

Official Bilingualism in Paraguay, 1995-2001: An Analysis of the Impact of Language Policy on Attitudinal Change

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1. Introduction

During the first century after initial contact with Europeans in 1537, Franciscans and Jesuits documented and standardized Guaraní, the indigenous language spoken widely in the area of Paraguay (Melià 1992). The Jesuits used Guaraní as the language of formal education and for evangelizing until they were expelled in 1767. After over 200 years of official neglect and at times even persecution, Guaraní was declared a national language by Stroessner in 1967. Guaraní was made co-official with Spanish in 1992. At the turn of the millennium, it was still spoken by a large majority of Paraguayans, the only language to attain such status, as noted by Crystal (1992).

Despite the widespread use of Guaraní in Paraguay, analysis of recent census data confirms previous observations (Rubin 1968, Solé 1991, among others) that Guaraní-Spanish bilingualism is higher in urban and border areas, whereas high rates of Guaraní monolingualism in the home are limited to the rural interior (Gynan 2001).

In the academic year 1994-1995, bilingual education was begun for about 10,000 students. The program has had theoretically solid input from the fields of applied psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics. In 1993, for example, Corvalán, et al., established Cummins's linguistic interdependence hypothesis as the basic defense for inclusion of Guaraní mother-tongue literacy programs at the elementary level (Corvalán, Krivoshein de Canese, Hobbs, and Rivarola 1993). Cummins's hypothesis that first language literacy is essential for successful development of cognitive academic linguistic proficiency in the second language was prominently highlighted in 1995 as a justification for expanding significantly the country's commitment to literacy instruction for the some 50,000 children who entered the system every year speaking only Guaraní (Paraguay MEC 1995).

2. Survey Methodology

In 1995, just as the new bilingual education program was being piloted in 118 Paraguayan elementary schools, 650 education professionals and others were surveyed on their attitudes toward bilingualism and bilingual education (Gynan 1998a). Six years later, 1,113 education professionals and others were surveyed in a similar manner, allowing for an informal measure of attitudinal change during a period of historical sociolinguistic importance.

The survey items were based largely on comments made by participants in a number of focal groups, as well as other statements included in previous studies (especially Paraguay MEC 1978). In the second survey, several changes and additions to the instrument were made, but many questions in the study remained unchanged, allowing for a comparison of attitudinal shift during the first several years of substantive change in policy toward use of an indigenous language.

The population samples from 1995 and 2001 are somewhat different, with better representation in the later study of men, speakers of Guaraní, and people from the interior. Data comparing differences in sex, language, and year between the two samples are presented in Table 1. Language and sex do

interact in the context of Paraguayan bilingualism, as they do in many other sociolinguistic situations, whereby language is revealed to reflect differential social positions of men and women. In Paraguay, women show a tendency to use Spanish and men tend to use Guaraní. In Table 1, a comparison of language distribution by sex in 1995 reveals roughly equal proportions of female and male bilinguals, relatively fewer female Guaraní speakers and relatively fewer male Spanish speakers. In 2001, there are many more bilinguals overall, but the proportion of female and male bilinguals is equally high. There is still a slight preponderance of male Guaraní speakers and female Spanish speakers. In the many interactions between language attitude and sex, sex repeatedly proved to be insignificant, allowing us to omit sex from subsequent analysis here.

Table 1 – Survey Participants, by Year , Sex, and Language (row percents)

Year	Sex	Language						
		Bilingual		Guaraní		Spanish		Total
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N
1995	Female	221	62.4	18	5.1	115	32.5	354
	Male	69	58.5	16	13.6	33	28.0	118
2001	Female	582	89.4	30	4.6	39	6.0	651
	Male	244	91.7	16	6.0	6	2.3	266

The representation of different areas of residence also changed (refer to Appendix 1). For example, in 1995, the majority of survey participants from Asunción was Spanish-speaking, a disproportionately high number. In 2001, fully 78.6% of Asuncenos in the survey was bilingual, and only 19.0% was monolingual Spanish-speaking. In 1995, the bulk of the surveys was distributed among people from Asunción and surrounding Central Department, with a scattering of others in the interior. In 2001, there was much more data from the interior. The majority of Guaraní speakers come from those areas.

The most important factor distinguishing the two surveys is linguistic, and when this is accounted for, the analysis points to a far more positive predisposition to become literate in Guaraní as well as Spanish in 2001. One might even go so far as to predict that this process of language planning and policy may very well have reduced the seeds of language conflict, which were more in evidence in 1995 than in 2001. There are a number of important shifts in attitude along numerous demonstrably orthogonal dimensions that underscore the positive potential language planning can have for speakers of oppressed languages.

3. Dimensions of Paraguayan Bilingualism

Since the questionnaire in the second study was more extensive, important clarifications in the overall structure of language attitudes in Paraguay were made possible. Because the second survey was superior in numerous ways, incorporating recent suggestions for survey design (Fowler 1995), and especially since the conceptual framework revealed by the later analysis makes more sense theoretically, only the results of the second factor analysis are referred to here.

The conceptual dimensions proved to be structured in a way that remained remarkably similar, allowing for confirmation of the original principle components analysis by means of which language use, linguistic pride, linguistic purism, language contact, language value and linguistic insecurity had been identified as relatively independent dimensions (Appendix 2).

