

Language Attitudes and Reported Usage of the Standard and Vernacular Varieties of Guaraní in  
Paraguay

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## ABSTRACT

This study examines the language attitudes surrounding the standard (Academic Guaraní) and vernacular (Jopará) varieties of Guaraní, as well as the reported language use for Spanish and the two varieties of Guaraní. The study addresses language attitudes as manifestations of pride, loyalty, and prestige and reported language usage characteristic of a dichotomy between high and low varieties (e.g. Loureiro-Rodríguez, 2008) in order to determine if similar language attitudes and linguistic norms are evident in this community. A survey was used to gather data from 10 students and 10 teachers who live and work in Altos de La Cordillera (a small town with rural and urban features). Contrary to the findings of previous research studies on the language attitudes associated with high and low varieties (e.g. Garrett, 2001), the participants of this study appear to show an all-round favorability for the standard variety of Guaraní (Academic Guaraní). Furthermore, the reported language use of Spanish, Jopará, and Academic Guaraní does not seem to provide evidence for a Spanish/Guaraní diglossia in this community nor does there appear to be a dichotomy between the high and low varieties of Guaraní such as what has historically existed between Spanish and Guaraní. The participants' language attitudes and patterns of reported language use are interpreted in relation to notions of solidarity, superiority, accommodation, and the relationship between adolescence and identity formation.

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Stacy Escobar

## GENERAL AUDIENCE ABSTRACT

This study examines the language attitudes surrounding the variety of Guaraní taught in school (Academic Guaraní) and the primarily oral variety of Guaraní (Jopará) historically spoken at home or in private contexts. It also examines the reported language use for Spanish and the two varieties of Guaraní. The study addresses language attitudes as manifestations of pride, loyalty, and prestige and reported language usage characteristic of multilingual communities in order to determine if similar language attitudes and linguistic norms are evident in this community. A survey was used to gather data from 10 students and 10 teachers who live and work in Altos de La Cordillera (a small town with rural and urban characteristics). The participants of this study appear to show an all-round favorability for the standard variety of Guaraní (Academic Guaraní). Furthermore, the reported language use of Spanish, Jopará, and Academic Guaraní does not seem to be connected to the formality or informality of the given situation or context. The participants' language attitudes and patterns of reported language use are interpreted in reference to inter and intra-group relations and the notion of superiority.

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## 1. Introduction

Paraguay is quite unlike other countries in the Americas in that one indigenous language is spoken in addition to Spanish by an overwhelming majority of the population. Paraguayans have spoken both languages for hundreds of years, and the linguistic landscape of Paraguay is best known for the diglossic situation that has historically existed between Spanish and Guaraní. When two languages come into contact with one another as they have in Paraguay, the highly standardized language (Spanish) is esteemed as the high variety, while the colloquial or regional language (Guaraní) is considered the low variety. A dichotomy between the high and low varieties creates an awareness of linguistic norms that dictates patterns of language usage within the speech community. For many years, Spanish was the dominant language used outside of the home in public and formal domains, while Guaraní was used primarily in private and familiar domains. Linguistic norms once characteristic of a diglossic situation between Spanish and Guaraní in Paraguay have now shifted to those that are increasingly associated with bilingualism (Choi, 2005). Therefore, one purpose of the present study is to determine if there is evidence to support a Spanish/Guaraní diglossia in this community.

The present study also seeks to understand the reported language use and attitudes surrounding the potential dichotomy that exists between the vernacular variety (Jopará) spoken at home and the standard variety (Academic Guaraní) taught in the school system. Before educational reform efforts in 1992 to establish Guaraní medium schools, Guaraní was primarily an oral language. Therefore, some people believe that the codified variety of Guaraní now taught in school “has been unrealistically purified and is unrepresentative of the people’s language” (Gyan, 2011, p. 62). While previous research studies have addressed the differences between the standard and vernacular varieties of Guaraní and the attitudes associated with those differences through informal interviews (Canese Caballero, 2009; Walsh Lang, 2014), to date, no research studies have used a survey to analyze the reported language use and attitudes surrounding the

two varieties of Guaraní. The domain distinctions and language attitudes surrounding the vernacular and standard varieties of Guaraní is an issue that warrants further study, according to Choi (2005). The present study uses a survey not only to examine the attitudes surrounding both varieties of Guaraní, but also to analyze the reported language use of participants, in order to determine whether or not the introduction of a standard variety of Guaraní in the school system has created a diglossic situation such as what has historically existed between Spanish and Guaraní.

## **2. Literature Review**

In order to understand the language behavior and attitudes surrounding the vernacular and standard varieties of Guaraní in Altos de La Cordillera, this chapter will first give an overview of language attitudes as beliefs that are socially constructed through intergroup relations. This overview provides a lens through which to understand the remaining subsections that will address the cultural factors and ideologies that play a role in the formation of language attitudes about the two varieties of Guaraní.

### **2.1. An Overview of Language Attitudes**

Language attitudes are beliefs that are cognitive, behavioral, and affective in nature (Cargile, Giles, Ryan, and Bradac, 1994). According to Cargile et al. (1994), attitudes are cognitive in that they entail beliefs about the world; nevertheless, while attitudes may vary from one individual to the next, the actions associated with the behavioral nature of these beliefs, as Hogg (1996) stated, "... cannot be understood in isolation from the wider context of societal beliefs about language groups and their intergroup relations" (p. 379). This social construction of beliefs is similar to the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, which states that "...one's social and cultural experiences are organized by language and thus each language represents a particular worldview" (May, 2012, p. 139). As Sapir observed, this perspective of the world is unconsciously created by the language habits of the community (May, 2012). For this very reason, social identity theory is an important aspect of understanding how language is used to build relationships and accommodate oneself to a group according to the given context and self-image that an individual wishes to maintain (Hogg, 1996 & Kiesling, 2013).

Since the wider context of societal beliefs is essential to understanding the identities of individuals, social identity theory focuses on identities as a social construction. Identities, as defined in social theory, "are not fixed attributes of people or groups but are dynamically constructed aspects which emerge through discourse and social behavior" (Wardhaugh & Fuller,

2015, p. 7). Discourse is used as a tool for individuals to negotiate their membership in groups or social categories based on sexual orientation, level of education, ethnicity, race, socioeconomic status, etc. What it means to identify with one or more of these social categories may vary over time or from one situation to the next. Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015) also stress the power languages have in society by describing them as “symbolic marketplaces in which people have more control of the goods than others because certain languages or varieties have been endowed with more symbolic power than others and have therefore been given a greater value” (p. 9). The language that holds more symbolic power is typically the standardized variety due to the upward social mobility it offers in both formal and informal contexts (Wardhaugh and Fuller, 2015).

Such issues of power play a significant role in the construction of social identities. When cognition is at play during the attitudinal process, an individual may form beliefs about a speaker’s social category and personality based on the language he uses. These beliefs that individuals form are subject to the social norms of society and defined by certain laws, be they linguistic, social, economic, or cultural (Nealon & Giroux, 2012). As a result, evaluations of language use will reflect factors such as social status and solidarity<sup>1</sup> associated with these social norms of society (Edwards, 1999). Who we are, then, and what we believe is dependent upon a process of negotiation and recognition by other people in the same linguistic community.

This process through which people form their beliefs about languages corresponds to the social constructionist approach to sociolinguistics, which suggests a process of negotiation when one is constructing his/her social identity. In contrast to attitudes as fixed, enduring responses, Cargile et al. (1994) describes attitudes as “positions in an argument and embedded within particular social controversies fashioned at any one time” (p. 218). Similarly, Giles (2006) states that language attitudes are obtained through an ongoing process of renegotiation that occurs both inter- and intra-individually: “Language attitudes, therefore, should not be understood as

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<sup>1</sup> According to Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015), “solidarity refers to the motivations which cause individuals to act together and to feel a common bond which influences their social actions” (p. 9).

statistically passed down through socialization processes but, rather, as an ongoing (re)negotiation that occurs inter- and intra-individually, against a backdrop of local features and resources” (p. 42). In other words, language attitudes are socially constructed and can be just as fluid and multiple as an individual’s social identity.

As individuals engage in this ongoing process of renegotiation, judgments about language can be categorized into the following three dimensions: superiority, social attractiveness, and dynamism (Garrett, 2001). However, Garrett notes that the judgment that carries more weight in non-linguists’ comments is the notion of superiority: “Very many language users hold passionate views about what is right in language and what is wrong with it” (p. 628). Individuals describe a superior language as intelligent, prestigious, and more advantageous socioeconomically, and it is under this notion of superiority that the standardization of a language occurs in contact situations. Although languages can be characterized objectively according to their level of standardization and vitality, an individual’s language attitudes will only be affected by a subjective assessment of these factors (Cargile et al., 1994, p. 226). As children are exposed to the standard variety of language(s) in school, their comments and/or language attitudes may reveal a level of superiority associated with the standard variety, but their language attitudes will also be shaped by subjective assessments of the standard based on the language attitudes of their parents (Canese Caballero, 2009 & Gynan, 1998) and teachers (Walsh Lang, 2014). Although some language attitudes towards Guaraní may be characterized objectively according to its level of standardization and reflect the notion of superiority, an analysis of the attitudinal data collected from the teachers and students of the present study appears to provide evidence to support the relationship between language and identity formation in adolescence as a process of social construction (Garrett, 2001 & Walsh Lang, 2014).

In addition to this process of social construction, there are several other cultural factors that may affect the development of language attitudes. According to Cargile et al. (1994), these

cultural factors “include the political, historical, economic, and linguistic realities that exert a large influence over the process of language attitude formation” (p.226). These factors establish a set of norms that provide a framework for judging a language. Therefore, language attitudes may be affected less by intrinsic or aesthetic qualities and more by extrinsic factors, such as levels of status, prestige, and contextual appropriateness (Cargile et. al., 1994). These extrinsic factors may explain a lack of correlation between positive language attitudes and reported language use. For example, Choi (2003) found that an overwhelming majority of the participants in her study had a positive attitude towards the maintenance of Guaraní, and yet this positive attitude did not correlate to their linguistic use; Spanish was still the dominant language of these Paraguayans from Asunción. In fact, she found that “a measurable displacement in the use of Guaraní in most domains, familiar as well as formal, was observed” (p. 176). With the influence of these extrinsic factors in mind, the following section will discuss the political, historical, and linguistic realities that have provided a framework for judging the languages of Paraguay.

## **2.2. Historical Context**

The historical context that follows will provide insight into how the relationship that has historically existed between Spanish and Guaraní provides a framework to analyze the language attitudes that exist between the two varieties of Guaraní. While Spanish has consistently been considered the dominant variety due to the upward mobility it offers economically throughout Spanish America, the social prestige and consequent attitudes of both Spanish and Guaraní in Paraguay have historically been a bit more precarious than the hegemony of Spanish in surrounding countries. Unlike in other countries in Spanish America, the Spanish and the indigenous population of Paraguay (the Guaraní) worked with one another to fulfill mutual interests, and the amiable interaction between the two groups led to a high percentage of Spanish-Guaraní households. Due to the lack of female Spaniards willing to live in what was perceived as an isolated, primitive area, Spanish males formed marital or concubinal unions with

the female aboriginals and learned the Guaraní language (Rubin, 1968). The mestizo generations that resulted from these unions spoke primarily the maternal language (Guaraní) and benefited from the limited immigration of an elite upper class that spoke Spanish (Rubin, 1968). The following historical context will outline various factors and events that contributed to the development of a national rationale for the maintenance of Guaraní, even when the use of indigenous languages in neighboring countries was falling second to Spanish.

If the Guaraní did not come into direct contact with the Spanish, then they were still most likely exposed to the Jesuit missions that had a presence in Paraguay from 1604 to the time of their expulsion in 1767 (Rubin, 1968). Although the Jesuits were instructed to teach the Guaraní the Spanish language, their scholarly interest in the Guaraní language laid the foundation for the standardization process in the years to come. The first Guaraní grammar and dictionary was written by a Jesuit in 1624 and later edited by another in 1691 (Rubin, 1968).

At the time of independence from Spain in 1811, the founders of the new Republic recognized the value of Guaraní to discuss private matters and express strong emotions, such as anger. However, this recognition stood in contrast to the instructions they gave school teachers at the time to teach only in Spanish and prohibit the use of Guaraní (Rubin, 1968). When José Gaspar Rodríguez de Francia closed Paraguay's borders during his dictatorship in the early 1800s, Guaraní was able to prevail as the main language of the country and instilled a sense of national pride for nearly 30 years (Canese Caballero, 2008; Lang, 2014). Francia even addressed the people in Guaraní (Lang, 2014), yet when the next dictator Carlos Antonio López rose to power after his death, the borders were once again opened and Spanish became the only official language of the country (Canese Caballero, 2008). It is during this time that Spanish became the language of public institutions and Guaraní the language of private domains, thus creating the diglossic situation that was once characteristic of the country (Canese Caballero, 2008; Lang, 2014).

Language attitudes continued to be a direct reflection of the country's political leadership for many years to follow. During Francisco Solano López's reign of power in the second half of the 19th century, Guaraní served as a means of unification for the Paraguayan people in the face of the alliance between Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay that rose up against them during the Triple Alliance War in 1864. The usefulness of Guaraní then ended at the conclusion of the war in 1870 when control of Paraguay was turned over to Argentina and Brazil, resulting in the banishment of Guaraní from schools and official business (Canese Caballero, 2008; Rubin, 1968). Paraguayans that lived in exile during the long reign of dictators returned home and brought with them a disdain for the Guaraní language (Rubin, 1968). It is during this time that correlations between social class and language use were established. In fact, those who spoke Guaraní were called *guarangos* or uncivilized (Canese Caballero, 2008).

However, attitudes toward Guaraní shifted yet once again in the 1930s during the Chaco War when the exclusive use of Guaraní on the battlefield revitalized the use of Guaraní as a symbol of national pride. Up to this point, according to Rubin (1968), attitudes toward Guaraní were seemingly ambivalent. Finally, the status of Guaraní was officially elevated at the national level when it became a national language of the country in 1967 under the dictatorship of Alfredo Stroessner and later an official language along with Spanish in 1992 (Canese Caballero, 2008; Lang, 2014). Once Guaraní became an official language of the country, Guaraní medium schools were also established, officially challenging the hegemony of Spanish in the school system for the very first time. However, Guaraní medium programs had only reached twenty percent of the population by 1998 and issues such as lack of resources for Guaraní literacy instruction and insufficient bilingual teacher training were not addressed until 2010 when Paraguay passed a Languages Law (Gynan, 2007, p. 59). The historical context provided here shows that language attitudes leading up to the nationalization of Guaraní in 1967 have changed significantly over the years in Paraguay and are anything but fixed.



### 2.3. Language Attitudes in Contact Situations

In order to best understand the current language attitudes of Paraguay, we must first look at how language attitudes are developed in situations of language contact when speakers of different languages communicate with one another in the same speech community. While linguistic competence in various languages, or multilingualism, is a daily part of life for many communities all over the world, speakers who are exposed to more than one language on a daily basis know the language each social context demands. Therefore, the language used at work and in the marketplace to conduct business may not be the same language used at home. In this type of situation known as diglossia, the language with a superior or higher status, also known as the high variety, is the highly codified, superposed variety taught formally in school and used primarily in formal contexts, such as public spaces or institutions (Ferguson, 1991). Ferguson also described the high variety as the formal language that “no one speaks without special effort and no one uses in ordinary conversation” (p. 218). As a result, “the boundary between the high variety and the vernacular (‘low’ variety) in diglossia is behaviorally and attitudinally sharper...” (Ferguson, 1991, p. 218). In a diglossic society, such as Paraguay, the Spanish and Guaraní languages were historically kept separate and served different functions until the instruction of Guaraní became a part of language policy and planning efforts in 1992 through the establishment of Guaraní-medium schools. Bilingual speakers of Paraguay may now use multilingual discourse for accommodation and audience design<sup>2</sup> to either establish a separate social identity or to reduce differences with other interlocutors (Wardhaugh & Fuller, 2015 & Tabouret-Keller, 2007). As bilinguals engage in multilingual discourse, they are redefining the existing boundaries between the high and low varieties to construct their social identities.

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<sup>2</sup> According to Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015), accommodation is a way of explaining inter and intra-group relations. Individuals may shift their behavior to gain social approval (convergent behavior) or they may do so to distance themselves from others (divergent behavior). Audience design is a type of convergent behavior individuals use to orient their speech towards others (pp. 98-99).

In the interest of increasing the ethnolinguistic vitality of a language, some countries, such as Spain and Paraguay, have implemented measures in language policy and planning to standardize the low variety as many people believe that the low variety lacks structure, grammar, and rules (Ferguson, 1991). Consequently, this is often the variety that is associated with the rural, less educated population. In situations where there is a potential double-nested diglossia, the standardization of the low variety not only raises its status, but it also creates a lower vernacular of the low variety. Choi (2005) describes this potential double-nested diglossia in Paraguay in the following manner: “Paraguay will have not only Spanish and Guaraní in diglossic distribution but also each of these varieties will be subdivided into H and L varieties — standard/academic variety and colloquial variety of Spanish, and academic Guaraní and vernacular Guaraní” (p. 197). De Granda (1988) also claims that purist policy planners may create a situation of double-nested diglossia if the distance between actual language use and the linguistic models used as references in the standardization of Spanish and Guaraní continues to grow (p. 16). The following section will address said difference between the variety of Guaraní characteristic of actual language use and the variety under the process of standardization.

#### **2.4. Language Varieties of Guaraní**

In comparison to the Spanish language, the standardization of Guaraní is essentially in the beginning stages. Before Stroessner’s decree in 1972 that all Paraguayans should learn the vernacular language of the country, Guaraní was primarily an oral language. As previously mentioned, while the Jesuits were the first to standardize the language through the writing of a dictionary and grammar system in the 16th century (Canese Caballero, 2008; Walsh Lang, 2014), educational reform to establish Guaraní medium schools did not come to pass until 1992 (Canese Caballero, 2008). Since then language policy and planning in Paraguay have been faced with many adversities that affect language attitudes about the standard variety of Guaraní, but the most prominent one stems from the fact that there are two varieties of Guaraní. Canese Caballero

(2009) provides the following continuum to describe the Spanish-Guaraní continuum that exists in Paraguay: Standard Spanish - Paraguayan Spanish - Jopará (Jehe'a in Academic Guaraní) - Paraguayan Guaraní (Colloquial Guaraní) - Guaraní-Guaraní or Academic Guaraní (Guaraníete in Academic Guaraní). In this continuum we see the two standardized versions of Spanish and Guaraní on opposite ends of the linguistic spectrum and evidence of language contact with the other varieties of Spanish and Guaraní in the middle (Gynan, 2011). Along this linguistic continuum, the word for money in Standard Spanish is *dinero* and *pirapire* on the opposite end in Academic Guaraní. The varieties in the middle of the spectrum use *plata* for the word money. According to Canese Caballero (2009), the Paraguayan versions of Spanish and Guaraní on this spectrum “have distinctive traits that are the result of the influence and transfer from the other language” (p. 32). However, since the educators of her study rarely made the distinction between Paraguayan Guaraní and Jopará, she decided to merge the term Paraguayan Guaraní with Jopará as will I for the purpose of the present study (Canese Caballero, 2009). For example, speakers would say *Che aipota plata or I want money* in both Jopará and Paraguayan Guaraní.

