-linked differences in language choice have influenced the overall community-wide process of [linguistic] change" (292). Women, rejecting peasant lifestyle and seeking economic prosperity, abandon Hungarian and embrace German. As they do so too does the community. Indeed, Gal's paper is humorously titled "Peasant Men Can't Get Wives: Language Change and Sex Roles in a Bilingual Community."

In Paraguay, the implications are no less substantial. Perhaps that Spanish is used between girlfriend and boyfriend suggests that, as in Austria, women draw men to speak Spanish towards them. Without doubt, however, women draw their children to speak Spanish; if women value learning Spanish for their own livelihood, by extension they will value teaching Spanish to their children. Through "caretaker talk" (Di Paolo), Spanish could be disseminated to the next generation.

The trend towards Spanish acquisition before school-age suggests that this may already be the case. Indeed, I observed a young mother speaking to her two-year-old in more Spanish than she used with family her own age. Whereas Rubin found a mother-child, Spanish-speaking relationship to be alien to rural culture, it is no longer so. Rubin noted that lower-class urban families "spoke Spanish to their offspring and spouses to offer better opportunities to their children" (75). This practice has since extended to the rural setting.

VI. Conclusion

The linguistic balance in Paraguay is beginning to tilt towards Spanish in rural areas just as it has long been tilting towards Spanish in urban areas.

In the rural setting, the "relative linguistic isolation" Rubin encountered (81) has been interrupted. Spanish is no longer learned exclusively in formal educational environments nor

learned solely to aid in the act of learning. It is now learned from and shared by families—many of which have children working in urban areas. And it has made inroads into accepted rural culture through music, television, entertainment and religious ceremony and is effecting interactions as intimate as courting.

In contrast to Rubin's findings, women now exhibit greater bilingual proficiency than men. This can be explained economically—genders differ in their present work roles and in their possibilities for future work—and also by differing leisure activities. Spanish acquisition related to work and social mobility is more relevant to women than men. The expectation for women to learn Spanish is sufficiently strong that it influences how women view and report their linguistic usage.

Through all of these changes, Spanish has made personal and cultural inroads into rural Paraguay. While still more prevalent than Spanish, Guaraní is no longer the exclusive norm. And, because Spanish has gained prominence with women, Spanish will most likely be strongly imparted to the next generation of rural Paraguayans, further impinging upon Paraguay's tenuous bilingual balance.

Word Count: 3960

VI. Appendices

Appendix A: Questionnaire Data

Table 1 Which language(s) do you speak?

	Both	Spanish	Guaraní	Total
<i>N</i>	109	4	8	121
%	90.1	3.3	6.6	100

Table 2 At what age did you learn to speak...?

Language	From when I could first speak	1-3	4-6 (school)	7-9	10-12	13-15	Total
Spanish	20.4	13.9	28.7	25.9	10.2	0.9	100% of 108 respondents
Guaraní	50.9	38.6	3.5	7.0	0	0	100% of 114 respondents

Table 3 Do you express yourself the best possible in Spanish, Guaraní, or in both equally?

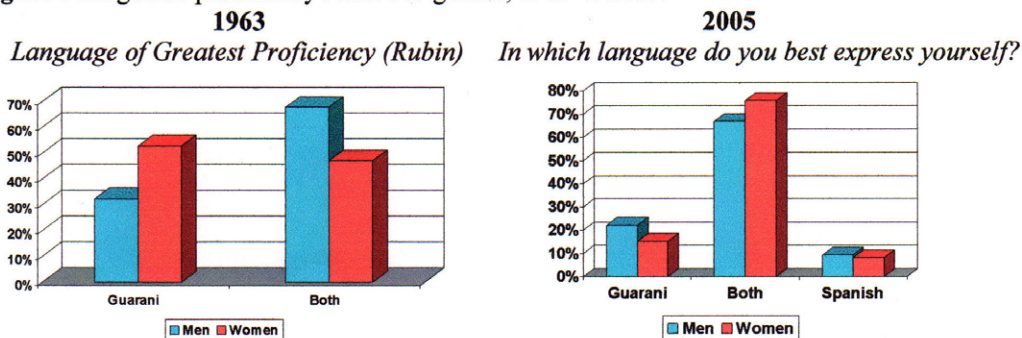
	Both	Yopara (both)	Spanish	Guaraní	Total
<i>N</i>	87	2	8	13	110*
%	79.1	1.8	7.3	11.8	100

*10 respondents misunderstood the question and were not included

Table 4 Do you express yourself the best possible in Spanish, Guaraní, or in both equally?

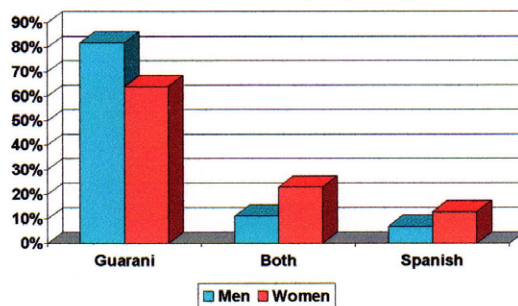
Sex	Both		Yopara (both)		Spanish*		Guaraní		Total	
	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%
Male	36	66.7	1	1.9	5	9.3	12	22.1	54	100
Female	50	75.8	2	3.0	4	6.1	10	15.1	66	100

*Of male respondents in this column, two were born in Asuncion and one in Buenos Aires. Of women, however, all were from rural backgrounds.