These dimensions are analyzed in greater detail elsewhere (Gynan 2003), but suffice it to observe that Spanish and Guaraní pride, while similar in certain respects (the languages must continue, grammar and literacy are important), Spanish pride is associated with a more positive predisposition to texts in that language, whereas Guaraní pride is associated with deeper feelings of identity (it is in the blood, and is a sweet language). Furthermore, Guaraní pride is negatively associated with attitudes toward the mixed language variety used by most in informal communication, *jopara*. The opposite is true for Spanish pride, with which attitudes toward *jopara* are weakly correlated. With respect to

Guaraní and Spanish use, there is one important difference: use of *jopara* is associated with Guaraní, not with Spanish.

3.1. Attitudinal Shift in Paraguay, 1995-2001

Analysis of variance reveals a number of significant improvements in the social psychological dimensions of Paraguayan bilingualism. In Tables 2 through 11, the results of this analysis are presented. Agreement with statements that one or another language should be used for teaching some content courses in school was shown by the principle components analysis to be a matter of language pride. Using the attitude toward language as a medium of school instruction as an indicator of language pride, as shown in Tables 2a and 2b, the overall response was less enthusiastic, regardless of language background or the language being used for instruction. The significant interaction between the attitude toward the language of instruction and the language background of the respondent can be interpreted by referring back to the statistics in Table 2a. Predictably, bilinguals are positive toward both languages, regardless of the year, Guaraní speakers favor Guaraní, and Spanish speakers favor Spanish. The analysis indicates that these attitudes have not changed differently in the three language groups during the six-year period of the study.

Table 2a. Desire to have some of child's classes taught in Guaraní/Spanish, by Year of Survey (means; 1=Totally False and 7=Totally True)

Year	Language	N	GALGU	CALGU
			Mean	Mean
1995-2001	All languages	1314	5.4	5.2
1995	All languages	384	5.7	5.7
2001	All languages	930	5.4	5.0
1995-2001	Bilingual	1063	5.5	5.5
1995-2001	Guaraní	68	5.8	5.1
1995-2001	Spanish	183	5.2	5.5
1995	Bilingual	227	5.8	5.9
1995	Guaraní	20	5.9	5.8
1995	Spanish	137	5.3	5.4
2001	Bilingual	836	5.3	5.0
2001	Guaraní	48	5.7	4.4
2001	Spanish	46	5.2	5.6

Table 2b. Desire to Have Some of Child's Classes Taught in Guaraní/Spanish, by Year of Survey (analysis of variance)

SOURCE	SS	DF	MS	F	P
YEAR	41.72	1	41.72	6.27	0.01
LANG\$	5.60	2	2.80	0.42	0.66
YEAR*LANG\$	32.48	2	16.24	2.44	0.09
ERROR	8698.22	1308	6.65		
G/CALGU	4.34	1	4.34	1.62	0.20
G/CALGU*YEAR	6.48	1	6.48	2.42	0.12
G/CALGU*LANG\$	19.74	2	9.87	3.68	0.03
G/CALGU*YEAR*LANG\$	11.49	2	5.74	2.14	0.12
ERROR	3503.54	1308	2.68		

Table 3a. Belief that a child who speaks a given language (Guaraní or Spanish) should learn to read in that language, by year of survey (means; 1=Totally False and 7=Totally True)

Year	Language	N	GLEER	CLEER
			Mean	Mean
1995-2001	All languages	1406	5.6	5.9
1995	All languages	476	4.9	5.7
2001	All languages	930	5.7	5.7
1995-2001	Bilingual	1123	5.6	5.9
1995-2001	Guaraní	84	5.1	5.7
1995-2001	Spanish	199	5.2	5.6
1995	Bilingual	287	5.3	5.9
1995	Guaraní	36	4.7	5.5
1995	Spanish	153	4.9	5.8
2001	Bilingual	836	5.9	5.9
2001	Guaraní	48	5.6	5.9
2001	Spanish	46	5.6	5.4

Table 3b. Belief that a child who speaks a given language (Guaraní or Spanish) should learn to read in that language, by Year of Survey (analysis of variance)

SOURCE	SS	DF	MS	F	P
YEAR	31.00	1	31.00	6.87	0.01
LANG\$	35.63	2	17.82	3.95	0.02
YEAR*LANG\$	5.48	2	2.74	0.61	0.55
ERROR	6319.40	1400	4.51		
G/CLEER	40.37	1	40.37	20.76	0.00
G/CLEER*YEAR	30.97	1	30.97	15.92	0.00
G/CLEER*LANG\$	1.55	2	0.78	0.40	0.67
G/CLEER*YEAR*LANG\$	3.20	2	1.60	0.82	0.44
ERROR	2722.73	1400	1.94		

Another schema associated with language pride, the belief that a child should develop literacy in his or her mother tongue first, appears to have shifted during the period in question. In this case, the most important change is indicated by the significant interaction between the dependent variables and the year of the survey (Table 3). The interaction between the two factors is clearly shown to be a consequence of a shift in the attitude toward Guaraní literacy, which was notably lower than for Spanish in 1995, and which by 2001 was equal to that of Spanish.