Dietrich's (2010) analysis of Jopará shows evidence to support what Canese Caballero (2009) refers to as ‘la lengua viva’, a general term Paraguayans used to talk about the Guaraní language:

...the monolingual conscience of the speakers who do not even ‘know’ if a word they use is to be labeled as ‘Spanish’ or as ‘Guaraní’. Since Jopara does not have a fixed linguistic system, it is not a language in the traditional sense. Rather, it is a kind of linguistic behavior, a style of expressing oneself, which avoids speaking exclusively Guaraní or exclusively the regional variety of Spanish. (p. 49)

Jopará as a linguistic behavior is described by Canese Caballero (2009) as “a codemix between Spanish and Guaraní whose use is widespread especially among the bilingual population” (p. 32). When educators discuss the different varieties of Guaraní, the standardized variety,

Academic Guaraní or Guaraníete, is referred to as the pure, native, traditionalist, structured, scientific, difficult, technical, or didactic variety of Guaraní, while Jopará o Jehe'a is described as the mixed, 'asked for', functional, or everyday variety of Guaraní (Canese Caballero, 2009). Jopará is mainly an oral, hybrid variety of Guaraní (with influence from Spanish), although limited access to its written form can be found in special sections of the newspaper (Canese Caballero, 2009 & Escobar, 2012). Jopará can also be heard on early morning news and radio broadcasts, but otherwise, the Spanish language continues to dominate these public modes of communication. According to Dietrich (2010), Jopará is the only existing spoken form of Guaraní, while Guaraníete is actually the same language with just less overt Hispanisms and code-switching. He even refers to Guaraníete as a myth or a virtual purity of the language.

This dichotomy creates a clash between what Canese Caballero (2009) refers to as the popular or cohesive variety of Guaraní, Jopará, spoken by the majority, and the divisive or unpopular variety of Guaraní, Academic Guaraní, that causes much debate over spelling, grammar, and lexical terminology. This unpopularity leads to less buy-in by the students because it is not the variety or "real" language they hear people speaking outside of the classroom (Canese Caballero, 2009). Many of the words unique to Academic Guaraní, such as numbers, bathroom, salt, and sugar, are neologisms that are not used and may not even be understood by speakers outside of the classroom (Mortimer, 2006). For example, in Jopará speakers use the word *baño* for bathroom and may not even know the same word in Academic Guaraní (*jahuha*). While some teachers and students will complain about its use, Mortimer (2006) noted a rural-urban distinction with respect to attitudes towards Guaraní Académico. She found that people in rural areas were more likely to see this variety as another register of Guaraní, a variety worthy of knowing as it could only help their students. Consequently, a major issue still surrounding corpus planning is the question of what variety of Guaraní should be taught in school. While the educators of Canese Caballero's (2009) study emphasized the importance of teaching Guaraní so

that students can communicate with current speakers of the language, they also saw the impact that education has on the development of the Guaraní language. Additionally, “they saw the inclusion of Guaraní in the educational system not only as an improvement in the status of the language but as a way to find other spaces and contexts of use for the language” (Canese Caballero, 2009, p. 271). Such ideology surrounds the standardization process and further research is needed to determine what effect this process has had on language usage and linguistic norms. The following section will discuss the ideologies surrounding the standardization process as it relates to the two varieties of Guaraní and what impact this process may have on language usage and attitudes.

## **2.5. Language Ideologies Surrounding the Standardization Process**

The introduction of Guaraní-medium schools in 1992 improved language attitudes towards Guaraní, yet the corpus planning debate continues on how to provide Guaraní instruction in the school system (Gynan, 2001, 2011). According to Gynan, the stakeholders in the debate belong to two opposing forces, the “nationalistic forces that support two-way, maintenance bilingual education at all levels of instruction in a purist version of Guaraní, and liberalising forces that support transitional bilingual education in Jopara” (Gynan, 2001, p. 92). When purist tendencies enter the debate, the objective of bilingual education becomes the desire to foster bilinguals that are capable of communicating in both languages in any given context without mixing the two code systems (Canese Caballero, 2008; Gynan, 2001). However, purist tendencies such as these are controversial as many Paraguayans actually speak Jopará, which relies on lexical borrowings from Spanish (Canese Caballero, 2008; Dietrich, 2010). As mentioned earlier, Paraguayans who speak Jopará would use the word *baño* in Spanish and not the word *jahuha* in Academic Guaraní. Another example of a lexical borrowing from Spanish is the word for television. Instead of using *ta'angambyry* in Academic Guaraní, speakers of Jopará use the Spanish word (*televisión* or *tele*). Psychologically rooted attitudes of a purist's aversion

to loanwords range “from purely linguistic ones (foreign expressions allegedly ruin the language), to communicative ones (borrowings allegedly hamper communication between people), and all the way to ideological and patriotic ones” (Hansen, Wypych, Bańko, & Bilewicz, 2018, p. 367). Purist attitudes increase as a result of sociopolitical factors, such as a threat to national identity and could reflect the broader culture’s desire to preserve their ethnolinguistic vitality (Hansen et al., 2018). While some teachers may feel that Jopará contributes to the degradation of the Guaraní language, students on the other hand find the standard variety difficult to learn and not useful and note that it is not what they hear people speaking outside of school (Canese Caballero, 2008; Walsh Lang, 2014).

The younger generation’s aversion to the standard variety and the desire to speak the colloquial variety used outside of school is not unlike the Galician adolescents of Loureiro Rodríguez’s (2008) study. What they perceive as the authentic variety of Galician is not the standard variety taught in school, but rather the variety they hear people using in the villages. Consequently, Montrul (2013) claims that the education system in Galicia actually promotes the diglossic situation between Spanish and Galician because students prefer to communicate in Spanish with their teachers as it is still the variety associated with social and economic prestige. Loureiro Rodríguez (2008) adds to the argument by saying that the adolescents’ preference to speak Spanish in school correlates more to their negative attitudes towards the standard.

The controversy between the vernacular and standard varieties of Guaraní is perpetuated even further when a written language is given more prestige than an unwritten language. According to Walsh Lang (2014), “National print languages are capable of producing capital, which reinforces their power over non-print languages” (p. 19). Even though Jopará has a presence, albeit limited, in written mediums like the section of a major newspaper that summarizes its contents (Canese Caballero, 2009), the balance of power shifts to the standard variety, Academic Guaraní, when it is the language taught in schools, thus creating a distinction

in prestige and domains between the two varieties. Academic Guaraní is therefore the high variety used by an elite group of writers and teachers with a high level of education (Mortimer, 2008; Dietrich, 2010).

This distinction in prestige and domains between the two varieties is disseminated through the teaching of the standard or the designated high variety in the school system. According to Bourdieu (1991), the unification of the school system and linguistic market in the nineteenth century played a role in “devaluing dialects and establishing the new hierarchy of linguistic practices (p. 49). Bourdieu describes teachers as “agents of regulation and imposition” of the so-called legitimate variety (p.45). As such agents, teachers are tasked with establishing a language code or system of norms that speakers must follow (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 45). Loureiro Rodriguez (2008) has the following to say as favor builds towards the legitimate and prestigious language: “The appropriation and reproduction of the dominant ideology and the standard language by speakers of a devaluated variety (in this case, dialects of Galician), will lead them to discriminate against their own linguistic variety...” (p. 27). The power the national group has over the formation of children’s language attitudes is significant because, as Garrett (2001) notes, “children are attitudinally distinguishing between standard and non-standard varieties and speakers around school entry age, if not earlier” (p. 629). However, the all-round favorability is not necessarily associated with the prestigious or high variety taught in the school system. Garrett (2001) found that the non-standard variety of his study had a greater all-round favorability. Even though a variety of Galician was standardized in an effort to increase its status and prestige, adolescents still prefer the regional variety for its perceived authenticity.

While the sociolinguistic ideology of the group that controls the linguistic market undoubtedly has a great deal of influence over the judgments adolescents make about languages, teachers and parents have just as much, if not more, influence over their language attitudes. Because of the relationship between language use and identity formation, “teachers play a critical

role in creating an environment that allows students to engage through multilingual language practices and to either challenge or reinforce broader power relations” (Walsh Lang, 2014, p. 42). It is through this school environment that students develop their language ideologies as they interact with their peers and teachers (Walsh Lang, 2014). In addition to the correlation between language attitudes and school relationships, parental attitudes are just as critical to the future of the Guaraní language as Guaraní is transmitted to children primarily by their parents (Gynan, 2011). As reported by Canese Caballero (2009), “teachers especially saw parents’ attitudes toward Guaraní as the main source for students’ acceptance or rejection of the language in school” (p. 127).

Since the process of standardization is still evolving, many teachers lack the training and resources to teach Guaraní (Canese Caballero, 2009). In fact, Gynan (2001) explains that the teachers in his study who disliked the Guaraní used in textbooks were too old to have acquired literacy in Standard Guaraní in school and have not received training in literacy and content instruction. In the location of the present study, Altos de La Cordillera, all teachers in the first three grades of school are required to provide instruction in Guaraní. Therefore, language attitudes of teachers could be significantly impacted by this lack of training and resources. Even though the official methodology for teaching Guaraní is a communicative approach, many teachers rely on a non-engaging grammar-based approach, which may influence students’ attitudes towards Guaraní as they relate to ease in learning and understanding of the language (Canese Caballero, 2009).

In short, language attitudes that students form are impacted by their immediate social environment and the process of negotiation that occurs through inter-and intra-group relations. Therefore, as previously noted, the positive or negative attitudes of the students in the present study may reflect the attitudes their teachers and parents have towards the standard variety of Guaraní. According to Canese Caballero (2009), if the Guaraní language hopes to survive,



society at large must “redefine its values and functions” (p. 274). Historically, Guaraní was the oral language used primarily at home or in informal contexts, so whether or not the standardization of Guaraní has increased its status or redefined its functionality is an issue that warrants further research. The present study seeks to determine what effect the standardization process of Guaraní has had on the language attitudes and reported language use of Paraguayans. The following section will provide an overview of previous research on language attitudes and usage associated with Spanish and Guaraní in order to determine if the Paraguayans of the present study manifest similar attitudes and patterns of language use towards the high and low varieties of Guaraní.

## **2.6. Language Attitudes Research in Paraguay**

The findings of the following studies selected for review were identified as the most relevant to addressing the research questions of the present study. Although Rubin’s (1968) research is now 50 years old, the forthcoming review of the attitudes she found salient at that time towards Spanish and Guaraní were what Choi (2005) and Gynan (1998) considered groundbreaking and served as a foundation and basis of comparison for subsequent research studies in Paraguay. In fact, Gynan (1998) found that his attitudinal data confirmed most of Rubin’s (1968) observations. A discussion of the one exception is forthcoming. According to Rubin (1968), the bilingual situation in Paraguay produces the following attitudes: “‘language loyalty’, pride, ‘prestige’, ‘awareness of usage norms’, and ‘awareness of linguistic norms’” (p. 15). Language loyalty in this case refers to a community’s desire to retain and defend the use of its language. Paraguayans that harbor feelings of loyalty towards Guaraní speak of its power as a unifying force and distinguishing feature of the nation (Rubin, 1968). These same Paraguayans would refer to Guaraní as the language of the people (Walsh Lang, 2014) and “central to their collective identity as Paraguayans” (Walsh Lang, 2014, p. 75).

As languages come into contact with one another, manifestations of loyalty are seen in the way people resist changes in the function or structure of their language. When a person's first language is attacked, feelings of language loyalty are provoked. However, said attack could produce feelings of superiority or inferiority (Rubin, 1968). Rubin's research shows that language loyalty is indeed a familiar attitude toward Guaraní and not Spanish in Paraguay as her "analysis shows that Guaraní is the object of continual attack and defense and that this language is thought by many to be symbolic of Paraguayan nationalism" (Rubin, 1968, p. 16). Although Gynan (1998) was able to confirm most of Rubin's findings, he conversely found evidence of language loyalty towards both Spanish and Guaraní. This would suggest that at the time of his research, Guaraní was no longer subject to the same degree of continual attack and defense. However, this may no longer be the case due to the standardization process of Guaraní. As the debate continues in language policy and planning on what variety of Guaraní to use in schools, both high and low varieties of Guaraní become the object of continual attack and defense. Therefore, further research is needed to determine what patterns of language loyalty are associated with the two varieties of Guaraní analyzed in this study.

Pride as a language attitude may be seen through the assignation of special attributes to the language or its status as a means of promoting a language's literary-cultural heritage (Rubin, 1968). Pride is attributed to both Spanish and Guaraní in Paraguay for different reasons, yet females tend to manifest less pride and prestige towards these languages than males (Gynan, 1998). While many speakers prefer the use of Guaraní when expressing love, telling jokes or writing poetry, Guaraní's literacy history pales in comparison to that of Spanish (Rubin, 1968). Even though Spanish undoubtedly has a stronger literary-cultural heritage, many special attributes are associated with Guaraní. Some of these attributes includes its perceived musicalness and poetic quality, its desirability for expressing feelings of emotion and intimacy, and there are those that have praised the language for its extensive vocabulary in botany,

medicine, and agriculture (Rubin, 1968). Guaraní is also said to contain onomatopoeias that make it more suitable in intimate contexts (Rubin, 1968). For all these reasons, Guaraní poetry as a literary means of communication has grown. Overall, ethnolinguistic pride is much more in evidence for Guaraní, and Spanish pride is clearly more utilitarian” (Gynan, 1998, p. 55). More research is warranted to determine whether or not this same distinction in functionality is present between the two varieties of Guaraní.

Whereas many Paraguayans value the Guaraní language, bilingual Paraguayans, or 48.9 percent of the total population<sup>3</sup> according to the National Census of 1992 (Choi, 2003), are often ambivalent when it comes to their attitudes about the languages they speak. While de Granda (1981) would disagree with this notion of ambivalence, Gynan (1998) found evidence to support it. “...there is a sizable group of bilinguals who, while favoring mother tongue literacy education in Guaraní, give exceedingly low scores in both prestige and pride to Guaraní, while at the same time endorsing Spanish use” (p. 55). Therefore, the present study will keep in mind this concept of ambivalence when analyzing the data, which according to Rubin (1968), is due to the following three factors:

- (1) Power shifts between the pro-Spanish and pro-Guaraní factions; this shift is particularly noticeable in school policy.
- (2) The gap between the monolingual Guaraní speakers and the bilingual speakers leads to a confusion of criteria of appropriateness in usage. Although in some situations (formal affairs in Asunción and in rural areas) the appropriate language is well-defined, in most situations the appropriate criteria are muddled by the “mixed” universe in which linguistic interaction occurs.
- (3) The importance of Spanish in the outside world is clearly recognized, but most Paraguayans have very little to do with the outside world. (p.54)

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<sup>3</sup> Census data that focuses primarily on the research site of the present study was not available.

While Rubin's research focused on the dichotomy between Spanish and Guaraní, the present study endeavors to see if there is evidence to suggest a "mixed" universe in regards to the potential dichotomy that exists between the two varieties of Guaraní. If the context in which to use the varieties is not clear, then Rubin's concept of ambivalence may indeed apply to the attitudinal data of the present study.

Speakers also associate another facet of language attitudes, prestige, with the Spanish language due to the upward social mobility it provides. While feelings of national pride are commonly associated with Guaraní, Rubin (1968) found that one never attributes social mobility to the Guaraní language. As previously mentioned, Spanish is the language that is more utilitarian in nature (Gynan, 1998). However, Rubin (1968) also notes that what sets Paraguay apart from its neighbors, is the fact that a person's socioeconomic status is not solely defined by their use of Spanish. In fact, bilingual speakers are not usually confined to the upper class. Therefore, language use alone does not distinguish one social class from another as it does in Peru where the majority of the upper class speaks only Spanish (Rubin, 1968).

The last two attitudes of language, awareness of usage and linguistic norms, are characteristic of diglossic situations. In Paraguay, Spanish has historically been considered the high variety used in public domains and formal contexts while Guaraní has historically been used informally in private domains, such as homes. When there is an awareness of linguistic norms, one of the languages tends to be part of a standardization process (Rubin, 1968). At the time of Rubin's (1968) research in the 1960s, the only language involved in a standardization process was Spanish. Since then, Guaraní has become the object of standardization as well. As a part of this process, establishing a single norm for vocabulary and grammar has proven to be controversial because many Paraguayans will attest that the Guaraní they speak at home is not the variety they teach in school (Canese Caballero, 2009). Decades of language contact in Paraguay have created a colloquial variety of Guaraní that incorporates lexical borrowings from

Spanish. Consequently, some stakeholders in the standardization process of Guaraní believe that a pure variety of Guaraní, free of Spanish influences, needs to be taught in the school system. According to Gynan (1998), public opinion should be taken into consideration as policy makers determine the future of literacy education in Paraguay. Therefore, the present study takes into consideration the opinions of teachers and students living and working in Altos de la Cordillera in order to determine if the standardization process of Guaraní has created a dichotomy between the oral and written varieties.

## **2.7. Summary and Research Questions**

In summary, the present study will focus specifically on the potential dichotomy that exists between the vernacular and standard varieties of Guaraní. To do so, the study will take into consideration the attitudinal differences and linguistic norms that have historically existed between Spanish and Guaraní as referenced in the previous sections to determine whether or not those same attitudinal differences and domain distinctions of high and low varieties exist between Jopará and Academic Guaraní. The present study will use a survey to collect attitudinal data and reported language use from teachers and students in the small town of Altos de La Cordillera. The advantage of this location lies in the fact that it is an intermediate location between the rural and more urban sectors of the country as attitudes tend to vary significantly between these two sectors (Mortimer, 2006).

This study will seek to answer the following research questions:

1. What attitudes do Paraguayans living and working in Altos de La Cordillera have toward the standard and vernacular varieties of Guaraní?
2. Based on the participants' reported language usage, is there evidence to support a Spanish/Guaraní diglossia in this community?
3. Does the data for reported language usage support a dichotomy of high and low varieties of Guaraní such as what has historically existed between Spanish and Guaraní?