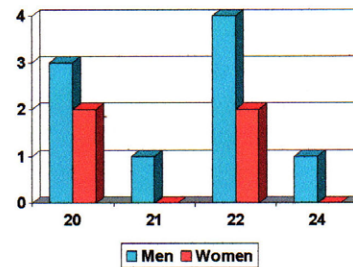
Figure 5 Linguistic proficiency related to gender, 1963 v. 2005.

*Again, 3 of the men in the "Spanish" column at right were born in urban areas; none of the women were.

Figure 6 Women try to get ahead, and do get ahead.
Self-reported first language acquisition



Older High-school students per Age



*Women are finishing high-school at younger ages

Table 7 With whom do you speak most in Spanish?

	N	%
<i>With friends/classmates</i>	49	36.3
<i>With my girlfriend/boyfriend</i>	25	18.5
<i>With strangers and people from the city</i>	20	14.8
<i>With my teacher</i>	17	12.6
<i>With relatives</i>	10	7.4
<i>With my family in general</i>	7	5.2
<i>With my brothers and sisters</i>	5	3.7
<i>With everybody</i>	2	1.5
Total	135	100

Table 8 With whom do you speak most in Guarani?

	N	%
<i>With my family in general</i>	41	34.2
<i>With my parents and/or grandparents</i>	32	26.6
<i>With my brothers and sisters</i>	2	1.7
<i>With friends, classmates & acquaintances</i>	33	27.5
<i>With the people of my community</i>	7	5.8
<i>With my teachers</i>	0	0
<i>With my boyfriend/girlfriend</i>	0	0
<i>With everybody</i>	5	4.2
Total	120	100

Table 9 Where do you speak the most in Spanish?

	N	%
<i>In school</i>	56	44.4
<i>In the cities</i>	53	42.1
<i>At home</i>	5	4.0
<i>In all parts</i>	9	7.1
<i>Other</i>	3	2.4
Total	126	100

Table 9 Where do you speak the most in Guaraní?

	N	%
<i>At home</i>	71	61.2
<i>In my community</i>	26	22.4
<i>On the soccer field</i>	11	9.5
<i>In school</i>	3*	2.6
<i>Everywhere</i>	5	4.3
Total	126	100

*These three respondents all were born in urban areas.

Table 10 Questions regarding literacy and desire to improve

	YES	NO
<i>Can you write in Spanish?</i>	121	0
<i>Can you write in Guaraní?</i>	121	0
<i>Would you like to learn to speak and write well in Guaraní?</i>	121*	0

*This shows the tremendous pride for Guaraní rurally. In Choi's study, far fewer urban students desired to speak and write in Guaraní.

Table 11 Common sentiments: Is it important to preserve Guaraní and its culture? Why?

- “Da gusto hablar en el Guaraní.” *It gives me pleasure to speak in Guaraní.*
- “Amar nuestra lengua y cultura es amarnos a nuestros mismos.” *To love our language [Guaraní] is to love ourselves as people.*
- “Soy paraguayo.” *I'm Paraguayo.*
- “Nos identifica como paraguayos.” *It's what identifies us as Paraguayans.*
- “Sobre todo nuestra cultura es lo que nos identifica mas.” *Of all of our culture, Guaraní identifies us most.*
- “Es nuestro.” *It's ours.*
- “Es la lengua oficial del Paraguay.” *It's the official language of Paraguay.*
- “Es símbolo de mi país.” *It's a symbol of my country.*

Appendix B: Research Forms**Form 1 Questionnaire from Choi 2003**

1. Nombre del Participante:

2. Sexo: M F

3. Edad:

4. Educación:

5. Trabajo:

6. Lugar de nacimiento:

 ¿Por cuantos anos vivió Ud. allá?

7. ¿Donde vives hoy en día?

 ¿Por cuantos anos ha vivido Ud. aquí?

8. ¿Cual(es) idioma(s) habla usted?

9. ¿En que edad usted aprendió hablar el español.

10. ¿En que edad usted aprendió hablar el guaraní.

11. ¿Escribe en español? Sí No

12. ¿Escribe en guaraní? Sí No

13. ¿Usted se expresa lo más mejor posible en español, guaraní o en ambas idiomas?

14. ¿Con quién usted habla más en español?

15. ¿Con quién usted habla más en guaraní?

16. ¿Dónde usted habla más en español?

17. ¿Dónde usted habla más en guaraní?

18. ¿Usted querría hablar y escribir bien en guaraní?

19. ¿Usted piensa que es importante preservar la lengua de guaraní y su cultura? ¿Por que?

Form 2 Language Diary

Fecha: 2005

Hora	Situacion	Tema	Forma	Altavoces Principales	Idioma*
7:00am					
8:00					
9:00					
10:00					
11:00					
12:00pm					
1:00					
2:00					
3:00					
4:00					
5:00					
6:00					
7:00					
8:00					
9:00					
10:00					
11:00					

*G= Guaraní E/S=Espanol

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