During focus groups, the comment that “Guaraní is in our blood,” had been made. This intriguing metaphor, which conjures up images of nationalism, is less strongly associated with language pride, than with what proves to be another factor, identified here as “language value”. Items about the need of a given language in order to be authentically Paraguayan as well as the need to speak a given language in order to progress economically are associated with this composite variable.

Although language value is orthogonal to language pride, this is a matter of degree, and the fact that all of the items loading to the value factor also load, to a lesser degree, to pride in one or the other language, show that perception of value is indeed related to language issues.

Table 4a. Belief that Guaraní and Spanish are “in the blood,” by Year of Survey (means; 1=Totally False and 7=Totally True)

Year	Language	N	GSANG	CSANG
			Mean	Mean
1995-2001	All languages	1411	5.9	3.9
1995	All languages	481	5.9	4.1
2001	All languages	930	5.6	3.3
1995-2001	Bilingual	1128	6.0	3.9
1995-2001	Guaraní	84	6.2	3.2
1995-2001	Spanish	199	4.9	4.0
1995	Bilingual	292	6.1	4.0
1995	Guaraní	36	6.4	4.0
1995	Spanish	153	5.1	4.3
2001	Bilingual	836	6.0	3.8
2001	Guaraní	48	6.1	2.3
2001	Spanish	46	4.7	3.7

Table 4b. Belief that Guaraní and Spanish are “in the blood,” by Year of Survey (analysis of variance)

SOURCE	SS	DF	MS	F	P
YEAR	67.77	1	67.77	15.63	0.00
LANG\$	67.76	2	33.88	7.82	0.00
YEAR*LANG\$	38.24	2	19.12	4.41	0.01
ERROR	6091.02	1405	4.34		
G/CSANG	932.53	1	932.53	327.56	0.00
G/CSANG*YEAR	19.07	1	19.07	6.70	0.01
G/CSANG*LANG\$	133.12	2	66.56	23.38	0.00
G/CSANG*YEAR*LANG\$	13.55	2	6.77	2.38	0.09
ERROR	3999.95	1405	2.85		

The results regarding the assertion that Guaraní is in the blood are complex (Table 4). The significant interaction of the dependent variable (Guaraní/Spanish in the blood) with year of survey is significant. Table 4b shows that in the case of all three language groups measured (Guaraní, Spanish, and bilingual), the Guaraní and Spanish speakers change, whereas the bilinguals change very little from 1995 to 2001. Overall, Paraguayans continue to manifest their belief that Guaraní is a deeper indicator of authenticity than Spanish. Guaraní actually improved slightly, but the drop for Spanish, while not extreme, was clear. Language planning, in this instance, appears to have reinforced what Guaraní or Spanish dominant people already feel about their two national tongues.

A frequently heard statement regarding the sweetness of Guaraní (Table 5) patterns in a way similar to the statement that invokes blood, although in the case of sweetness, Guaraní is a bit more strongly associated with pride, and Spanish with value, a finding which once again supports the notion that Guaraní represents deeper national values against a support of Spanish which is more utilitarian in nature, an idea which de Granda had rejected in an earlier analysis (1983). Whereas the attitude toward Guaraní value/pride has remained quite high, there again is movement away from pride toward Spanish, which in any event remains significantly lower than that toward Guaraní.

Table 5a. Belief that Guaraní and Spanish are “sweet” languages, by Year of Survey (means; 1=Totally False and 7=Totally True)

Year	Language	N	GDULCE	CDULCE
			Mean	Mean
1995-2001	All languages	1394	6.4	4.9
1995	All languages	464	6.3	5.0
2001	All languages	930	6.1	4.6
1995-2001	Bilingual	1119	6.4	5.0
1995-2001	Guaraní	81	6.5	4.6
1995-2001	Spanish	194	5.6	4.8
1995	Bilingual	283	6.4	5.0
1995	Guaraní	33	6.6	5.0
1995	Spanish	148	6.0	4.9
2001	Bilingual	836	6.5	4.9
2001	Guaraní	48	6.5	4.2
2001	Spanish	46	5.2	4.7

Table 5b. Belief that Guaraní and Spanish are “sweet” languages, by Year of Survey (analysis of variance)

SOURCE	SS	DF	MS	F	P
YEAR	22.49	1	22.49	8.03	0.00
LANG\$	54.66	2	27.33	9.75	0.00
YEAR*LANG\$	17.24	2	8.62	3.08	0.05
ERROR	3889.94	1388	2.8		
G/CDULCE	417.97	1	417.97	175.98	0.00
G/CDULCE*YEAR	0.19	1	0.19	0.08	0.78
G/CDULCE*LANG\$	43.29	2	21.64	9.11	0.00
G/CDULCE*YEAR*LANG\$	10.53	2	5.26	2.22	0.11
ERROR	3296.7	1388	2.38		

Table 6a. Perceived Need to Eliminate Spanish from Guaraní and Guaraní from Spanish, by Year of Survey (means; 1=Totally False and 7=Totally True)