### 3. Methodology

The following chapter provides demographic details about the participants and a description of the setting in which the research took place. It also includes a detailed description of the survey that was used to gather information about the reported language use and attitudes of the participants followed by an explanation of how the data was analyzed.

#### 3.1. Participants

The participants in the present study consisted of teachers and students living and working in Altos, a small town within the Midwestern portion of the department of *la Cordillera* with just over 31,000 inhabitants situated about 60 kilometers from Asunción, the capital of Paraguay in the department of *Central* with a population of 525,294 inhabitants (see Figure 3.1). Since the focus of previous research has been on large urban sectors in Paraguay, the geographical location of the present study is beneficial in that it provides an opportunity to analyze language attitudes in an urban setting with several aspects characteristic of a rural setting. For example, Rubin (1968) found that it is much more common for relatives to live within close proximity of one another in a rural area, but in Altos it is not uncommon for a block of homes to share the same family lineage. The traditional custom of benediction (*tupanoi*), which Rubin (1968) says is characteristic of the rural area, is also practiced in Altos when a member of the younger generation greets a relative of an older generation. Rubin (1968) also attributes a higher level of generosity to the rural area, but in my experience, *Alteños* are just as willing to open their homes and invite visitors to share a meal or at the very least share their morning or afternoon tea (*tereré*) with them. The benefit then of Altos as a research location is that it serves as an intermediate setting between large urban zones, such as Asunción, and more rural areas. The difference between urban and rural language attitudes towards the two varieties of Guaraní, as described by one teacher from a rural town in Mortimer's (2009) study, is that only those in Asunción complain about the two varieties of Guaraní.

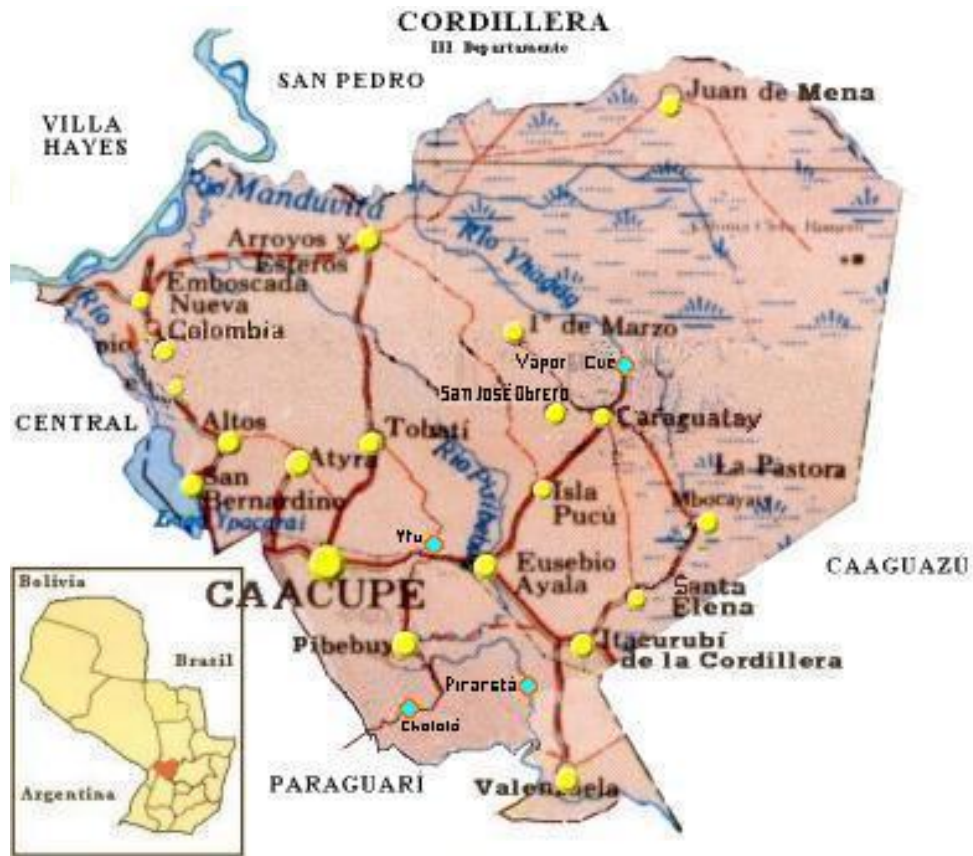


Figure 3.1. *Academic. (2000-2019). Map Cordillera [Online image]. Retrieved April 15, 2019, from <http://enacademic.com/dic.nsf/enwiki/9119963>*

Participants for the study were recruited based on their exposure to instruction or knowledge of language policy and planning of the standard variety of Guaraní through the school system as students or teachers. All but two of the teachers were recruited through the directors of the elementary school and high school. Students on the other hand were recruited outside of school through personal contacts in the community. For those under the age of 18, prior approval for participation was obtained from parents. Once recruited, each participant was offered a small gift in exchange for their participation.

Data was then collected by the researcher from a total of 20 participants. Of those 20 participants, 10 were teachers and 10 were middle and high school students. Table 3.1 gives an overview of the participants' demographics according to their profession. Of the 10 teachers who

participated, three were male and seven were female with ages ranging from 28-51. The mean age was 42.3 with a standard deviation of 7.2. Three teachers indicated that they never received instruction in Academic Guaraní and four indicated that they were born in another urban area in Paraguay, one from Asunción and the other three from areas between Altos and Asunción. Of the 10 students that participated, gender was equally distributed between males and females and all reported the research site, Altos, as their birthplace. Ages ranged from 13-16 with a mean age of 14.1 and a standard deviation of 1.3. While students reported having on average 8.3 years of Guaraní classes, ranging from 4-11 years with a standard deviation of 1.9, teachers only reported having on average 2.1 years of Guaraní classes, ranging from 0-6 years with a standard deviation of 2.3.

Table 3.1. *Participant Demographics*

Demographics	Students	Teachers
Number of participants	10	10
Male	5	3
Female	5	7
Age		
Mean	14.1	42.3
Range	13-16	28-51
Birthplace		
Altos	10	6
Other urban area	0	4
Years of Guaraní classes		



Mean	8.3	2.1
Not answered	0	3

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### 3.2. Task and Procedures

The researcher asked the participants in Spanish to complete a written survey in Spanish (see Appendices A-D) that consisted of three parts. Teachers completed the survey individually or in small groups in a classroom at their school during a block of time dedicated as recess for the students. Students also completed the survey individually or in small groups, but due to needing parental permission first, they were not approached at school and completed the survey in the presence of the researcher in a quiet room in either the researcher’s temporary residence or in their own home. The researcher was present with a notebook during the process to take notes as participants made comments or answer any questions they had in Spanish while completing the survey. Otherwise, engagement with the participants while they were completing the survey was minimal. As noted in the previous section, the first part of the survey gathered demographic information to include name, age, sex, place of birth, profession, highest level of education, and how many years of Guaraní classes the participant has had. The purpose of gathering this demographic information is to determine what factors may contribute to the language attitudes participants have of the standard and vernacular varieties of Guaraní.

The second part of the survey focused on the participant’s reported linguistic usage of Spanish, the vernacular variety of Guaraní (Jopará) and the standard variety (Academic Guaraní). In this section, participants reported on language preference and the following for each language: frequency of use, domains of use (at home, at work, in school, in the community, with my significant other, with my children, with relatives, with friends, and on social media), linguistic abilities in the four modes of communication (reading, writing, listening, and speaking), how

much time is dedicated daily to Guaraní instruction in their school, what language is used to teach Guaraní in school, and how much time is dedicated to improving or developing the four modes of communication in a Guaraní class. In this section participants also had the opportunity to give their opinion of the standard variety through a direct question requesting their opinion and after reading a short passage in Academic Guaraní taken from a seventh-grade workbook (see Appendix A for the English translation and Appendix B for the original text), they answered four questions soliciting their opinion and comprehension of the text. These questions asked whether or not participants understood the text, if it sounded nice, if it was easy or difficult to read, and if it was similar to the variety of Guaraní they normally use. While some participants' years of instruction in Academic Guaraní may have exceeded the level of comprehension needed to understand the seventh-grade text, the participants who reported fewer years of instruction in Academic Guaraní may have found the text more challenging. The average number of years of Guaraní classes for the 17 participants that recorded an answer to this question was 5.8 with a standard deviation of 3.7. The total number of years ranged from 0-11.

Lastly, participants saw a chart with family member terms in Spanish (these are the terms that would also be used in Jopará) and Academic Guaraní in the linguistic usage section with the instructions to circle the words that they normally use for the purpose of providing a basis of comparison to the participants' self-reported language use. Due to the fact that some words in Guaraní (grandmother or grandfather, brother, sister, son, and daughter) depend on the speaker's sex, two versions of the survey were created to reflect the different word choices in this section based on the participants' sex (Appendices B and D). Space was also included beside each option, so that participants could write an alternate word if what they normally use was not one of the options listed. In addition to gathering such information about usage, frequency, domain, and mode of communication for each language, the purpose of the linguistic usage section was to allow the opportunity for open-ended responses. Through this question format participants were

able to explain or elaborate their opinions and potentially add something to the discussion of language attitudes in the present study.

The last part of the survey had a list of 31 declarative statements about the vernacular and standard varieties of Guaraní with a scale developed by Likert (1932) from one to five (1=I strongly disagree and 5=I strongly agree). Figure 3.2 provides an example of one of these statements (see Appendices A and B for a full list of the attitudinal statements in English and Spanish). Participants were instructed to read each statement and circle a number from one to five based on their opinion. 10 of these statements were adapted from a survey used by Gynan (1998) to collect data on the attitudinal differences between Spanish and Guaraní. The rest of the statements were designed to reflect comments made by participants of previous research studies highlighted in the literature review. The purpose of this section is to gather language attitudes about the vernacular and standard varieties of Guaraní.

Academic Guaraní is a sweet language.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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Figure 3.2. *Attitudinal Statement with Likert Scale, Translated to English*

### 3.3. Data Coding and Analysis

Data collected from the survey will be analyzed through a mixture of qualitative and quantitative means. Statements in the attitudinal section of the survey will be analyzed collectively for all participants in the following manner. Each statement in the attitudinal section of the survey will be assigned a code based on categories indicated in previous research on language attitudes in Paraguay to include loyalty, pride, and prestige (Gynan, 1998; Rubin, 1968). For such coding purposes, the following definitions were used. Pride as defined by Rubin (1968) is the assignation of special attributes to a language. Pride is also understood according to Gynan’s (1998) findings that “ethnolinguistic pride is much more in evidence for Guaraní, and

Spanish pride is clearly more utilitarian” (p. 55). Therefore, statements such as “Jopará is in my blood” and “Academic Guaraní represents who I am” were coded as pride. Language loyalty, according to Gynan (1998), can be tested in two ways. The first is related to language purism or no influence of one language on the other. Therefore, the participants in this study were asked to give their opinion on whether they think all words in Spanish should be eliminated from Academic Guaraní to create a pure variety. The second way of testing language loyalty relates to a participant’s reported language behavior (Gynan, 1998). For example, statements such as “I like to speak Academic Guaraní” and “I like to hear Jopará” were coded as loyalty as well. These statements in particular were based on statements developed by Gynan (2011), such as “I like jopara.” and “I like the Guaraní in the school textbooks.” (p. 89). They also relate to language behavior in that they show what language the participant chooses to speak and hear on television programs or radio broadcasts. For the purpose of this study, language purism and language behavior were grouped together in the interest of having just one category for loyalty. Lastly, for the purpose of this study, prestige as defined by Rubin (1968) is “the measure of the value of a language in social advance” (p. 62), so statements such as “In order to progress economically, it is necessary to know how to read and write Academic Guaraní” were coded as prestige. Therefore, of the thirty-one statements included in the survey, twelve were coded as loyalty (seven for Academic Guaraní and five for Jopará), eight as prestige (five for Academic Guaraní and three for Jopará), and eleven for pride (four for Academic Guaraní and seven for Jopará) (see Appendix E for the statements that correspond to each construct).

After the statements were coded, the demographic information collected from section one of the survey was used to determine what factors, if any, contributed to the language attitudes participants have of the vernacular and standard varieties of Guaraní. The factors that were extracted for analysis included sex and profession. Profession was isolated as a potential contributing factor because collectively it notes an age difference and a difference in years of

instruction or exposure to Academic Guaraní through Guaraní-medium schools since they were just introduced in 1992. Sex was also isolated as a potential contributing factor for the following two reasons. Historically, Guaraní was the maternal language, while Spanish was the paternal language. Gynan (1998) also found that women are more likely to be present in low pride and prestige clusters. Therefore, sex may be a contributing factor to the language attitudes of the present study's participants.

For the attitudinal analysis, the participants were divided into two groups according to their profession (i.e. students and teachers). A mean (*M*) score with a range of scores and standard deviation (*SD*) was determined for each statement. The averages for those statements were then grouped together by the aforementioned language categories (loyalty, pride, and prestige) and given a new average with a standard deviation and range for the purpose of extracting overall patterns of language attitudes. The same procedure was repeated after participants were divided again into two groups according to their sex. An independent-samples t-test was also conducted to compare the mean scores between the two varieties of Guaraní for each language attitude category according to both profession and sex.

A secondary analysis focused on the data collected from section two of the survey to first determine if there is evidence to support a Spanish/Guaraní diglossia in this community and secondly to determine if there is evidence to support a dichotomy of high and low varieties of Guaraní such as what has historically existed between Spanish and Guaraní. First, the number of tokens reported in each domain for Spanish and in each domain for Jopará (Academic Guaraní was not included in this part of the analysis due to Guaraní's long history as an oral language) were recorded as percentages in a chart for the purpose of extracting overarching patterns of language use for Spanish and Guaraní. Then, the number of tokens reported in each domain for Jopará and Academic Guaraní were recorded as percentages in a separate chart for the purpose of extracting overarching patterns of language use for the two varieties of Guaraní. The operating

premise behind this analysis is that the language designated as the high variety will have a larger occurrence in the domains identified as public or formal (in school, at work, and in the community), while the low variety will have a larger occurrence in the domains identified as private or informal (at home, with my significant other, with my children, with relatives, with friends, on social media). Lastly, to determine all-round favorability for one of the two varieties of Guaraní, each variety will be awarded a point based on the higher manifestations of loyalty, pride, and prestige towards that variety according to both profession and sex. A point will be awarded to both varieties when participants show equal amounts of loyalty, pride, and/or prestige towards each variety. This and other comments collected in this open-ended response section of the survey will be included in the Discussion as needed.

#### 4. Results

It will be recalled that the present study seeks to answer the following research questions:

1. What attitudes do Paraguayans living and working in Altos de La Cordillera have toward the standard and vernacular varieties of Guaraní?
2. Based on the participants' reported language usage, is there evidence to support a Spanish/Guaraní diglossia in this community?
3. Does the data for reported language usage support a dichotomy of high and low varieties of Guaraní such as what has historically existed between Spanish and Guaraní?

First, I will address the attitudes surrounding the standard and vernacular varieties of Guaraní and the factors that appear to be connected to those attitudes by presenting the results of the attitudinal survey. The results will be presented in categorical clusters according to the participants' profession (i.e., teachers and students) and by sex. Independent-samples t-tests were conducted to compare the scores for each variety of Guaraní by profession and sex. A distribution of scores along the Likert scale will be included with boxplots to provide a visual of the data presented in the tables. The boxes in the figures represent the middle 50 percent of the scores and the lines or whiskers on either end of the boxes represent the scores outside of the middle 50 percent. These lines or whiskers illustrate the range of scores. In addition to the attitudinal data presented in this chapter by categorical clusters, the means, standard deviations, and the number of participants that selected each number along the attitudinal scale are given separately for each statement in Appendix E. An all-round favorability score will be reported as well according to the number of tokens each variety received. Lastly, I will present the reported language use per domain for Spanish, Academic Guaraní, and Jopará to see if there is evidence to support a dichotomy of high and low varieties of Guaraní. The results will be presented in charts with percentages of reported language usage for formal and informal domains according

to profession and sex (see the tables in Appendix F for the percentages of reported domains for all participants).

#### 4.1. Attitudinal Data

I begin with the findings for the language attitudes of the two varieties of Guaraní as a manifestation of pride for the students and teachers.<sup>4</sup> According to the data presented in Table 4.1, a comparison of the students' attitudes for the two varieties of Guaraní shows that they appear to have a higher manifestation of pride for Academic Guaraní than Jopará with a mean score of 4.2 ( $SD = 0.41$ ) versus a mean score of 3.7 ( $SD = 0.23$ ) for Jopará. The results of an independent-samples t-test indicate that the difference between these two scores is statistically significant;  $t(9) = 3.39, p = 0.008$ . The teachers, on the other hand, show the same manifestation of pride with a mean score of 3.8 for both varieties of Guaraní ( $SD = 0.26$  for Academic Guaraní,  $SD = 0.30$  for Jopará). There was no significant difference between the two scores;  $t(9) = 0.09, p = 0.93$ . Figure 4.1 provides a visual for the qualitative differences of the data presented in Table 4.1. The boxplot illustrated in Figure 4.1 shows a greater degree of variability for the students' middle 50% of scores for Jopará than the teachers' along the Likert scale. Furthermore, the lines or whiskers show that the teachers' scores have a greater range than the students.

Table 4.1. *Language Attitudes as a Manifestation of Pride according to Profession*

Variety of Guaraní	Students			Teachers		
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Range	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Range
Academic Guaraní	4.2	0.41	2-5	3.8	0.26	1-5
Jopará	3.7	0.23	2-5	3.8	0.30	1-5

<sup>4</sup> Although there was no significant difference between the students' and teachers' scores for Academic Guaraní and Jopará, the two groups were kept separate due to the qualitative difference in variability of the scores illustrated in the boxplots.