Year	Language	N	ELCAS	ELGUAR
			Mean	Mean
1995-2001	All languages	1393	4.4	4.3
1995	All languages	465	4.3	4.1
2001	All languages	928	4.2	4.3
1995-2001	Bilingual	1117	4.3	4.2
1995-2001	Guaraní	82	4.6	4.3
1995-2001	Spanish	194	3.9	4.0
1995	Bilingual	283	4.1	3.9
1995	Guaraní	34	4.4	3.9
1995	Spanish	148	4.3	4.5
2001	Bilingual	834	4.5	4.5
2001	Guaraní	48	4.7	4.7
2001	Spanish	46	3.4	3.5

Table 6b. Perceived Need to Eliminate Spanish from Guaraní and Guaraní from Spanish, by Year of Survey (analysis of variance)

SOURCE	SS	DF	MS	F	P
YEAR	0.61	1	0.61	0.07	0.79
LANG\$	31.43	2	15.71	1.92	0.15
YEAR*LANG\$	122.74	2	61.37	7.51	0.00
ERROR	11341.19	1387	8.18		
ELCAS/GUAR	1.27	1	1.27	0.48	0.49
ELCAS/GUAR*YEAR	2.22	1	2.22	0.84	0.36
ELCAS/GUAR*LANG\$	3.83	2	1.92	0.73	0.48
ELCAS/GUAR*YEAR*LANG\$	1.20	2	0.60	0.23	0.80
ERROR	3662.21	1387	2.64		

Table 7a. Belief that Guaraní Interferes with Spanish or that Spanish Interferes with Guaraní, by Year of Survey (means; 1=Totally False and 7=Totally True)

Year	Language	N	GENTOR	CENTOR
			Mean	Mean
1995-2001	All languages	1403	2.54	2.58
1995	All languages	473	2.87	3.21
2001	All languages	930	2.41	2.43
1995-2001	Bilingual	1124	2.54	2.56
1995-2001	Guaraní	82	2.71	2.95
1995-2001	Spanish	197	2.67	2.94
1995	Bilingual	288	2.68	2.81
1995	Guaraní	34	2.85	3.38
1995	Spanish	151	3.09	3.43
2001	Bilingual	836	2.39	2.32
2001	Guaraní	48	2.56	2.52
2001	Spanish	46	2.26	2.46

Table 7b. Belief that Guaraní Interferes with Spanish or that Spanish Interferes with Guaraní, by Year of Survey (analysis of variance)

SOURCE	SS	DF	MS	F	P
YEAR	83.22	1	83.22	17.55	0.00
LANG\$	24.56	2	12.28	2.59	0.08
YEAR*LANG\$	16.48	2	8.24	1.74	0.18
ERROR	6625.08	1397	4.74		
G/CENTOR	6.97	1	6.97	2.85	0.09
G/CENTOR*YEAR	5.01	1	5.01	2.04	0.15
G/CENTOR*LANG\$	4.89	2	2.45	1	0.37
G/CENTOR*YEAR*LANG\$	1.39	2	0.69	0.28	0.75
ERROR	3420.08	1397	2.45		

Linguistic purism is not as strong a sentiment as language pride, and is largely independent of pride. The comparison of the 1995 and 2001 samples shows a significant increase in purism among bilinguals and speakers of Guaraní, but a decrease in purism among Spanish speakers (refer to Tables 6a and 6b).

Despite these changes in puristic attitudes (the significance of which is indicated by the YEAR*LANG\$ interaction), those who harbor such feelings do so regardless of language. As can be seen in Table 6a, those who are bilingual or Guaraní-speaking are equally puristic about both languages, and Spanish-speakers are less puristic about both languages.

The statement analyzed in Tables 7a and 7b involves the idea of language *entorpecimiento* ‘interference,’ and evokes highly negative reactions, as shown by the means in Table 7a. Indeed, many respondents added in writing their refutation of the idea that language contact is problematic. In the later study, yet another folkloristic comment was added to the survey, the idea that one or another language is difficult. Answers to this question were highly correlated with statements about interference.

The intensive *conscientización* and *orientación*, ‘consciousness-raising’ and ‘indoctrination’ or ‘training’ have, while increasing puristic sentiments in defense of standards against language-mixing, have also lead Paraguayans to reject the notion that bilingualism is problematic. Indeed, much of the literature produced by supporters of bilingual education has articulately defended the need for mother-tongue education, based on philosophical, historical, psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic grounds. Regardless of language background and the language they are responding to, participants in these studies showed an overall decrease in what was already a low level of enthusiasm for this statement (refer to Table 7b, in which the only significant source of variance is the year of the survey).

What is arguably the most emotionally charged item related to language value ends up producing very interesting results. Authenticity is much more associated with Guaraní than with Spanish, and this difference increases from 1995 to 2001 (Table 8b). Looking at the cell statistics in 8a, one notes that while the already positive attitude toward Guaraní authenticity actually increases, the negative attitude toward Spanish as a symbol of authenticity decreases.

There are significant interactions that need to be accounted for. The interaction of feelings of authenticity of the two languages and the survey year may be explained by examining the cell statistics in Table 8a, where it can be seen that for speakers of all languages, the difference between Guaraní and Spanish with respect to authenticity is greater in 2001 than in 1995.

As for the significant interaction of the language of the survey participant and feelings of authenticity, bilinguals and Guaraní speakers feel that Guaraní is a greater symbol of authenticity, whereas Spanish speakers, while also agreeing that Guaraní is more authentic, are less inclined to differentiate the two languages on this basis. The lack of a third order interaction indicated that this difference between Guaraní and Spanish speakers has not changed over the time between the two surveys.

Spanish may maintain high utilitarian value in the post-reform period, but language planning has certainly not conferred on Spanish an improved status as a symbol of national authenticity. As with other attitudinal dimensions, the odd group out is that of the Spanish speakers, who in general seem detached from their linguistic environment, being manifestly less enthusiastic about numerous aspects of Guaraní-Spanish contact.

Guaraní, predictably, is assigned less economic value than Spanish (Table 9a), as indicated by the significant within subjects source of variance, G/CECON (Table 9b). The differentiation of the two national languages with respect to economic value has changed significantly, as indicated by the interaction between G/CECON and survey year (Table 9b).

After several years of reform, Guaraní is seen to have more economic value than previously, and Spanish has actually dropped in value. This may seem counter intuitive, but is not surprising in light of the fact that many of these subjects are hoping to make some money by teaching Guaraní at the elementary level. The economic value of the national languages is perceived quite differently by speakers of Guaraní and speakers of only Spanish, the latter assigning significantly less value to Guaraní and significantly more to Spanish.

Table 8a. Belief that in Order to Authentically Paraguayan, One Must Know Guaraní or Spanish, by Year of Survey (means; 1=Totally False and 7=Totally True)

Year	Language	N	GAUTH	CAUTH
			Mean	Mean
1995-2001	All languages	1397	5.4	3.0
1995	All languages	468	5.2	3.4
2001	All languages	929	5.2	2.7
1995-2001	Bilingual	1119	5.5	3.0
1995-2001	Guaraní	82	5.7	3.0
1995-2001	Spanish	196	4.5	3.2
1995	Bilingual	284	5.4	3.0
1995	Guaraní	34	5.7	3.5
1995	Spanish	150	4.6	3.8
2001	Bilingual	835	5.6	3.0
2001	Guaraní	48	5.7	2.5
2001	Spanish	46	4.3	2.7

Table 8b. Belief that in Order to Authentically Paraguayan, One Must Know Guaraní or Spanish, by Year of Survey (analysis of variance)

SOURCE	SS	DF	MS	F	P
YEAR	30.03	1	30.03	6.06	0.01
LANG\$	39.18	2	19.59	3.95	0.02
YEAR*LANG\$	46.92	2	23.46	4.74	0.01
ERROR	6891.40	1391	4.95		
G/CAUTH	995.54	1	995.54	293.49	0.00
G/CAUTH*YEAR	21.55	1	21.55	6.35	0.01
G/CAUTH*LANG\$	106.10	2	53.05	15.64	0.00
G/CAUTH*YEAR*LANG\$	10.46	2	5.23	1.54	0.21
ERROR	4718.47	1391	3.39		

The belief that in Paraguay the national languages are spoken well (Tables 10a and 10b), is associated with yet another factor, identified with the negative linguistic insecurity, or the positive term linguistic self-esteem. In 1995, Paraguayans strongly rejected this assertion, as they did again in 2001, regardless of language, but the year of the survey was significant, an important indication that language planning that confers rights on a previously oppressed language can have as a result an improvement in linguistic self-esteem.

To those who would fear that such a program would strengthen unduly the oppressed language to the detriment of a language such as Spanish, which is critical for communication with the wider international community, these results communicate the comforting message that linguistic insecurity operates across the board, strengthening the citizenry's confidence in all the languages supported by the policy. The odd group out is once again the monolingual Spanish-speaking one. Their linguistic insecurity related to Guaraní appears to have worsened and their Spanish self-esteem has improved.

The idea that monolingualism in one or another language is acceptable (Tables 11a and 11b), which was labeled linguistic prestige by de Granda (1980-81) has been dealt a blow by bilingual language policy. The decrease in the acceptability of monolingualism from 1995 to 2001 has been significant, and has occurred in the case of both Spanish and Guaraní, although it must be noted that the drop in support of Spanish monolingualism has been especially large.

Table 9a. Belief that in Order to Progress Economically, One Must Know Guaraní or Spanish, by Year of Survey (means; 1=Totally False and 7=Totally True)

Year	Language	N	GECON	CECON
			Mean	Mean
1995-2001	All languages	1393	3.7	4.5
1995	All languages	463	3.5	4.7
2001	All languages	930	3.8	4.2
1995-2001	Bilingual	1115	3.7	4.3
1995-2001	Guaraní	82	4.1	4.2
1995-2001	Spanish	196	3.2	4.8
1995	Bilingual	279	3.5	4.3
1995	Guaraní	34	3.9	4.6
1995	Spanish	150	3.1	5.2
2001	Bilingual	836	3.9	4.4
2001	Guaraní	48	4.3	3.8
2001	Spanish	46	3.2	4.4

Table 9b. Belief that in Order to Progress Economically, One Must Know Guaraní or Spanish, by Year of Survey (analysis of variance)