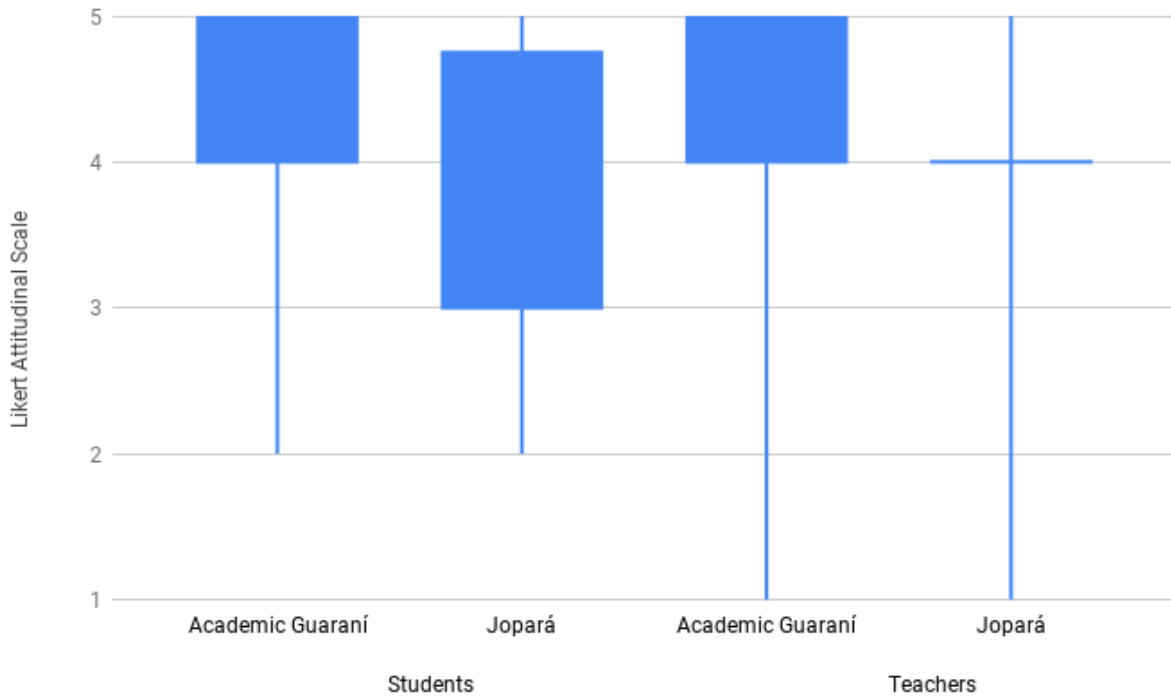


Figure 4.1. *Distribution of Students' and Teachers' Attitudinal Data for Pride*

Table 4.2 shows the language attitudes of the two varieties of Guarani as a manifestation of loyalty according to profession. Students' scores for Academic Guarani ( $M = 3.6$ ,  $SD = 0.62$ ) were not significantly different from those for Jopara ( $M = 3.9$ ,  $SD = 0.28$ );  $t(9) = 1.67$ ,  $p = 0.13$ . These results suggest that the students are equally loyal to both varieties. However, the boxplot in Figure 4.2 shows that there was a wider degree of variability in the students' middle 50 percent of scores for Academic Guarani. In contrast, there was a significant difference for the teachers' scores for Academic Guarani ( $M = 3.5$ ,  $SD = 0.44$ ) and Jopara ( $M = 4.2$ ,  $SD = 0.25$ );  $t(9) = 4.30$ ,  $p = 0.002$ . These findings appear to indicate that the teachers are more loyal to Jopara than Academic Guarani.

Table 4.2. *Language Attitudes as a Manifestation of Loyalty according to Profession*

Variety of Guaraní	Students			Teachers		
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Range	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Range
Academic Guaraní	3.6	0.62	1-5	3.5	0.44	1-5
Jopará	3.9	0.28	2-5	4.2	0.25	1-5

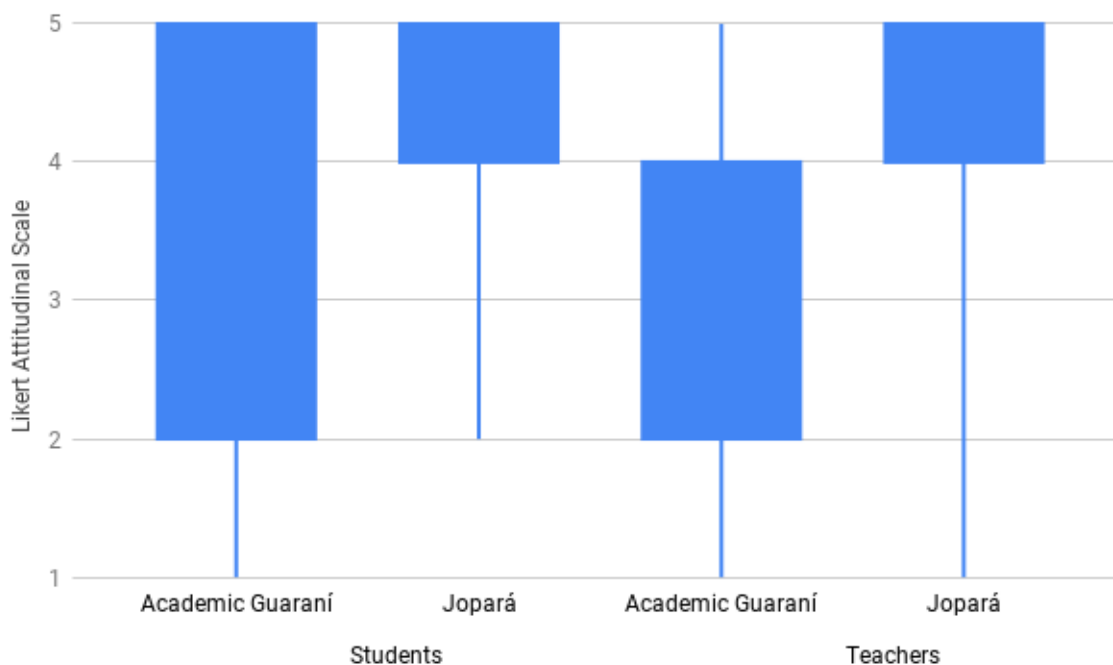


Figure 4.2. *Distribution of Students' and Teachers' Attitudinal Data for Loyalty*

Table 4.3 shows the language attitudes of the two varieties of Guaraní as a manifestation of prestige according to profession. Although the students appear to have a slightly higher manifestation of prestige for Academic Guaraní, the difference in scores for each variety is not significant (Academic Guaraní:  $M = 3.6$ ,  $SD = 0.46$ ; Jopará:  $M = 3.2$ ,  $SD = 1.06$ ;  $t(9) = 1.49$ ,  $p = 0.17$ ). As far as prestige is concerned, these results suggest that they have the same language attitudes for both varieties of Guaraní. The results for the teachers were significantly different:

Academic Guaraní ( $M = 3.5$ ,  $SD = 0.49$ ) and Jopará ( $M = 2.5$ ,  $SD = 0.15$ );  $t(9) = 4.94$ ,  $p = 0.0008$ . A significant result such as this suggests that teachers believe that Academic Guaraní is the more prestigious variety. Figure 4.3 provides a visual of the distribution of scores along the Likert scale.

Table 4.3. *Language Attitudes as a Manifestation of Prestige according to Profession*

Variety of Guaraní	Students			Teachers		
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Range	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Range
Academic Guaraní	3.6	0.46	1-5	3.5	0.49	1-5
Jopará	3.2	1.06	2-5	2.5	0.15	1-5

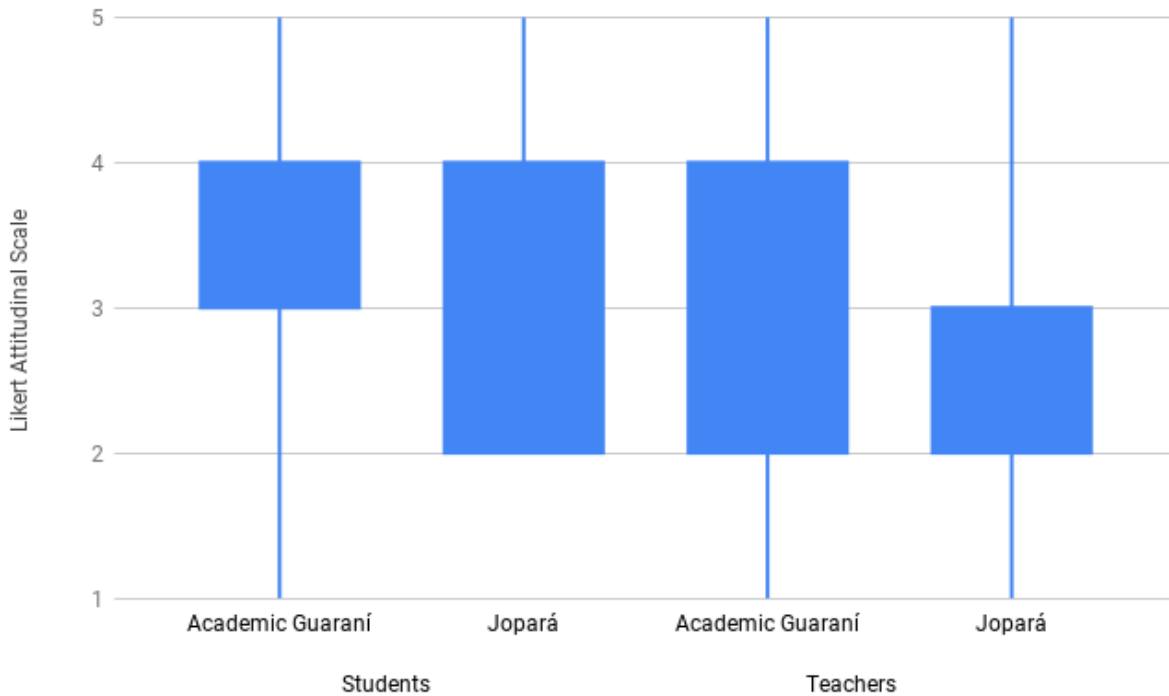


Figure 4.3. *Distribution of Teachers' and Students' Attitudinal Data for Prestige*

I now turn to an analysis of the participants' language attitudes according to sex. A comparison of the data presented in Table 4.4 for language attitudes as a manifestation of pride

did not yield many significant results. No significant difference was observed between the females' scores for Academic Guaraní ( $M = 3.9, SD = 0.28$ ) and those for Jopará ( $M = 3.8, SD = 0.32$ );  $t(11) = .30, p = 0.77$ . There was, however, a significant difference between the males' scores for Academic Guaraní ( $M = 4.1, SD = 0.41$ ) and Jopará ( $M = 3.6, SD = 0.43$ );  $t(7) = 2.71, p = 0.03$ . These results suggest that females show a similar degree of pride for both varieties, while the males show more pride for Academic Guaraní. However, Figure 4.4 shows that more responses fell in the 4.5 range for Jopará, indicating that females were more likely to agree or strongly agree with the statements associated with pride for Jopará than for those associated with pride for Academic Guaraní.

Table 4.4. *Language Attitudes as a Manifestation of Pride according to Sex*

Variety of Guaraní	Females			Males		
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Range	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Range
Academic Guaraní	3.9	0.28	1-5	4.1	0.41	2-5
Jopará	3.8	0.32	1-5	3.6	0.43	2-5

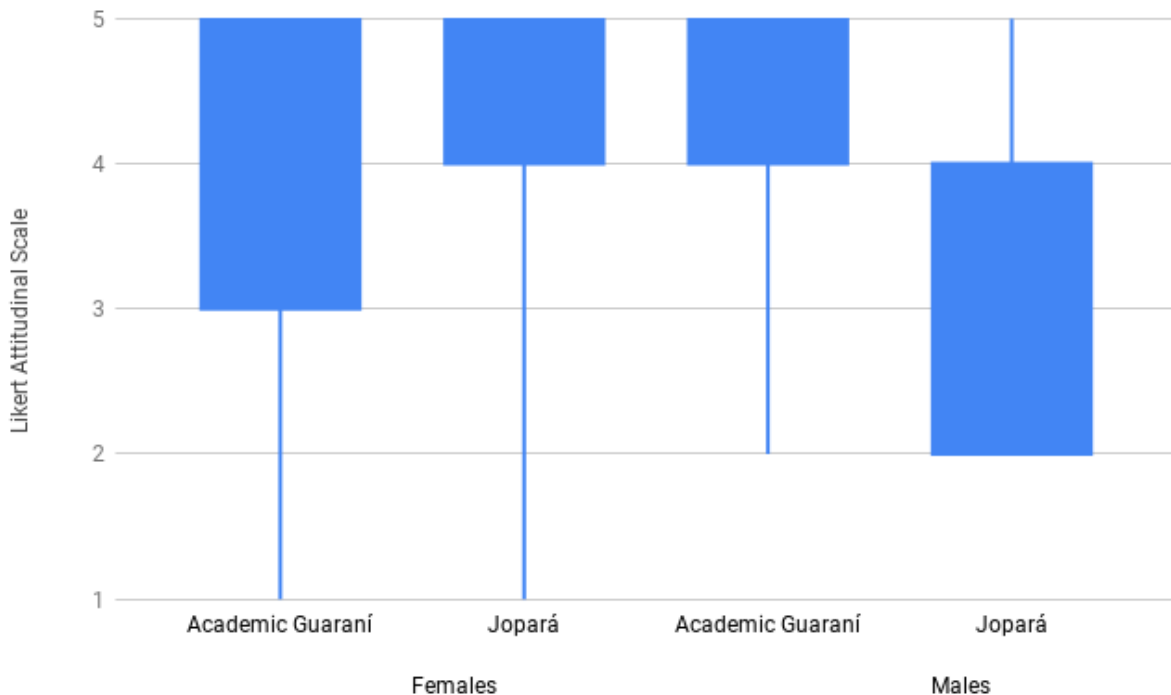


Figure 4.4. *Distribution of Females' and Males' Attitudinal Data for Pride*

Table 4.5 shows the language attitudes for the two varieties of Guarani as a manifestation of loyalty according to sex. Females' scores for Academic Guarani ( $M = 3.6$ ,  $SD = 0.34$ ) were significantly different from those for Jopará ( $M = 4.2$ ,  $SD = 0.22$ );  $t(11) = 4.02$ ,  $p = 0.002$ . The same cannot be said, however, for the males. A comparison of their scores for Academic Guarani ( $M = 3.6$ ,  $SD = 0.68$ ) and Jopará ( $M = 3.9$ ,  $SD = 0.35$ );  $t(7) = 2.05$ ,  $p = 0.08$ , did not yield significantly different results. These results suggest that females are more loyal to Jopará, while males are almost equally loyal to both varieties. Figure 4.5 provides a visual of the data presented in Table 4.5. Although an independent-samples t-test indicated that there was no a significant difference in the males' mean scores for the two varieties of Guarani, the distribution of scores in the boxplots for males suggests that there was more of a consensus for Jopará and a greater degree of variability in the way males scored the statements for Academic Guarani. In other words, it appears that just as many males disagreed with the statements regarding loyalty

towards Academic Guaraní as those that agreed with them. Furthermore, there appears to be more consensus in scores among men and women for Jopará than Academic Guaraní.

Table 4.5. *Language Attitudes as a Manifestation of Loyalty according to Sex*

Variety of Guaraní	Females			Males		
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Range	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Range
Academic Guaraní	3.6	0.34	1-5	3.6	0.68	2-5
Jopará	4.2	0.22	1-5	3.9	0.35	2-5

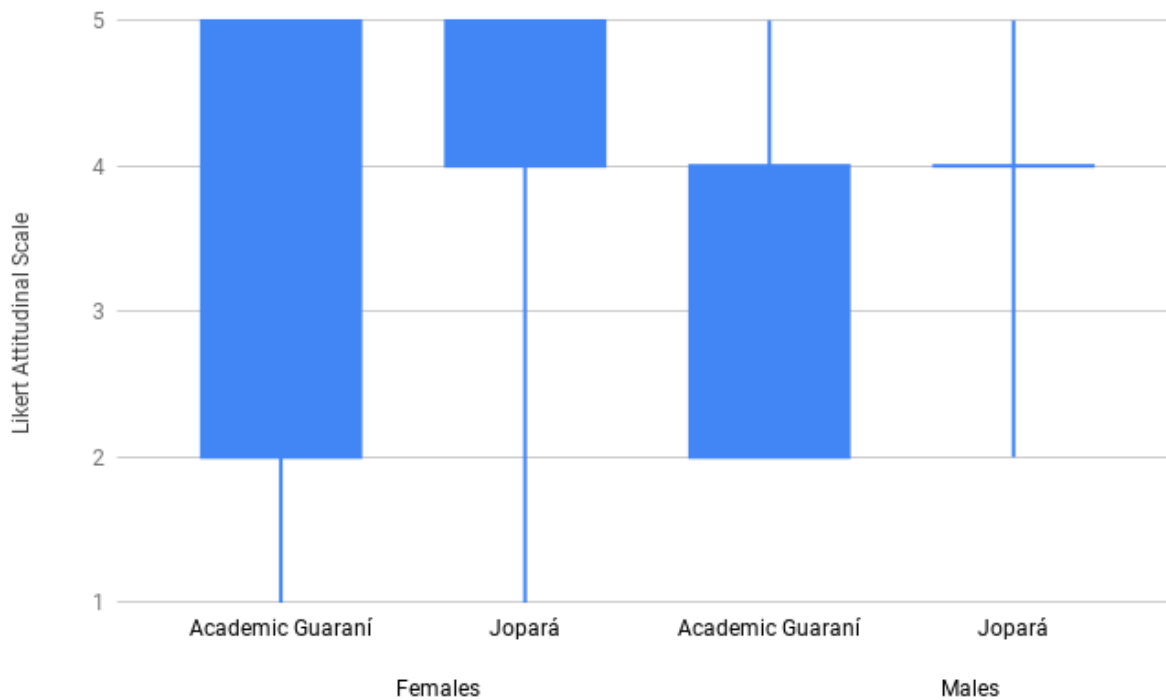


Figure 4.5. *Distribution of Females' and Males' Attitudinal Data for Loyalty*

Table 4.6 shows the results for language attitudes as a manifestation of prestige according to sex for Academic Guaraní and Jopará. The difference is approaching significance between the females' scores for Academic Guaraní ( $M = 3.5$ ,  $SD = 0.41$ ) and Jopará ( $M = 3.0$ ,  $SD = 0.27$ );  $t(11) = 2.20$ ,  $p = .05$ , suggesting that they believe Academic Guaraní to be the more prestigious

variety. There was also a significant difference in the males' scores for Academic Guaraní ( $M = 3.6$ ,  $SD = 0.50$ ) and Jopará ( $M = 2.6$ ,  $SD = 0.25$ );  $t(7) = 6.08$ ,  $p = 0.0005$ . These results suggest that males also find Academic Guaraní more prestigious when they are asked to compare the two varieties.