SOURCE	SS	DF	MS	F	P
YEAR	1.45	1	1.45	0.23	0.63
LANG\$	1.71	2	0.86	0.13	0.88
YEAR*LANG\$	27.97	2	13.99	2.18	0.11
ERROR	8890.79	1387	6.41		
G/CECON	138.83	1	138.83	45.04	0.00
G/CECON*YEAR	33.85	1	33.85	10.98	0.00
G/CECON*LANG\$	77.02	2	38.51	12.49	0.00
G/CECON*YEAR*LANG\$	10.51	2	5.25	1.70	0.18
ERROR	4275.48	1387	3.08		

Table 10a. Belief that in Paraguay One Speaks Guaraní or Spanish Well, by Year of Survey (means)

Year	Language	N	GHABLA	CHABLA
			Mean	Mean
1995-2001	All languages	1409	3.0	3.0
1995	All languages	479	3.0	2.7
2001	All languages	930	3.1	3.2
1995-2001	Bilingual	1127	2.9	2.9
1995-2001	Guaraní	84	3.3	2.6
1995-2001	Spanish	198	2.9	3.2
1995	Bilingual	291	2.8	2.8
1995	Guaraní	36	3.2	2.2
1995	Spanish	152	3.0	3.1
2001	Bilingual	836	3.0	3.1
2001	Guaraní	48	3.4	3.0
2001	Spanish	46	2.7	3.4

Table 10b. Belief that in Paraguay One Speaks Guaraní or Spanish Well, by Year of Survey (analysis of variance)

SOURCE	SS	DF	MS	F	P
YEAR	14.9	1	14.90	3.64	0.06
LANG\$	2.6	2	1.28	0.31	0.73
YEAR*LANG\$	6.1	2	3.03	0.74	0.48
ERROR	5739.6	1403	4.09		
G/CHABLA	2.9	1	2.92	1.41	0.24
G/CHABLA*YEAR	11.6	1	11.61	5.60	0.02
G/CHABLA*LANG\$	28.2	2	14.08	6.78	0.00
G/CHABLA*YEAR*LANG\$	4.6	2	2.32	1.12	0.33
ERROR	2910.8	1403	2.07		

Table 11a. Belief that in Paraguay it is Acceptable to Speak Only Guaraní or Spanish, by Year of Survey (means)

Year	Language	N	GSOLO	CSOLO
			Mean	Mean
1995-2001	All languages	1388	2.7	2.4
1995	All languages	458	3.2	3.3
2001	All languages	930	2.7	2.0
1995-2001	Bilingual	1112	2.7	2.5
1995-2001	Guaraní	82	3.2	2.7
1995-2001	Spanish	194	2.8	2.7
1995	Bilingual	276	3.0	3.0
1995	Guaraní	34	3.1	3.6
1995	Spanish	148	3.4	3.4
2001	Bilingual	836	2.4	2.0
2001	Guaraní	48	3.4	1.9
2001	Spanish	46	2.2	1.9

Table 11b. Belief that in Paraguay it is Acceptable to Speak Only Guaraní or Spanish, by Year of Survey (analysis of variance)

SOURCE	SS	DF	MS	F	P
YEAR	186.53	1	186.53	43.05	0.00
LANG\$	25.12	2	12.56	2.90	0.06
YEAR*LANG\$	20.90	2	10.45	2.41	0.09
ERROR	5987.45	1382	4.33		
G/CSOLO	14.04	1	14.04	6.94	0.01
G/CSOLO*YEAR	42.67	1	42.67	21.09	0.00
G/CSOLO*LANG\$	4.40	2	2.20	1.09	0.34
G/CSOLO*YEAR*LANG\$	22.61	2	11.30	5.58	0.00
ERROR	2796.88	1382	2.02		

Supporters of the more powerful language need not fear these results. They demonstrate clearly that successful bilingual education arising from a well-implemented language plan has only positive effects and does not increase linguistic resistance or a monolingual ideology that favors the oppressed language, at least in the Paraguayan context.

3.2. Changes in Language Use, 1995-2001

These positive effects of bilingual education are in evidence from some indirect evidence of language behavior gathered during these two studies. The information on language use was gathered in substantially different ways, and the second study goes much further toward being a sociolinguistic survey, even though the conditions for such a complete survey are still not met, even by the 2001 survey.

For the purposes of this comparison, only married couples were considered, since most responded to questions in 1995 and 2001 about both communication with children and with teachers, which represent different domains of discourse and therefore provide a look into at least a couple of dimensions along which language use may vary.

The differences measured are striking and worthy of comment. At the very least we may conclude that these two large samples behave differently with respect to language use over time. The bilingual couples show a decided shift away from exclusive use of Spanish with their children (Table 12a). A very large 32.1% of bilingual couples were using nothing but Spanish in 1995 with their children. At the time this appeared strong evidence of shift. Since the implementation of bilingual education, however, this pattern of intergenerational language transmission appears to have been substantially altered. In 2001, a mere five percent of bilingual parents transmit to their children solely in Spanish, but note that while there is a significant increase in the use of Guaraní, this is largely within a bilingual context. Once again, language policy has appeared to reduce the seeds of ethnolinguistic separatism, fomenting instead a commitment by parents to both languages and therefore to cross-linguistic communicativity.