Table 4.6. *Language Attitudes as a Manifestation of Prestige according to Sex*

Variety of Guaraní	Females			Males		
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Range	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Range
Academic Guaraní	3.5	0.41	1-5	3.6	0.50	2-5
Jopará	3.0	0.27	1-5	2.6	0.25	2-5

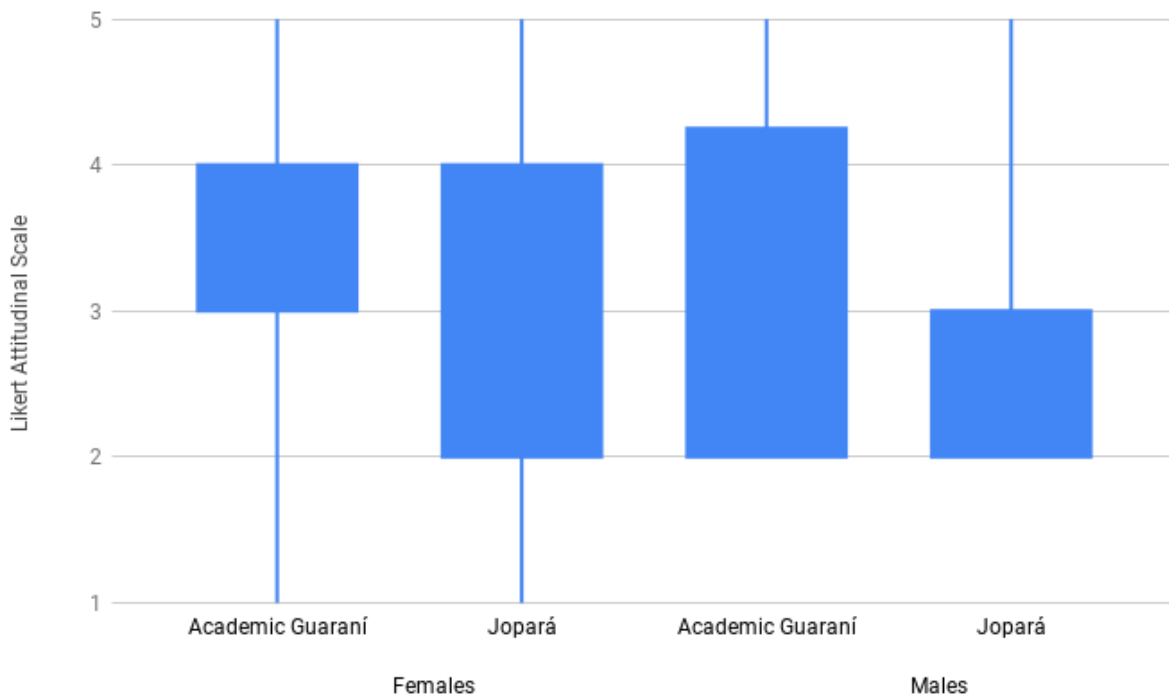


Figure 4.6. *Distribution of Females' and Males' Attitudinal Data for Prestige*

## 4.2. Reported Language Usage

The forthcoming figures will provide percentages for the participants' reported usage of Spanish, Academic Guaraní, and Jopará in formal and informal domains according to profession and sex. Again, one purpose of collecting this data was to determine whether or not there is evidence to support a Spanish/Guaraní diglossia in this community. If such evidence exists, then we should see participants reporting that they use the high variety (Spanish) more in formal domains and the low variety (only Jopará was used for this part of the analysis because of Guaraní's long history as an oral language) more in informal domains. For this section of the survey, participants were able to select more than one language in any given domain. According to the reported language use per domain presented in Figure 4.7, teachers appear to use Spanish only slightly more in formal domains (73% in formal and 70% in informal), while students, on the other hand, appear to use Spanish just slightly more in informal domains (55% in informal and 53% in formal). Due to the slight difference in percentages, there does not seem to be a strong connection between domain and Spanish use in this community. Nor does there seem to be a strong connection between domain and use of Jopará for students as they reportedly use Jopará equally in both formal and informal domains (50% of domains). However, teachers report that they use Jopará more in formal (83%) than informal (60%) domains, where it would have historically been reserved for informal domains. Therefore, collectively these results according to profession seem to suggest that, in this community, there is no longer a clear diglossic situation between the high and low varieties such as what existed historically between Spanish and Jopará in Paraguay.



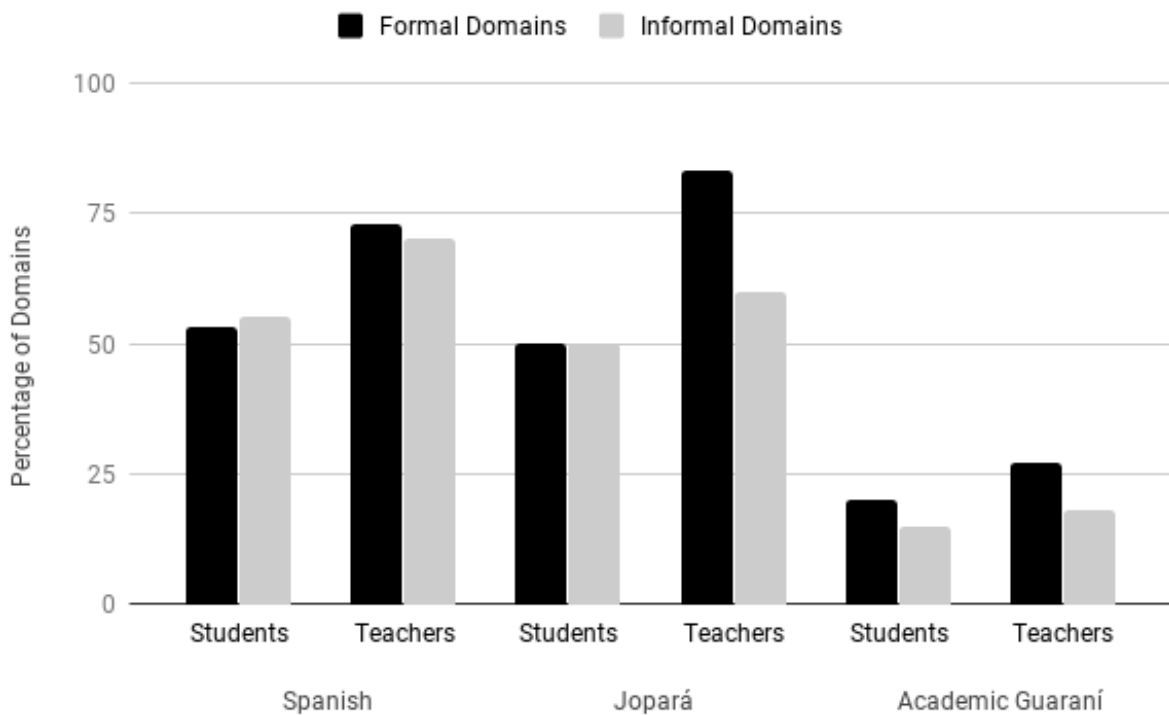


Figure 4.7. *The Reported Domain Use of Spanish, Jopará, and Academic Guaraní according to Profession*

The other purpose of collecting this data was to determine if there is evidence of diglossia between the high and low varieties of Guaraní. As such, one would expect to see participants using Academic Guaraní more in formal domains and Jopará more in informal domains. The following results do not appear to provide evidence of this type of diglossia. According to the reported language use in Figure 4.7, it appears that teachers and students are using Academic Guaraní slightly more in formal domains (students 20% versus 15% and teachers 27% versus 18%), however, a comparison of both varieties seems to suggest that both students and teachers are reportedly using more Jopará than Academic Guaraní in both formal and informal domains. Furthermore, students report using Jopará equally in both domains (50%) and teachers report using Jopará more in formal domains (83% versus 60%). Therefore, these results do not seem to provide evidence, at least for these participants, to support a dichotomy between the high and

low varieties such as what has historically existed between Spanish and the oral variety of Guaraní (Jopará).

A comparison of the same data according to sex in Figure 4.8 also does not appear to yield a strong connection between Spanish use and domain. Spanish appears to be used almost equally by females (69% in formal versus 67% in informal) and males (54% in formal versus 56% in informal) in each domain. As far as the use of Jopará is concerned, females and males reportedly use Jopará more in formal domains. Females use Jopará 83 percent of the time in formal domains and 67 percent of the time in informal domains, whereas males use Jopará 50 percent in formal and 43 percent in informal. Furthermore, Jopará is reportedly used more than Spanish by males in formal domains (50 percent versus 43 percent) while females report the same percentage of domains for Jopará and Spanish (83 percent versus 83 percent). Therefore, these results further suggest that, for these participants, there does not appear to be evidence to support a Spanish/Guaraní diglossia such as what has historically existed in this community.

Lastly, the following analysis will provide a comparison of the two varieties of Guaraní according to sex. Figure 4.8 seems to suggest that Jopará is used more than Academic Guaraní overall and more so in formal domains. Males uses Academic Guaraní more in formal domains (17% versus 3%), but overall they use Jopará more than Academic Guaraní. Of interest here is also the fact that the males reportedly use Jopará more in formal domains (50% versus 43%). Females, on the other hand, use Academic Guaraní equally in both formal and informal domains (30%), but they also use Jopará more than Academic Guaraní overall. Like the males, the females use Jopará more in formal domains (83% versus 67%). Therefore, these results do not appear to provide evidence in support of a diglossia between the standard and vernacular varieties of Guaraní among these participants.

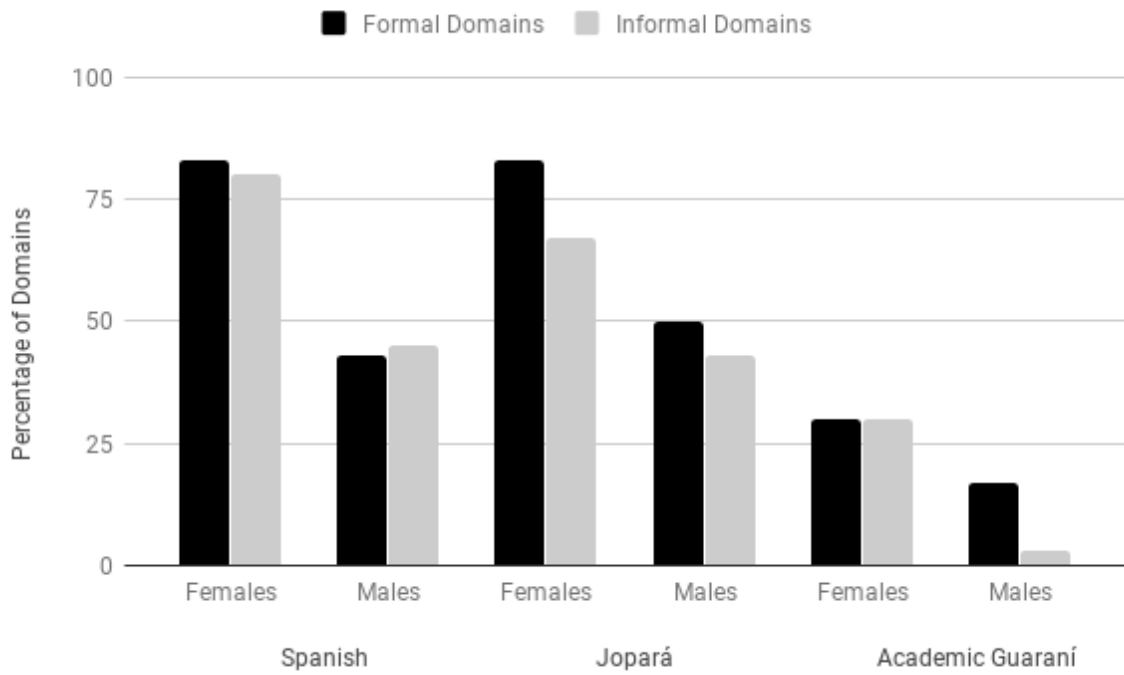


Figure 4.8. *The Reported Domain Use of Spanish, Jopará, and Academic Guaraní according to Sex*

## **5. Discussion**

The following chapter discusses the attitudinal data and reported language use of the participants. Two factors were isolated for the analysis: profession and sex. Contrary to the expectations given by previous research that has shown evidence of diglossia in Paraguay (Ferguson, 1991; Rubin, 1968,) the study did not find evidence to support a Spanish/Guaraní diglossia nor did it find evidence to support a potential dichotomy between the standard and vernacular varieties of Guaraní among the participants under investigation. The comments made by participants in the sections of the survey that elicited open-ended responses will be included as the findings of the present study are compared to those of research studies identified as most relevant to addressing the research questions of this study.

### **5.1 Attitudinal Data**

As the following discussion unfolds, it is important to keep in mind that language attitudes are not fixed, enduring responses, but rather positions that are just as fluid as they are multiple due to the ongoing process of (re)negotiation that occurs both inter- and intra-individually (Cargile, et al., 1994; Giles, 2006). As participants in this process of social construction, individuals form judgments about languages according to their superiority, social attractiveness, and dynamism (Garrett, 2001). However, as previously stated, Garrett notes that the judgment that carries more weight in non-linguists' comments is the notion of superiority. Edwards (1999) echoes this finding by stating that judgments will reflect social status, but also adds that judgments will reflect solidarity associated with the social norms of society. Throughout the discussion, these notions of superiority and solidarity will be associated with the language attitudes of the participants.

For the analysis of this study, language attitudes as a manifestation of pride are considered ethnolinguistic in nature and defined as the assignation of special attributes to a language (Gynan, 1998; Rubin, 1968). According to the attitudinal data, teachers and females

exhibit a similar amount of pride for each variety, while students and males attribute more pride to the high variety of Guaraní (Academic Guaraní). As such, students and males were more likely than the teachers and females to agree with statements such as “Academic Guaraní is a sweet language”, “Academic Guaraní is in our blood”, and “In order to be authentically Paraguayan, it is necessary to know how to communicate in Academic Guaraní”. This particular finding is surprising in that such statements regarding authenticity are often associated with the vernacular or low variety (Loureiro Rodriguez, 2008), which in this case would be Jopará. In fact, both Gynan (1998) and Rubin (1968) found that ethnolinguistic pride was only attributed to Guaraní, the low variety in their studies. Although Walsh Lang (2014) found that students viewed “Guaraní and Jopará as central to their collective identity as Paraguayans,” their comments during informal interviews also revealed that they had a lack of desire to learn Guaraní in school (p.75). However, this lack of desire to learn Guaraní and this expression of solidarity towards both Jopará and the Guaraní they learn in school does not hold true for all the participants of the present study. Only two of the ten students had negative comments about the language and all described the language as easy to read and comprehend. Most notably, the students of this study attribute more pride to the Guaraní they learn in school. While the participants’ language attitudes may have been influenced by the passage they read because it explicitly talks about the value of Academic Guaraní, this higher attribution of pride towards the standardized variety may also suggest a shift from previous evidence of its unpopularity and of less buy-in by the students (Canese Caballero, 2009; Walsh Lang, 2014).

This attitudinal shift may in part be a result of the relationship between language and identity formation in adolescence (Garrett, 2001 & Walsh Lang, 2014). According to Garrett, attitudinal distinctions between varieties are made as soon as, if not before, students are exposed to the standardized variety in the school system. Therefore, this high attribution of pride that the participants have for Academic Guaraní could be correlated to what Bourdieu (1991) refers to as

the power the nationalist group in charge of the linguistic market has in disseminating its ideology in favor of the standardized or prestigious variety. While the group that controls the linguistic market does indeed have influence over the attitudes adolescents form about languages, Walsh Lang (2014) posits that teachers have even more influence as they can create learning environments that either reinforce or challenge broader power relations. The influence the teachers of this study have on the students' language attitudes as a manifestation of pride towards the standardized variety is unclear with the results presented in the current study alone since the teachers attribute an equal amount of pride to both varieties of Guaraní. A forthcoming discussion of the results for loyalty will show how the language habits of the teachers are potentially connected to the students' perspective of the world (May, 2012) or more specifically their linguistic community.

As previously stated, language attitudes as a manifestation of loyalty are associated with language purism and reported language behavior for the purpose of this study (Gynan, 1998). Therefore, statements associated with language purism, ease of comprehensibility, and a desire to read, write, speak, and listen in Academic Guaraní or Jopará were identified as manifestations of loyalty. According to the attitudinal data of the current investigation, students and males are equally loyal to both languages. These results are similar to those of de Granda (1981) and Gynan (1998) who found evidence of loyalty for both the high (Spanish) and low (Guaraní) varieties. In contrast, the teachers and females of the present study are more loyal to the low variety (Jopará), just as Rubin's (1968) participants were more loyal to the low variety of her study (Guaraní). The teachers' greater loyalty towards Jopará coupled with the prestige of Academic Guaraní may explain the students' perspective of the two varieties of Guaraní. Academic Guaraní has been attributed more prestige through its instruction as the standard in the school system, but students appear to be equally influenced by the teachers' positive attitude towards Jopará as it relates to loyalty.

The notion of superiority is further reflected in the participants' language attitudes as a manifestation of prestige. Prestige was earlier defined as the value a language has to progress economically (Rubin, 1968). Therefore, participants were asked to rate statements related to the importance of knowing how to speak, read, and write in each variety to progress economically, in addition to statements related to the importance and value parents and teachers attribute to both varieties. Qualitatively, the results indicate that students alone show an equal amount of prestige for both languages while teachers, females, and males feel that Academic Guaraní is the more prestigious variety. While the attitudinal data of the teachers, males, and females seems to confirm the influence the linguistic market has over the formation of language attitudes, the attitudinal data of the students seemingly contradicts the scope of influence the linguistic market has on the formation of language attitudes. However, the students' equal amount of prestige for both varieties can again be a result of the influence from both the ideology of the standardized variety disseminated through the school system and that of the teachers towards the low variety.

As previously mentioned, the factor that has the most influence over non-linguists' language attitudes is the notion of superiority (Garrett, 2001). However, Garrett found that all-round favorability is not necessarily associated with the prestigious or high variety taught in the school system. Instead, he found that the non-standard variety of his study had a greater all-around favorability. Contrary to Garrett's findings, the participants of the present study seem to show an all-round favorability for the standard or high variety of Guaraní for its perceived authenticity and status. That said, a positive attitude towards a language does not necessarily correlate with linguistic use (Choi, 2003). Choi found that the participants in her study had a positive attitude towards learning the Guaraní language, but they still preferred to communicate in Spanish. Similar to Choi's findings, the forthcoming discussion on the reported language usage of the participants of the present study will suggest that this positive attitude of the standard variety or Academic Guaraní does not seem to connect to their reported linguistic use.