Table 12a. Language spoken to eldest child by language used by couple, 1995-2001.

		Language Spoken to Eldest Child							
		Bilingual		Guaraní		Spanish		Total	
Language of Couple		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1995	Bilingual	111	66.1	3	1.8	54	32.1	168	100.0
	Guaraní	2	15.4	7	53.8	4	30.8	13	100.0
	Spanish	1	0.9	0	0.0	108	99.1	109	100.0
	Total	114	39.3	10	3.4	166	57.2	290	100.0
2001	Bilingual	109	90.8	5	4.2	6	5.0	120	100.0
	Guaraní	67	85.9	5	6.4	6	7.7	78	100.0
	Spanish	62	79.5	0	0.0	16	20.5	78	100.0
	Total	238	86.2	10	3.6	28	10.1	276	100.0

Although the representation of Guaraní dominant couples is fairly skimpy in both surveys, there are still sufficient numbers to allow for analysis, and the results are quite remarkable. In 1995, Guaraní speakers appeared divided between Spanish and Guaraní. In 2001, Guaraní monolingualism as a pattern of household transmission has plummeted, but so has exclusive use of Spanish. Instead, Guaraní speakers now opt overwhelmingly for bilingualism. Finally, the monolingual Spanish households have also shown a fascinating change. In 1995, a healthy majority was raising children in Spanish only, although there was an important minority of Spanish-speaking couples who were fomenting bilingualism in the home. That situation has reversed decisively. Nearly 80% is now raising children bilingually, and a mere 20% monolingually in Spanish.

The patterns of language use by parents toward teachers were also compared, presenting results not unlike those of language use with children (Table 12b). In 1995, the majority of bilinguals used Spanish with the teacher, and none reported using Guaraní. Even the majority of Guaraní speaking

spouses switched to Spanish in the school setting, and of course, the vast majority of Spanish speakers use Spanish in communicating with teachers.

In 2001, the situation was quite different. The vast majority of bilinguals use both languages, and more use exclusively Guaraní than Spanish. The precipitous decline in the exclusive use of Spanish with teachers is notable, falling from 60.1% of bilinguals to only 4.1% in 2001. The pattern of switching from Guaraní as a home language to Spanish as the language of communication with the teacher has changed as well, the bilingual pattern of communication being favored over exclusive use of Guaraní. Finally, even Spanish speakers now prefer to use both languages with teachers, quite unlike in 1995, when the vast majority used only Spanish in communicating with them.

Table 12b. Language spoken to teacher by language used by couple, 1995-2001.

		Language Spoken to Teacher							
		Bilingual		Guaraní		Spanish		Total	
Language of Couple		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
		1995	Bilingual	71	39.9	0	0.0	107	60.1
Guaraní	4		25.0	3	18.8	9	56.3	16	100.0
Spanish	5		4.2	0	0.0	114	95.8	119	100.0
Total	80		25.6	3	1.0	230	73.5	313	100.0
2001	Bilingual	195	88.6	16	7.3	9	4.1	220	100.0
	Guaraní	68	84.0	7	8.6	6	7.4	81	100.0
	Spanish	90	85.7	1	1.0	14	13.3	105	100.0
	Total	353	86.9	24	5.9	29	7.1	406	100.0

4. Conclusion

Despite numerous methodological challenges presented by the informal comparison discussed in this report, it seems fair to assert that language planning, and the resultant bilingual language policy, have had impressively positive benefits in Paraguay. Despite a shoestring budget, national leaders in education have forged a program truly transformative in nature.

The visitor to Paraguay over the last ten years can remark informally on the attitudinal changes that have been wrought. The stigma of Guaraní has certainly not been erased, but public use of the language and a pride that had been much more sublimated earlier, have risen. This certainly appears to support the benefits of bilingual education claimed by researchers and advocates the world over.

Appendix 1 – Survey Participants, by Place of Origin, Year, and Language (row percents)

Department or City	1995 Bilingual		1995 Guaraní		1995 Spanish		1995 Total	2001 Bilingual		2001 Guaraní		2001 Spanish		2001 Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Alto Paraguay	1.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Alto Paraná	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	59.0	83.1	8.0	11.3	4.0	5.6	71.0
Amambay	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	42.0	95.5	2.0	4.5	0.0	0.0	44.0
Asunción	67.0	45.3	3.0	2.0	78.0	52.7	148.0	33.0	78.6	1.0	2.4	8.0	19.0	42.0
Boquerón	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Caaguazú	35.0	74.5	8.0	17.0	4.0	8.5	47.0	153.0	91.1	15.0	8.9	0.0	0.0	168.0
Caazapá	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	64.0	97.0	2.0	3.0	0.0	0.0	66.0
Central	93.0	71.5	8.0	6.2	29.0	22.3	130.0	64.0	95.5	1.0	1.5	2.0	3.0	67.0
Concepción	5.0	83.3	0.0	0.0	1.0	16.7	6.0	2.0	66.7	0.0	0.0	1.0	33.3	3.0
Cordillera	28.0	77.8	4.0	11.1	4.0	11.1	36.0	14.0	93.3	0.0	0.0	1.0	6.7	15.0
Guairá	6.0	60.0	2.0	20.0	2.0	20.0	10.0	2.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.0
Itapúa	7.0	70.0	0.0	0.0	3.0	30.0	10.0	63.0	82.9	0.0	0.0	13.0	17.1	76.0
Misiones	13.0	48.1	6.0	22.2	8.0	29.6	27.0	15.0	93.8	1.0	6.3	0.0	0.0	16.0
Neembucú	3.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.0	120.0	90.2	3.0	2.3	10.0	7.5	133.0
Paraguari	11.0	84.6	1.0	7.7	1.0	7.7	13.0	121.0	93.1	5.0	3.8	4.0	3.1	130.0
Presidente Hayes	1.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	1.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0
San Pedro	7.0	70.0	0.0	0.0	3.0	30.0	10.0	82.0	87.2	10.0	10.6	2.0	2.1	94.0
Exterior	1.0	12.5	0.0	0.0	7.0	87.5	8.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	278.0	61.8	32.0	7.1	140.0	31.1	450.0	835.0	90.0	48.0	5.2	45.0	4.8	928.0