## 5.2 Reported Language Usage for Spanish and Guaraní

When speakers are exposed to more than one language in the same speech community, they know the language each social context demands. In diglossic situations as described by Ferguson (1991), the superposed variety or high variety taught in school is the language used primarily in formal domains or contexts, while the vernacular or low variety is the language used at home or in informal contexts. Ferguson also described the boundary between these two varieties in diglossic situations as behaviorally sharper. The following discussion will provide evidence to the contrary, suggesting that a diglossic situation such as what historically existed between Spanish and Guaraní does not exist in the community of the present study. Instead, it appears that the bilingual speakers of this study may be redefining those once-sharp behavioral boundaries between the high and low varieties in the interest of reducing differences with other interlocutors. This type of convergent behavior towards the variety of the other interlocutor is seen in some of the participants responses to the question about what language they prefer to speak and why. Four of the ten teachers expressed a desire to be understood and for that reason they preferred to speak both Spanish and Guaraní because the first language for some students was Guaraní and for others it was Spanish. One student also expressed a similar desire to reduce differences with other interlocutors. Specifically, he said that he prefers Guaraní because he “feels more comfortable with friends and relatives.”

Comments such as these indicate that the participants use discourse as a tool in audience design. According to Tabouret-Keller (2007), “language features are the link which binds individual and social identities together” (317). Therefore, the language that the other interlocutor speaks may dictate the language behavior of the present participants more than the social context that was historically characteristic of the Spanish/Guaraní diglossia of Paraguay. Whereas Rubin (1968) found that the domain and the level of formality of the situation determined language use (Rubin, 1968), Choi’s (2005) comparison of data from the 1990 and



2000 censuses with her own data on language use showed evidence of a national increase in bilingualism in all types of interactions, a decline in the use of Guaraní in the familiar domain, and a decrease in monolingualism in either language. The following discussion will show a similar pattern of Spanish/Guaraní bilingualism in relation to the domain and the level of formality of the situation, and it will also show a notable presence of Guaraní use in the formal domain.

Bilingualism in all domains is evident in the present study as both languages are reportedly used by the participants. The use of Spanish in formal and informal domains according to profession and sex only varies 2-4 percentage points, suggesting that there does not appear to be a strong connection between domain and the use of Spanish. Moreover, students do not appear to have situational boundaries set for the use of Guaraní as they use the language at similar rates in both formal and informal domains. Conversely, based on the percentage use of Guaraní alone, it would appear that females, males, and teachers prefer to use Guaraní more in formal domains. Moreover, they appear to use Guaraní more than Spanish in formal domains. These findings differ from Choi's (2005), who found the use of Guaraní to be limited in the academic context. Here, the use of Guaraní is certainly not limited. Instead, it could be an indicator of a rural feature of the community as Rubin (1968) found that the use of Guaraní was the rule in the rural area of her study. While the reported language behavior of the present study seems to support Choi's finding that the teaching of Guaraní in school has led to positive advances in the use of the language, it could also implicate a decrease in the use of Guaraní in the familiar domain. According to Choi, "the loss in the use of Guaraní in the family domain would mean the loss of heritage and history, not just of the language, but also of Paraguayan culture and identity" (p. 198). While the present study seems to suggest a tendency overall to use Guaraní more in the formal domain, the choices for formal domains in the reported language use section of the survey was limited. Furthermore, the participants may have seen the domains as

multifaceted. For example, it is not clear whether the domain “in school” indicates during instruction, during recess, with the teacher, or with friends in the classroom. During instruction could be interpreted as a formal context while during recess could be interpreted as an informal context. Future research would therefore benefit from a more comprehensive list of contexts and situations to collect data for reported language behavior to determine if there is indeed a displacement of Guaraní in the familiar domain. The following section will discuss the connection between the teaching of Guaraní in school and the use of the language in formal and informal contexts.

### **5.3 Analysis of the Reported Language Usage for Jopará and Academic Guaraní**

The aforementioned advances as a result of the standardization of Guaraní could lead to a situation of double-nested diglossia where there are not only high and low varieties of Spanish, but also high and low varieties of Guaraní (Choi, 2005; de Granda, 1988). Therefore, another goal of the present study is to determine if there is evidence to support a dichotomy between the standard and vernacular varieties of Guaraní. Since the standardization of Guaraní is in its beginning stages, one would expect to see a similar diglossic situation as the one described by Ferguson (1991), with the use of Academic Guaraní primarily in formal contexts and the use of Jopará in familiar contexts. The reported language behavior of the participants does not appear to provide evidence to support this type of dichotomy. While it appears that teachers, students, and males reportedly use Academic Guaraní more in formal domains and females report using both languages equally in each domain, participants appear to favor the use of Jopará overall in both formal and informal domains. Again, this could indicate a rural feature of the community as the use of the vernacular variety is preferred in rural areas (Rubin, 1968).

According to the attitudinal data, this reported language behavior seems to contrast with the participants’ all-around favorability for Academic Guaraní. However, this finding is not unusual because, as noted by Choi (2003), “linguistic behaviour and linguistic reality are not

always a reflection of attitude. Many researchers have found inconsistencies between attitude and conduct, especially in situations in which there are two or more languages in contact” (82). This inconsistency could also be a reflection of the broader linguistic reality of the speech community. As Hogg (1996) states, the actions associated with the behavior nature of attitudes “... cannot be understood in isolation from the wider context of societal beliefs about language groups and their intergroup relations” (379). The language attitudes of the teachers towards the two varieties of Guaraní offer a view of the wider context of the speech community’s beliefs, but a direction for future research could include information about the parents’ reported language behavior to draw even stronger conclusions about the broader linguistic norms of the community and the impact they potentially have on the younger generation.

Since the process of standardization is relatively new for the Guaraní language, the present study provides findings that could be used in setting directions for future research studies. Informal interviews such as those conducted by Canese Caballero (2009) and Walsh Lang (2014) uncovered negative comments about the standard variety of Guaraní that contrast with its general favorability and the positive comments made by the students of the present study. Due to the small sample size of the present study, large scale studies such as those conducted by de Granda (1988), Gyan (1998), and Rubin (1968) should be conducted in the future on the language attitudes of the vernacular and standard varieties of Guaraní to further support the efforts of language and policy planning in Paraguay.

## 6. Conclusion

In this study I sought to answer three questions regarding the language attitudes and reported language use of Paraguayans living and working in Altos de La Cordillera. First, I attempted to address the question of what attitudes the participants have of the standard and vernacular varieties of Guaraní. In order to do this, I analyzed the attitudinal data collected from 31 declarative statements about Jopará and Academic Guaraní as manifestations of pride, loyalty, and prestige according to profession and sex due to the qualitative differences in scores. The study found three significant differences in mean scores for the three manifestations of language attitudes. Students and males have more pride for Academic Guaraní than Jopará, teachers and females are more loyal to Jopará than Academic Guaraní, and teachers, males, and females believe that Academic Guaraní is the more prestigious variety.

On the one hand, these particular findings align with those of previous studies, which suggest that judgments about languages reflect the notions of superiority and solidarity (Edwards, 1999; Garrett, 2001). On the other hand, they contradict findings from previous studies on the language attitudes of high (Spanish) and low (Guaraní) varieties in Paraguay. The pride attributed to the high variety of Guaraní contrasts with the pride attributed to the low variety (Guaraní) in Gynan (1998) and Rubin's (1968) studies. Furthermore, this study's all-round favorability for the high variety contrasts with that of Garrett's (2001) study for the vernacular variety. Although the small sample size of this study is a limitation, the study contributes to research on the standard and vernacular varieties of Guaraní since to date, no studies have used a survey to analyze Paraguayans' attitudes of the two varieties of Guaraní. Moreover, future research should explore whether or not participants' equal attribution of pride or loyalty to both varieties is a question of ambivalence as raised by Gynan (1998) and Rubin (1968) or a question of societal influences as suggested by the present study. For example, the students' equal attribution of loyalty to both languages may be a reflection of ambivalence or it

may reflect the influences of the linguistic market and the ideologies of the broader community on the formation of language attitudes in adolescence.

This study also attempted to address the question of whether or not there is evidence to support a diglossia between Spanish and Guaraní in this community, which has rural and urban characteristics. To accomplish this, I analyzed the participants' reported language use for Spanish and Jopará due to Guaraní's long history as an oral variety. Rather than finding sharp behavioral boundaries between the high and low varieties (Ferguson, 1991), the study's findings were similar to those of Choi's (2005) in that bilingualism is evident in all domains. One notable difference to Choi's study is the participants' use of Guaraní in the academic context. Lastly, this study attempted to determine if there is evidence to support a dichotomy between the high and low varieties such as what has historically existed between Spanish and Guaraní. To address this potential dichotomy, I analyzed the reported language use for the standard and vernacular varieties of Guaraní. The study did not find evidence to support a Jopará/Academic Guaraní diglossia among the participants under investigation. Instead, participants favored the use of Jopará overall. As of yet, there does not appear to be evidence of a double-nested diglossia (Choi, 2005), but language policy and planning efforts in Paraguay would benefit from further research on the language attitudes and reported language use of the two varieties of Guaraní due to the fact that Guaraní is in the beginning stages of standardization. In summary, participants appear to have an overall favorability for the standard variety, but as of yet this positive attitude does not correlate to their reported language use. Participants report using the vernacular more than the standard variety overall, but this may change through continued exposure to the standard variety in the school system.

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## Appendix A: Survey for Females in English

### A. Demographic Information

Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Age: \_\_\_\_\_

Sex: \_\_\_\_\_ Place of Birth: \_\_\_\_\_

Profession: \_\_\_\_\_ Highest Level of Education: \_\_\_\_\_

Classes in Academic Guaraní: Yes or No ? How many years? \_\_\_\_\_

### B. Linguistic Use

What languages do you prefer to speak? Why?

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Give a percentage of how much you use each language daily:

\_\_\_\_\_ Spanish \_\_\_\_\_ Jopará \_\_\_\_\_ Academic Guaraní

Instructions: For the following, mark all that apply:

I use Spanish...		I use Jopará...		I use Academic Guaraní...	
_____	At home	_____	At home	_____	At home
_____	At work	_____	At work	_____	At work
_____	In school	_____	In school	_____	In school
_____	In the community	_____	In the community	_____	In the community
_____	With my significant other	_____	With my significant other	_____	With my significant other
_____	With my children	_____	With my children	_____	With my children

_____	With relatives	_____	With relatives	_____	With relatives
_____	With friends	_____	With friends	_____	With friends
_____	On social media (Facebook, Twitter, etc.)	_____	On social media (Facebook, Twitter, etc.)	_____	On social media (Facebook, Twitter, etc.)

Instructions: For the following, mark all that apply:

I write in... \_\_\_\_\_ Spanish \_\_\_\_\_ Jopará \_\_\_\_\_ Academic Guaraní

I read in... \_\_\_\_\_ Spanish \_\_\_\_\_ Jopará \_\_\_\_\_ Academic Guaraní

I watch television in... \_\_\_\_\_ Spanish \_\_\_\_\_ Jopará \_\_\_\_\_ Academic Guaraní

I listen to the radio in... \_\_\_\_\_ Spanish \_\_\_\_\_ Jopará \_\_\_\_\_ Academic Guaraní

How many hours a day does the school dedicate to Academic Guaraní? \_\_\_\_\_

In what language do they teach during Guaraní class? (Mark all that apply..)

_____	Spanish	_____	Jopará	_____	Academic Guaraní
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How much time is dedicated to developing or improving the following modes of communication during a Guaraní class? (Give a percentage for each mode.)

_____	Reading	_____	Writing	_____	Listening	_____	Speaking
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What is your opinion about the Academic Guaraní that they teach in school?

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Instructions: Read the story and answer the following questions.

Professor Concepción and Nati

One cold morning Professor Concepción went for a ride. While she was in her car, she found her student, Nati. Happily they started to have a conversation:

“How are you doing today, Professor Concepción?”

“Very well, Nati. You remember the Guaraní language very often.”

“That’s right, Professor,” confirmed Nati. “Now I am doing a job for our nation.”

“And what do you have to do?” the professor asked her.

“I need to internalize what the last part of the book says,” says Nati. “Can you help me, Professor?”

“I will make an effort. In the last part of the book it says that Paraguay has two languages, Spanish and Guaraní. Now the Spanish language is used to write the history about our country.”

“Thank you, Professor Concepción for helping me understand that. Now I am going to approach the car door to get out, says Nati.”

“Ok, Nati. I hope everything goes well.”

“Until we see each other again, Professor. And thank you very much.”

Upon reading this, what is Academic Guaraní like? Does it sound nice? Yes or no? \_\_\_\_\_

Easy or difficult? \_\_\_\_\_ Did you understand everything you read? Yes or no? \_\_\_\_\_

Is it similar to the variety of Guaraní that you normally use? Yes or no? \_\_\_\_\_

Explain:

---

Instructions: Circle the words that you normally use:

Spanish	Academic Guaraní	What do you normally use if it is not one of the first two options?
mi padre	che ru	
mi madre	che sy	
mi abuelo/abuela	che jaryi	
mi nieto/nieta	che remiarirõ	
mi hermano mayor	che kyvy	
mi hermana mayor	che ryke	
mi hermano menor	che kyvy	
mi hermana menor	che kypy'y	
mi hijo	che memby kuimba'e	
mi hija	che memby kuña	

### C. Survey

Instructions: Read the following statements and circle a number from 1 to 5 according to your opinion.

Academic Guaraní is a sweet language.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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Academic Guaraní is in our blood.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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It is necessary to eliminate all Spanish from Guaraní and have a pure variety.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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In order to progress economically, it is necessary to know how to speak Academic Guaraní.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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In order to progress economically, it is necessary to know how to read and write Academic Guaraní.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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I like to read Academic Guaraní.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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I like to write Academic Guaraní.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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I like to hear Academic Guaraní.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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I like to speak Academic Guaraní.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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I think that others are going to understand me in social situations if I use Academic Guaraní.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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In order to be authentically Paraguayan, it is necessary to know how to communicate in

Academic Guaraní.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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Academic Guaraní represents who I am.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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It is important to parents that kids know how to communicate well in Academic Guaraní.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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It is evident that teachers value Academic Guaraní.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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Academic Guaraní has more prestige than Jopará.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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I use new words that I learn in Guaraní class when I am talking to people outside of school.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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Jopará is a sweet language.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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Jopará is in our blood.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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It is not necessary to eliminate all Spanish from Guaraní in order to have a pure variety.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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In order to progress economically, it is necessary to know how to talk in Jopará.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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In order to progress economically, it is necessary to know how to read and write in Jopará.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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I like to read Jopará.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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I like to write Jopará.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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I like to hear Jopará.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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I like to speak Jopará.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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I think that others are going to understand me in social situations if I use Jopará.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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In order to be authentically Paraguayan, it is necessary to know how to communicate in Jopará.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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Jopará represents who I am.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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It is important to parents that kids know how to communicate well in Jopará.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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It is evident that teachers value Jopará.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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Jopará has more prestige than Academic Guaraní.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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## Appendix B: Survey for Females in Spanish

### A. Información demográfica

Nombre: \_\_\_\_\_ Edad: \_\_\_\_\_

Sexo: \_\_\_\_\_ Lugar de nacimiento: \_\_\_\_\_

Profesión: \_\_\_\_\_ Nivel más alto de educación: \_\_\_\_\_

Clases de guaraní académico: ¿ Sí o no ? ¿Cuántos años? \_\_\_\_\_

### B. Uso lingüístico

¿Qué lengua prefiere hablar? ¿Por qué?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Dé un porcentaje de cuánto usa usted al día cada lengua:

\_\_\_\_\_ castellano \_\_\_\_\_ jopará/jehe´a \_\_\_\_\_ guaraní académico/Guaraníete

Instrucciones: Para lo siguiente, marque todo lo que aplica.

Uso castellano...		Uso jopará/jehe´a...		Uso guaraní académico/Guaraníete...	
_____	En casa	_____	En casa	_____	En casa
_____	En el trabajo	_____	En el trabajo	_____	En el trabajo
_____	En la escuela	_____	En la escuela	_____	En la escuela
_____	En la comunidad	_____	En la comunidad	_____	En la comunidad
_____	Con mi pareja	_____	Con mi pareja	_____	Con mi pareja
_____	Con mi(s) hijo(s)	_____	Con mi(s) hijo(s)	_____	Con mi(s) hijo(s)

_____	Con parientes	_____	Con parientes	_____	Con parientes
_____	Con mi(s) amigo(s)	_____	Con mi(s) amigo(s)	_____	Con mi(s) amigo(s)
_____	En las redes sociales (Facebook, Twitter, etc.)	_____	En las redes sociales (Facebook, Twitter, etc.)	_____	En las redes sociales (Facebook, Twitter, etc.)

Instrucciones: Para lo siguiente, marque todo lo que aplica.

Escribo en... \_\_\_\_\_ castellano \_\_\_\_\_ jopará/jehe´a \_\_\_\_\_ guaraní académico/Guaraníete

Leo en... \_\_\_\_\_ castellano \_\_\_\_\_ jopará/jehe´a \_\_\_\_\_ guaraní académico/Guaraníete

Veó televisión en... \_\_\_\_\_ castellano \_\_\_\_\_ jopará/jehe´a \_\_\_\_\_ guaraní académico/Guaraníete

Escucho la radio en... \_\_\_\_\_ castellano \_\_\_\_\_ jopará/jehe´a \_\_\_\_\_ guaraní académico/Guaraníete

¿Cuántas horas al día se dedican a la materia de guaraní en la escuela? \_\_\_\_\_

¿En qué lengua se enseña durante la clase de guaraní? (Marque todo lo que aplica.)

_____	castellano	_____	jopará/jehe´a	_____	guaraní académico/Guaraníete
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¿Cuánto tiempo se dedica a desarrollar o mejorar los siguientes modos de comunicación durante una clase de guaraní? (Dé un porcentaje a cada modo.)

_____	leer	_____	escribir	_____	escuchar	_____	hablar
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¿Cuál es su opinión sobre el guaraní académico que se enseña en la escuela?

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Instrucciones: Lea el cuento y conteste las siguientes preguntas.

## *Mbo'ehára Konche ha Nati*

Idia Génes (paraguaité) (paraguaité)

Peteĩ pyhareve piro'y asýva Mbo'ehára Konche osẽ oguatávo. Mba'yru guatápe ojejuhu hemimbo'e Nati ndive. Tuicha vy'ápe oñomongeta hikuái kóicha:

- Mba'éichapa neko'ẽ Mbo'ehára Konche.
- Iporãnte Nati. akóinte reñemoarandu Guarani ñe'ẽme.
- Upéichaite Mbo'ehára -- ombohováí Nati, ha ombojoapy -- Ko'áña ajapo'ána peteĩ tembiapo upe Ñane Retã Kuatiausu rehegua.
- Ha mba'éiko rejapova'erã -- oporandu mbo'ehára.
- Ahesa'yijova'erã upe he'íva ipehẽngue pahápe, -- he'i temimbo'e -- ndéiko chepytyvõkuua Mbo'ehára.
- Añeha'ãta niko. Upe ipehẽngue pahápe niko pe kuatiausu he'i Paraguái Retã oguerekoha mokõi ñe'ẽtee: España ha Guarani ñe'ẽ. Áña katu, España ñe'ẽ ojepuruva'erã ojehei haña umi kuatia Ñane Retã reheguávape.
- Aguyje ndéve Mbo'ehára Konche remyesakã haguere chéve upéva. Áña che añemoaũtama pe okẽme aguejy haña -- he'i Nati.
- Oĩma Nati, tereho porãitéke.
- Jajochajey peve Mbo'ehára, ha aguyje taite ndéve.

Al leer esto, ¿cómo es el guaraní académico/Guaraníete? ¿Suena lindo? ¿Sí o no?

\_\_\_\_\_

¿Fácil o difícil? \_\_\_\_\_ ¿Entendió todo lo que leyó? ¿Sí o no? \_\_\_\_\_

¿Es similar a la variedad de guaraní que usa usted normalmente? ¿Sí o no? \_\_\_\_\_

Explique:

\_\_\_\_\_

Instrucciones: Encierre en un círculo las palabras que usa usted normalmente.

Castellano	Guaraní académico/Guaraníete	¿Qué usa usted si no es una de las primeras dos opciones?
mi padre	che ru	
mi madre	che sy	
mi abuelo/abuela	che jaryi	
mi nieto/nieta	che remiarirõ	
mi hermano mayor	che kyvy	
mi hermana mayor	che ryke	
mi hermano menor	che kyvy	
mi hermana menor	che kypy'y	
mi hijo	che memby kuimba'e	
mi hija	che memby kuña	

### C. Encuesta

Instrucciones: Lea las siguientes oraciones y encierre en un círculo un número de 1 a 5 según su opinión.

El guaraní académico/Guaraníete es una lengua dulce.

1	2	3	4	5
Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	No estoy de acuerdo.	No opinión.	Estoy de acuerdo.	Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.

El guaraní académico/Guaraníete está en nuestra sangre.

1	2	3	4	5
Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	No estoy de acuerdo.	No opinión.	Estoy de acuerdo.	Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.

Hace falta eliminar todo el castellano del guaraní y tener una variedad pura.

1	2	3	4	5
Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	No estoy de acuerdo.	No opinión.	Estoy de acuerdo.	Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.

Para progresar económicamente, es necesario saber hablar el guaraní académico/Guaraníete.

<b>1</b> Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	<b>2</b> No estoy de acuerdo.	<b>3</b> No opinión.	<b>4</b> Estoy de acuerdo.	<b>5</b> Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.
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Para progresar económicamente, es necesario saber leer y escribir el guaraní académico/Guaraníete.

<b>1</b> Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	<b>2</b> No estoy de acuerdo.	<b>3</b> No opinión.	<b>4</b> Estoy de acuerdo.	<b>5</b> Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.
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Me gusta leer en guaraní académico/Guaraníete.

<b>1</b> Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	<b>2</b> No estoy de acuerdo.	<b>3</b> No opinión.	<b>4</b> Estoy de acuerdo.	<b>5</b> Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.
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Me gusta escribir en guaraní académico/Guaraníete.

<b>1</b> Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	<b>2</b> No estoy de acuerdo.	<b>3</b> No opinión.	<b>4</b> Estoy de acuerdo.	<b>5</b> Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.
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Me gusta escuchar el guaraní académico/Guaraníete.

<b>1</b> Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	<b>2</b> No estoy de acuerdo.	<b>3</b> No opinión.	<b>4</b> Estoy de acuerdo.	<b>5</b> Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.
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Me gusta hablar el guaraní académico/Guaraníete.

<b>1</b> Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	<b>2</b> No estoy de acuerdo.	<b>3</b> No opinión.	<b>4</b> Estoy de acuerdo.	<b>5</b> Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.
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Pienso que otros me van a entender en situaciones sociales si uso el guaraní académico/Guaraníete.

<b>1</b> Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	<b>2</b> No estoy de acuerdo.	<b>3</b> No opinión.	<b>4</b> Estoy de acuerdo.	<b>5</b> Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.
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Para ser auténticamente paraguayo, es necesario saber comunicarse en el guaraní académico/Guaraníete.

<b>1</b> Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	<b>2</b> No estoy de acuerdo.	<b>3</b> No opinión.	<b>4</b> Estoy de acuerdo.	<b>5</b> Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.
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El guaraní académico/Guaraníete representa quien soy yo.

<b>1</b> Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	<b>2</b> No estoy de acuerdo.	<b>3</b> No opinión.	<b>4</b> Estoy de acuerdo.	<b>5</b> Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.
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Es importante para los padres que los niños sepan comunicarse bien en el guaraní académico/Guaraníete.

<b>1</b> Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	<b>2</b> No estoy de acuerdo.	<b>3</b> No opinión.	<b>4</b> Estoy de acuerdo.	<b>5</b> Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.
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Es evidente que los maestros valoran el guaraní académico/Guaraníete.

<b>1</b> Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	<b>2</b> No estoy de acuerdo.	<b>3</b> No opinión.	<b>4</b> Estoy de acuerdo.	<b>5</b> Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.
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El guaraní académico tiene más prestigio que el jopará/jehe´a.

<b>1</b> Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	<b>2</b> No estoy de acuerdo.	<b>3</b> No opinión.	<b>4</b> Estoy de acuerdo.	<b>5</b> Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.
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Uso palabras nuevas que aprendo en la clase de guaraní cuando estoy hablando con personas fuera de la escuela.

<b>1</b> Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	<b>2</b> No estoy de acuerdo.	<b>3</b> No opinión.	<b>4</b> Estoy de acuerdo.	<b>5</b> Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.
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El jopará/jehe´a es una lengua dulce.

<b>1</b> Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	<b>2</b> No estoy de acuerdo.	<b>3</b> No opinión.	<b>4</b> Estoy de acuerdo.	<b>5</b> Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.
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El jopará/jehe´a está en nuestra sangre.

<b>1</b> Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	<b>2</b> No estoy de acuerdo.	<b>3</b> No opinión.	<b>4</b> Estoy de acuerdo.	<b>5</b> Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.
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No es necesario eliminar todo el castellano del guaraní para tener una variedad pura.

<b>1</b> Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	<b>2</b> No estoy de acuerdo.	<b>3</b> No opinión.	<b>4</b> Estoy de acuerdo.	<b>5</b> Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.
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Para progresar económicamente, es necesario saber hablar el jopará/jehe´a.

<b>1</b> Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	<b>2</b> No estoy de acuerdo.	<b>3</b> No opinión.	<b>4</b> Estoy de acuerdo.	<b>5</b> Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.
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Para progresar económicamente es necesario saber leer y escribir el jopará/jehe´a.

<b>1</b> Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	<b>2</b> No estoy de acuerdo.	<b>3</b> No opinión.	<b>4</b> Estoy de acuerdo.	<b>5</b> Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.
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Me gusta leer en jopará/jehe´a.

<b>1</b> Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	<b>2</b> No estoy de acuerdo.	<b>3</b> No opinión.	<b>4</b> Estoy de acuerdo.	<b>5</b> Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.
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Me gusta escribir en jopará/jehe´a.

<b>1</b> Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	<b>2</b> No estoy de acuerdo.	<b>3</b> No opinión.	<b>4</b> Estoy de acuerdo.	<b>5</b> Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.
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Me gusta escuchar el jopará/jehe´a.

<b>1</b> Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	<b>2</b> No estoy de acuerdo.	<b>3</b> No opinión.	<b>4</b> Estoy de acuerdo.	<b>5</b> Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.
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Me gusta hablar el jopará/jehe´a.

<b>1</b> Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	<b>2</b> No estoy de acuerdo.	<b>3</b> No opinión.	<b>4</b> Estoy de acuerdo.	<b>5</b> Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.
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Pienso que otros me van a entender en situaciones sociales si uso el jopará/jehe´a.

<b>1</b> Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	<b>2</b> No estoy de acuerdo.	<b>3</b> No opinión.	<b>4</b> Estoy de acuerdo.	<b>5</b> Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.
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Para ser auténticamente paraguayo, es necesario saber comunicarse en el jopará/jehe´a.

<b>1</b> Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	<b>2</b> No estoy de acuerdo.	<b>3</b> No opinión.	<b>4</b> Estoy de acuerdo.	<b>5</b> Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.
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El jopará/jehe´a representa quien soy yo.

<b>1</b> Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	<b>2</b> No estoy de acuerdo.	<b>3</b> No opinión.	<b>4</b> Estoy de acuerdo.	<b>5</b> Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.
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Es importante para los padres que los niños sepan comunicarse bien en el jopará/jehe´a.

<b>1</b> Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	<b>2</b> No estoy de acuerdo.	<b>3</b> No opinión.	<b>4</b> Estoy de acuerdo.	<b>5</b> Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.
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Es evidente que los maestros valoran el jopará/jehe´a.

<b>1</b> Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	<b>2</b> No estoy de acuerdo.	<b>3</b> No opinión.	<b>4</b> Estoy de acuerdo.	<b>5</b> Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.
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El jopará/jehe´a tiene más prestigio que el guaraní académico/Guaraníete.

<b>1</b> Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	<b>2</b> No estoy de acuerdo.	<b>3</b> No opinión.	<b>4</b> Estoy de acuerdo.	<b>5</b> Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.
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## Appendix C: Survey for Males in English

### A. Demographic Information

Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Age: \_\_\_\_\_

Sex: \_\_\_\_\_ Place of Birth: \_\_\_\_\_

Profession: \_\_\_\_\_ Highest Level of Education: \_\_\_\_\_

Classes in Academic Guaraní: Yes or No ? How many years? \_\_\_\_\_

### B. Linguistic Use

What language do you prefer to speak? Why?

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Give a percentage of how much you use each language daily:

\_\_\_\_\_ Spanish \_\_\_\_\_ Jopará \_\_\_\_\_ Academic Guaraní

Instructions: For the following, mark all that apply:

I use Spanish...		I use Jopará...		I use Academic Guaraní...	
_____	At home	_____	At home	_____	At home
_____	At work	_____	At work	_____	At work
_____	In school	_____	In school	_____	In school
_____	In the community	_____	In the community	_____	In the community
_____	With my significant other	_____	With my significant other	_____	With my significant other
_____	With my children	_____	With my children	_____	With my children

_____	With relatives	_____	With relatives	_____	With relatives
_____	With friends	_____	With friends	_____	With friends
_____	On social media (Facebook, Twitter, etc.)	_____	On social media (Facebook, Twitter, etc.)	_____	On social media (Facebook, Twitter, etc.)

Instructions: For the following, mark all that apply:

I write in... \_\_\_\_\_ Spanish \_\_\_\_\_ Jopará \_\_\_\_\_ Academic Guaraní

I read in... \_\_\_\_\_ Spanish \_\_\_\_\_ Jopará \_\_\_\_\_ Academic Guaraní

I watch television in... \_\_\_\_\_ Spanish \_\_\_\_\_ Jopará \_\_\_\_\_ Academic Guaraní

I listen to the radio in... \_\_\_\_\_ Spanish \_\_\_\_\_ Jopará \_\_\_\_\_ Academic Guaraní

How many hours a day does the school dedicate to Academic Guaraní? \_\_\_\_\_

In what language do they teach during Guaraní class? (Mark all that apply..)

_____	Spanish	_____	Jopará	_____	Academic Guaraní
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How much time is dedicated to developing or improving the following modes of communication during a Guaraní class? (Give a percentage for each mode.)

_____	Reading	_____	Writing	_____	Listening	_____	Speaking
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What is your opinion about the Academic Guaraní that they teach in school?

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Instructions: Read the story and answer the following questions.

Professor Concepción and Nati

One cold morning Professor Concepción went for a ride. While she was in her car, she found her student, Nati. Happily they started to have a conversation:

“How are you doing today, Professor Concepción?”

“Very well, Nati. You remember the Guaraní language very often.”

“That’s right, Professor,” confirmed Nati. “Now I am doing a job for our nation.”

“And what do you have to do?” the professor asked her.

“I need to internalize what the last part of the book says,” says Nati. “Can you help me, Professor?”

“I will make an effort. In the last part of the book it says that Paraguay has two languages, Spanish and Guaraní. Now the Spanish language is used to write the history about our country.”

“Thank you, Professor Concepción for helping me understand that. Now I am going to approach the car door to get out, says Nati.”

“Ok, Nati. I hope everything goes well.”

“Until we see each other again, Professor. And thank you very much.”

Upon reading this, what is Academic Guaraní like? Does it sound nice? Yes or no?

\_\_\_\_\_

Easy or difficult? \_\_\_\_\_ ¿Did you understand everything you read? Yes or no? \_\_\_\_\_

Is it similar to the variety of Guaraní that you normally use? Yes or no? \_\_\_\_\_

Explain:

\_\_\_\_\_

Instruction: Circle the words that you normally use.

Spanish	Academic Guaraní	What do you normally use if it is not one of the first two options?
mi padre	che ru	
mi madre	che sy	
mi abuelo/abuela	che taita guasu	
mi nieto/nieta	che remiarirõ	
mi hermano mayor	che ryke'y	
mi hermana mayor	che reindy ypykue	
mi hermano menor	che ryvy	
mi hermana menor	che reindy michîvéva	
mi hijo	che ra'y	
mi hija	che rajy	

### C. Survey

Instructions: Read the following statements and circle a number from 1 to 5 according to your opinion.

Academic Guaraní is a sweet language.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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Academic Guaraní is in our blood.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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It is necessary to eliminate all Spanish from Guaraní and have a pure variety.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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In order to progress economically, it is necessary to know how to speak Academic Guaraní.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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In order to progress economically, it is necessary to know how to read and write Academic Guaraní.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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I like to read Academic Guaraní.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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I like to write Academic Guaraní.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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I like to hear Academic Guaraní.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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I like to speak Academic Guaraní.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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I think that others are going to understand me in social situations if I use Academic Guaraní.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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In order to be authentically Paraguayan, it is necessary to know how to communicate in Academic Guaraní.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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Academic Guaraní represents who I am.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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It is important to parents that kids know how to communicate well in Academic Guaraní.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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It is evident that teachers value Academic Guaraní.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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Academic Guaraní has more prestige than Jopará.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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I use new words that I learn in Guaraní class when I am talking to people outside of school.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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Jopará is a sweet language.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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Jopará is in our blood.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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It is not necessary to eliminate all Spanish from Guaraní in order to have a pure variety.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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In order to progress economically, it is necessary to know how to talk in Jopará.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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In order to progress economically, it is necessary to know how to read and write in Jopará.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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I like to read Jopará.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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I like to write Jopará.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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I like to hear Jopará.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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I like to speak Jopará.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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I think that others are going to understand me in social situations if I use Jopará.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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In order to be authentically Paraguayan, it is necessary to know how to communicate in Jopará.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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Jopará represents who I am.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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It is important to parents that kids know how to communicate well in Jopará.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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It is evident that teachers value Jopará.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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Jopará has more prestige than Academic Guaraní.

<b>1</b> I strongly disagree.	<b>2</b> I do not agree.	<b>3</b> No opinion.	<b>4</b> I agree.	<b>5</b> I strongly agree.
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## Appendix D: Survey for Males in Spanish

### A. Información demográfica

Nombre: \_\_\_\_\_ Edad: \_\_\_\_\_

Sexo: \_\_\_\_\_ Lugar de nacimiento: \_\_\_\_\_

Profesión: \_\_\_\_\_ Nivel más alto de educación: \_\_\_\_\_

Clases de guaraní académico: ¿ Sí o no ? ¿Cuántos años? \_\_\_\_\_

### B. Uso lingüístico

¿Qué lengua prefiere hablar? ¿Por qué?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Dé un porcentaje de cuánto usa usted al día cada lengua:

\_\_\_\_\_ castellano \_\_\_\_\_ jopará/jehe´a \_\_\_\_\_ guaraní académico/Guaraníete

Instrucciones: Para lo siguiente, marque todo lo que aplica.

Uso castellano...		Uso jopará/jehe´a...		Uso guaraní académico/Guaraníete...	
_____	En casa	_____	En casa	_____	En casa
_____	En el trabajo	_____	En el trabajo	_____	En el trabajo
_____	En la escuela	_____	En la escuela	_____	En la escuela
_____	En la comunidad	_____	En la comunidad	_____	En la comunidad
_____	Con mi pareja	_____	Con mi pareja	_____	Con mi pareja
_____	Con mi(s) hijo(s)	_____	Con mi(s) hijo(s)	_____	Con mi(s) hijo(s)

_____	Con parientes	_____	Con parientes	_____	Con parientes
_____	Con mi(s) amigo(s)	_____	Con mi(s) amigo(s)	_____	Con mi(s) amigo(s)
_____	En las redes sociales (Facebook, Twitter, etc.)	_____	En las redes sociales (Facebook, Twitter, etc.)	_____	En las redes sociales (Facebook, Twitter, etc.)

Instrucciones: Para lo siguiente, marque todo lo que aplica.

Escribo en... \_\_\_\_\_ castellano \_\_\_\_\_ jopará/jehe´a \_\_\_\_\_ guaraní académico/Guaraníete

Leo en... \_\_\_\_\_ castellano \_\_\_\_\_ jopará/jehe´a \_\_\_\_\_ guaraní académico/Guaraníete

Veó televisión en... \_\_\_\_\_ castellano \_\_\_\_\_ jopará/jehe´a \_\_\_\_\_ guaraní académico/Guaraníete

Escucho la radio en... \_\_\_\_\_ castellano \_\_\_\_\_ jopará/jehe´a \_\_\_\_\_ guaraní académico/Guaraníete

¿Cuántas horas al día se dedican a la materia de guaraní en la escuela? \_\_\_\_\_

¿En qué lengua se enseña durante la clase de guaraní? (Marque todo lo que aplica.)

_____	castellano	_____	jopará/jehe´a	_____	guaraní académico/Guaraníete
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¿Cuánto tiempo se dedica a desarrollar o mejorar los siguientes modos de comunicación durante una clase de guaraní? (Dé un porcentaje a cada modo.)

_____	leer	_____	escribir	_____	escuchar	_____	hablar
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¿Cuál es su opinión sobre el guaraní académico que se enseña en la escuela?

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Instrucciones: Lea el cuento y conteste las siguientes preguntas.

## *Mbo'ehára Konche ha Nati*

Ida Génes (paraguáigua)

Peteĩ pyhareve piro'y asýva Mbo'ehára Konche osẽ oguatávo. Mba'yru guatápe ojejuhu hemimbo'e Nati ndive. Tuicha vy'ápe oñomongeta hikuái kóicha:

- Mba'éichapa neko'ẽ Mbo'ehára Konche.
- Iporãnte Nati. akóinte reñemoarandu Guarani ñe'ẽme.
- Upéichaite Mbo'ehára -- ombohováí Nati, ha ombojoapy -- Ko'áña ajapo'ána peteĩ tembiapo upe Ñane Retã Kuatiavusú rehegua.
- Ha mba'éiko rejapova'erã -- oporandu mbo'ehára.
- Ahesa'yijova'erã upe he'íva ipehẽngue pahápe, -- he'i temimbo'e -- ndéiko chepytyvõkuaa Mbo'ehára.
- Añeha'ãta niko. Upe ipehẽngue pahápe niko pe kuatiavusú he'i Paraguái Retã oguerekoha mokõi ñe'ẽtee: España ha Guarani ñe'ẽ. Áña katu, España ñe'ẽ ojepuruva'erã ojehei haña umi kuatia Ñane Retã reheguávape.
- Aguyje ndéve Mbo'ehára Konche remyesakã haguére chéve upéva. Áña che añemoaũtama pe okẽme aguejy haña -- he'i Nati.
- Oĩma Nati, tereho porãitéke.
- Jajochajey peve Mbo'ehára, ha aguyje taite ndéve.

Al leer esto, ¿cómo es el guaraní académico/Guaraníete? ¿Suena lindo? ¿Sí o no?

\_\_\_\_\_

¿Fácil o difícil? \_\_\_\_\_ ¿Entendió todo lo que leyó? ¿Sí o no? \_\_\_\_\_

¿Es similar a la variedad de guaraní que usa usted normalmente? ¿Sí o no? \_\_\_\_\_

Explique:

\_\_\_\_\_

Instrucciones: Encierre en un círculo las palabras que usa usted normalmente.

Castellano	Guaraní académico/Guaraníete	¿Qué usa usted si no es una de las primeras dos opciones?
mi padre	che ru	
mi madre	che sy	
mi abuelo/abuela	che taita guasu	
mi nieto/nieta	che remiarirõ	
mi hermano mayor	che ryke'y	
mi hermana mayor	che reindy ypykue	
mi hermano menor	che ryvy	
mi hermana menor	che reindy michîvéva	
mi hijo	che ra'y	
mi hija	che rajy	

### C. Encuesta

Instrucciones: Lea las siguientes oraciones y encierre en un círculo un número de 1 a 5 según su opinión.

El guaraní académico/Guaraníete es una lengua dulce.

1	2	3	4	5
Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	No estoy de acuerdo.	No opinión.	Estoy de acuerdo.	Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.

El guaraní académico/Guaraníete está en nuestra sangre.

1	2	3	4	5
Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	No estoy de acuerdo.	No opinión.	Estoy de acuerdo.	Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.

Hace falta eliminar todo el castellano del guaraní y tener una variedad pura.

1	2	3	4	5
Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	No estoy de acuerdo.	No opinión.	Estoy de acuerdo.	Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.

Para progresar económicamente, es necesario saber hablar el guaraní académico/Guaraníete.

<b>1</b> Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	<b>2</b> No estoy de acuerdo.	<b>3</b> No opinión.	<b>4</b> Estoy de acuerdo.	<b>5</b> Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.
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Para progresar económicamente, es necesario saber leer y escribir el guaraní académico/Guaraníete.

<b>1</b> Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	<b>2</b> No estoy de acuerdo.	<b>3</b> No opinión.	<b>4</b> Estoy de acuerdo.	<b>5</b> Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.
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Me gusta leer en guaraní académico/Guaraníete.

<b>1</b> Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	<b>2</b> No estoy de acuerdo.	<b>3</b> No opinión.	<b>4</b> Estoy de acuerdo.	<b>5</b> Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.
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Me gusta escribir en guaraní académico/Guaraníete.

<b>1</b> Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	<b>2</b> No estoy de acuerdo.	<b>3</b> No opinión.	<b>4</b> Estoy de acuerdo.	<b>5</b> Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.
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Me gusta escuchar el guaraní académico/Guaraníete.

<b>1</b> Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	<b>2</b> No estoy de acuerdo.	<b>3</b> No opinión.	<b>4</b> Estoy de acuerdo.	<b>5</b> Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.
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Me gusta hablar el guaraní académico/Guaraníete.

<b>1</b> Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	<b>2</b> No estoy de acuerdo.	<b>3</b> No opinión.	<b>4</b> Estoy de acuerdo.	<b>5</b> Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.
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Pienso que otros me van a entender en situaciones sociales si uso el guaraní académico/Guaraníete.

<b>1</b> Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	<b>2</b> No estoy de acuerdo.	<b>3</b> No opinión.	<b>4</b> Estoy de acuerdo.	<b>5</b> Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.
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Para ser auténticamente paraguayo, es necesario saber comunicarse en el guaraní académico/Guaraníete.

<b>1</b> Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	<b>2</b> No estoy de acuerdo.	<b>3</b> No opinión.	<b>4</b> Estoy de acuerdo.	<b>5</b> Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.
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El guaraní académico/Guaraníete representa quien soy yo.

<b>1</b> Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	<b>2</b> No estoy de acuerdo.	<b>3</b> No opinión.	<b>4</b> Estoy de acuerdo.	<b>5</b> Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.
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Es importante para los padres que los niños sepan comunicarse bien en el guaraní académico/Guaraníete.

<b>1</b> Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	<b>2</b> No estoy de acuerdo.	<b>3</b> No opinión.	<b>4</b> Estoy de acuerdo.	<b>5</b> Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.
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Es evidente que los maestros valoran el guaraní académico/Guaraníete.

<b>1</b> Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	<b>2</b> No estoy de acuerdo.	<b>3</b> No opinión.	<b>4</b> Estoy de acuerdo.	<b>5</b> Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.
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El guaraní académico tiene más prestigio que el jopará/jehe´a.

<b>1</b> Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	<b>2</b> No estoy de acuerdo.	<b>3</b> No opinión.	<b>4</b> Estoy de acuerdo.	<b>5</b> Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.
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Uso palabras nuevas que aprendo en la clase de guaraní cuando estoy hablando con personas fuera de la escuela.

<b>1</b> Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	<b>2</b> No estoy de acuerdo.	<b>3</b> No opinión.	<b>4</b> Estoy de acuerdo.	<b>5</b> Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.
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El jopará/jehe´a es una lengua dulce.

<b>1</b> Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	<b>2</b> No estoy de acuerdo.	<b>3</b> No opinión.	<b>4</b> Estoy de acuerdo.	<b>5</b> Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.
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El jopará/jehe´a está en nuestra sangre.

<b>1</b> Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	<b>2</b> No estoy de acuerdo.	<b>3</b> No opinión.	<b>4</b> Estoy de acuerdo.	<b>5</b> Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.
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No es necesario eliminar todo el castellano del guaraní para tener una variedad pura.

<b>1</b> Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	<b>2</b> No estoy de acuerdo.	<b>3</b> No opinión.	<b>4</b> Estoy de acuerdo.	<b>5</b> Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.
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Para progresar económicamente es necesario saber hablar el jopará/jehe´a.

<b>1</b> Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	<b>2</b> No estoy de acuerdo.	<b>3</b> No opinión.	<b>4</b> Estoy de acuerdo.	<b>5</b> Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.
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Para progresar económicamente, es necesario saber leer y escribir el jopará/jehe´a.

<b>1</b> Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	<b>2</b> No estoy de acuerdo.	<b>3</b> No opinión.	<b>4</b> Estoy de acuerdo.	<b>5</b> Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.
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Me gusta leer en jopará/jehe´a.

<b>1</b> Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	<b>2</b> No estoy de acuerdo.	<b>3</b> No opinión.	<b>4</b> Estoy de acuerdo.	<b>5</b> Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.
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Me gusta escribir en jopará/jehe´a.

<b>1</b> Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	<b>2</b> No estoy de acuerdo.	<b>3</b> No opinión.	<b>4</b> Estoy de acuerdo.	<b>5</b> Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.
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Me gusta escuchar el jopará/jehe´a.

<b>1</b> Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	<b>2</b> No estoy de acuerdo.	<b>3</b> No opinión.	<b>4</b> Estoy de acuerdo.	<b>5</b> Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.
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Me gusta hablar el jopará/jehe´a.

<b>1</b> Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	<b>2</b> No estoy de acuerdo.	<b>3</b> No opinión.	<b>4</b> Estoy de acuerdo.	<b>5</b> Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.
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Pienso que otros me van a entender en situaciones sociales si uso el jopará/jehe´a.

<b>1</b> Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	<b>2</b> No estoy de acuerdo.	<b>3</b> No opinión.	<b>4</b> Estoy de acuerdo.	<b>5</b> Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.
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Para ser auténticamente paraguayo, es necesario saber comunicarse en el jopará/jehe´a.

<b>1</b> Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	<b>2</b> No estoy de acuerdo.	<b>3</b> No opinión.	<b>4</b> Estoy de acuerdo.	<b>5</b> Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.
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El jopará/jehe´a representa quien soy yo.

<b>1</b> Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	<b>2</b> No estoy de acuerdo.	<b>3</b> No opinión.	<b>4</b> Estoy de acuerdo.	<b>5</b> Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.
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Es importante para los padres que los niños sepan comunicarse bien en el jopará/jehe´a.

<b>1</b> Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	<b>2</b> No estoy de acuerdo.	<b>3</b> No opinión.	<b>4</b> Estoy de acuerdo.	<b>5</b> Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.
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Es evidente que los maestros valoran el jopará/jehe´a.

<b>1</b> Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	<b>2</b> No estoy de acuerdo.	<b>3</b> No opinión.	<b>4</b> Estoy de acuerdo.	<b>5</b> Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.
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El jopará/jehe´a tiene más prestigio que el guaraní académico/Guaraníete.

<b>1</b> Definitivamente no estoy de acuerdo.	<b>2</b> No estoy de acuerdo.	<b>3</b> No opinión.	<b>4</b> Estoy de acuerdo.	<b>5</b> Definitivamente estoy de acuerdo.
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## Appendix E: Participant Scores for Statements of Language Attitudes

Table E.1. *Language Attitudes for Academic Guaraní Statements of Pride*

Attitudinal Scale	Academic Guaraní Statements of Pride			
	GADULCE	GASANGRE	GAPAAUT	GAYO
	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)
5 (Strongly Agree)	8 (40)	10 (50)	5 (25)	6 (30)
4 (Agree)	9 (45)	7 (35)	10 (50)	8 (40)
3 (No opinion)	1 (5)	2 (10)	1 (5)	1 (5)
2 (Disagree)	1 (5)	1 (5)	4 (20)	4 (20)
1 (Strongly Disagree)	1 (5)	0	0	1 (5)
Did not answer	0	0	0	0
<i>M</i>	4.1	4.3	3.8	3.7
<i>SD</i>	1.07	.86	1.06	1.26

*Key:*

GADULCE=Academic Guaraní is a sweet language.

GASANGRE=Academic Guaraní is in our blood.

GAPAAUT=In order to be authentically Paraguayan, it is necessary to know how to communicate in Academic Guaraní.

GAYO=Academic Guaraní represents who I am.

Table E.2. *Language Attitudes for Academic Guaraní Statements of Loyalty*

Attitudinal Scale	Academic Guaraní Statements of Loyalty						
	GPRA	GALEE	GESCR	GESCU	GHABL	GAUSO	GANO
	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)
5 (Strongly Agree)	3 (15)	6 (30)	5 (25)	8 (40)	4 (20)	3 (15)	6 (30)
4 (Agree)	1 (5)	10 (50)	8 (40)	9 (45)	9 (45)	7 (35)	8 (40)
3 (No opinion.)	3 (15)	0	2 (10)	1 (5)	3 (15)	2 (10)	2 (10)
2 (Disagree)	13 (65)	4 (20)	4 (20)	1 (5%)	3 (15)	7 (35)	4 (20)
1 (Strongly Disagree)	0	0	1 (5)	1 (5)	1 (5)	1 (5)	0
Did not answer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>M</i>	2.7	3.9	3.6	4.1	3.6	3.2	3.8
<i>SD</i>	1.07	1.07	1.23	1.07	1.14	1.24	1.1

Key:

GPRA=It is necessary to eliminate all Spanish from Guaraní and have a pure variety.

GALEE=I like to read Academic Guaraní.

GESCR=I like to write Academic Guaraní.

GESCU=I like to hear Academic Guaraní.

GHABL=I like to speak Academic Guaraní.

GAUSO= I think that others are going to understand me in social situations if I use Academic Guaraní.

GANO=I use new words that I learn in Guaraní class when I am talking to people outside of school.

Table E.3. *Language Attitudes for Academic Guaraní Statements of Prestige*

Attitudinal Scale	Academic Guaraní Statements of Prestige				
	GAPRHA	GAPRLYE	GAIMPPA	GAMAEV	GAPRES
	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)
5 (Strongly Agree)	4 (20)	2 (10)	5 (25)	4 (20)	3 (15)
4 (Agree)	5 (25)	10 (50)	12 (60)	13 (65)	8 (40)
3 (No opinion)	3 (15)	1 (5)	2 (10)	2 (10)	1 (5)
2 (Disagree)	6 (30)	6 (30)	1 (5)	1 (5)	7
1 (Strongly Disagree)	2 (10)	1 (5)	0	0	1 (5)
Did not answer	0	0	0	0	0
<i>M</i>	3.2	3.3	4.1	4	3.3
<i>SD</i>	1.35	1.17	.76	.73	1.25

*Key:*

GAPRHA=In order to progress economically, it is necessary to know how to speak Academic Guaraní.

GAPRLYE=In order to progress economically, it is necessary to know how to read and write Academic Guaraní.

GAIMPPA=It is important to parents that kids know how to communicate well in Academic Guaraní.

GAMAEV=It is evident that teachers value Academic Guaraní.

GAPRES=Academic Guaraní has more prestige than Jopará.

Table E.4. *Language Attitudes for Jopará Statements of Pride*

Attitudinal Scale	Jopará Statements of Pride						
	JDULC	JSANG	JNOPUR	JPAAUT	JYO	JIMPPA	JMAEV
	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)
5 (Strongly Agree)	6 (30)	6 (30)	4 (20)	5 (25)	4 (20)	6 (30)	4 (20)
4 (Agree)	12 (60)	10 (50)	8 (0)	9 (45)	10 (50)	9 (45)	9 (45)
3 (No opinion.)	0	2 (10)	2 (10)	1 (5)	1 (5)	1 (5)	3 (15)
2 (Disagree)	1 (5)	2 (10)	5 (25)	4 (20)	5 (25)	3 (15)	4 (20)
1 (Strongly Disagree)	1 (5)	0	1 (5)	1 (5)	0	1 (5)	0
Did not answer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>M</i>	4.1	4	3.5	3.7	3.7	3.8	3.7
<i>SD</i>	1.00	.92	1.23	1.23	1.09	1.20	1.04

*Key:*

JDULC=Jopará is a sweet language.

JSANG=Jopará is in our blood.

JNOPUR=It is not necessary to eliminate all Spanish from Guaraní in order to have a pure variety.

JPAAUT=In order to be authentically Paraguayan, it is necessary to know how to communicate in Jopará.

JYO=Jopará represents who I am.

JIMPPA=It is important to parents that kids know how to communicate well in Jopará.

JMAEV=It is evident that teachers value Jopará.

Table E.5. *Language Attitudes for Jopará Statements of Loyalty*

Attitudinal Scale	Jopará Statements of Loyalty				
	JGULE	JGUESCR	JGUESCU	JGUHAB	JUSO
	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)
5 (Strongly Agree)	6 (30)	4 (20)	7 (35)	8 (40)	7 (35)
4 (Agree)	10 (50)	11 (55)	12 (60)	11 (55)	8 (40)
3 (No opinion)	3 (15)	1 (5)	1 (5)	0	1 (5)
2 (Disagree)	1 (5)	3 (15)	0	1 (5)	4 (20)
1 (Strongly Disagree)	0	1 (5)	0	0	0
Did not answer	0	0	0	0	0
<i>M</i>	4.1	3.7	4.3	4.3	3.9
<i>SD</i>	.83	1.13	.57	.73	1.12

*Key:*

JGULE=I like to read Jopará.

JGUESCR=I like to write Jopará.

JGUESCU=I like to hear Jopará.

JGUHAB=I like to speak Jopará.

JUSO=I think that others are going to understand me in social situations if I use Jopará.

Table E.6. *Language Attitudes for Jopará Statements of Prestige*

Attitudinal Scale	Jopará Statements of Prestige		
	JPRHAB	JPRLYE	JPREST
	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)
5 (Strongly Agree)	2 (10)	4 (20)	1 (5)
4 (Agree)	5 (25)	4 (20)	4 (20)
3 (No opinion)	1 (5)	0	7 (35)
2 (Disagree)	11 (55)	11 (55)	6 (30)
1 (Strongly Disagree)	1 (5)	1 (5)	1 (5)
Did not answer	0	0	1 (5)
<i>M</i>	2.8	3	2.8
<i>SD</i>	1.2	1.36	1.16

*Key:*

JPRHAB=In order to progress economically, it is necessary to know how to talk in Jopará.

JPRLYE=In order to progress economically, it is necessary to know how to read and write in Jopará.

JPREST=Jopará has more prestige than Academic Guaraní.

## Appendix F: Percentages of Reported Domains for All Participants

Table F.1. *Reported Language Use per Domains for Students (n = 10)*

Domain	Castellano	Jopará	Academic Guaraní
At work	10%	10%	0%
In school	80%	90%	60%
In the community	70%	50%	0%
At home	80%	90%	30%
With my significant other	20%	10%	0%
With my children	0%	10%	20%
With relatives	80%	70%	20%
With friends	80%	90%	20%
On social media	70%	30%	0%



Table F.2. *Reported Language Use per Domains for Teachers (n = 10)*

Domain	Castellano	Jopará	Academic Guaraní
At work	80%	80%	20%
In school	70%	90%	40%
In the community	70%	80%	20%
At home	80%	70%	30%
With my significant other	70%	70%	30%
With my children	90%	30%	10%
With relatives	50%	90%	30%
With friends	60%	70%	10%
On social media	70%	30%	0%

Table F.3. *Reported Language Use per Domains for Females (n = 12)*

Domain	Castellano	Jopará	Academic Guaraní
At work	58%	50%	17%
In school	75%	92%	42%
In the community	75%	67%	17%
At home	83%	75%	50%
With my significant other	42%	50%	25%
With my children	58%	25%	17%
With relatives	67%	83%	33%
With friends	75%	67%	25%
On social media	75%	33%	0%

Table F.4. *Reported Language Use per Domains for Males (n = 8)*

Domain	Castellano	Jopará	Academic Guaraní
At work	25%	38%	0%
In school	75%	88%	63%
In the community	63%	63%	0%
At home	75%	88%	0%
With my significant other	50%	25%	0%
With my children	25%	13%	13%
With relatives	63%	75%	13%
With friends	63%	100%	0%
On social media	63%	25%	0%