Appendix 2 – Principle Components Analysis of Questionnaire Items, N=368 (2001)

	Spanish Pride	Guarani Use	Spanish Use	Guarani Pride	Linguistic Purism	Language Contact	Language Value	Linguistic Self-esteem
CSIGUE	0.76	-0.01	0.11	-0.16	-0.01	-0.03	0.11	-0.09
CASTGRAM	0.71	-0.11	0.06	0.15	0.03	0.03	0.14	0.07
CALGU	0.67	-0.02	0.05	0.13	-0.04	0.14	0.20	-0.07
CTEXTOS	0.54	0.05	0.03	-0.05	0.12	-0.10	0.09	0.34
CLEER	0.53	-0.16	-0.04	0.30	0.01	0.12	-0.05	0.05
CTXGUSTA	0.47	0.16	0.05	-0.06	0.23	-0.06	0.08	0.25
GTRABAJO	-0.06	0.73	-0.03	-0.07	0.07	-0.09	0.02	0.03
GAMIGOS	0.02	0.70	-0.09	0.01	0.16	0.00	0.01	-0.01
GMAYOR	-0.04	0.69	-0.04	0.13	-0.16	0.06	0.05	0.16
GPROFE	-0.04	0.68	-0.05	-0.03	0.14	-0.13	0.07	0.07
GPAREJA	0.01	0.68	-0.10	0.17	-0.06	0.09	-0.01	-0.11
GMENOR	-0.16	0.65	0.05	0.12	-0.11	0.00	0.04	0.16
HABLOJO	0.17	0.36	0.04	-0.03	0.08	0.22	-0.06	-0.09
CAMIGOS	0.05	-0.15	0.76	-0.11	0.06	-0.05	-0.05	0.08
CMAYOR	0.11	-0.07	0.75	0.13	-0.13	0.06	0.01	-0.05
CPROFE	0.11	-0.04	0.73	-0.08	0.14	-0.05	0.04	0.13
CPAREJA	0.13	-0.01	0.73	0.06	-0.13	0.03	0.02	-0.11
CTRABAJO	-0.01	-0.04	0.71	-0.08	0.12	-0.05	-0.05	0.02
CMENOR	-0.10	0.07	0.57	0.12	-0.13	0.07	0.07	-0.01
GUARGRAM	-0.03	0.03	-0.05	0.58	0.19	-0.11	0.02	0.06
GLEER	0.30	0.02	0.06	0.55	-0.04	-0.02	-0.11	0.00
GSIGUE	0.01	0.06	0.07	0.55	0.02	-0.09	0.07	0.03
GALGU	0.05	0.14	-0.07	0.50	0.02	-0.14	0.06	0.15
GSANG	0.04	0.22	0.06	0.45	-0.09	-0.07	0.41	-0.08
GDULCE	-0.02	-0.05	0.04	0.35	0.05	0.04	0.19	-0.12
JOPARA	0.22	0.26	0.00	-0.31	-0.12	0.08	-0.16	0.14
ELCAS	-0.06	0.04	-0.04	0.23	0.76	0.12	0.03	0.01
ELGUAR	0.20	0.06	-0.03	0.06	0.67	0.28	-0.04	0.01
GDIFIC	0.06	-0.03	0.00	-0.24	0.05	0.63	0.02	-0.09
CENTOR	0.04	0.03	0.10	-0.23	0.03	0.60	0.06	0.12
GENTOR	-0.22	0.03	-0.01	-0.07	0.15	0.57	0.01	0.21
CDIFIC	0.29	0.03	-0.09	0.11	0.04	0.55	0.03	-0.19
GAUTH	-0.03	0.14	-0.04	0.19	0.16	-0.06	0.64	0.06
CECON	0.28	-0.05	0.02	0.06	0.05	0.19	0.60	0.09
GECON	-0.14	0.06	-0.17	0.27	-0.14	0.09	0.60	0.08
CAUTH	0.22	0.01	0.06	-0.19	0.21	0.09	0.55	0.10
CSANGRE	0.24	-0.07	0.18	0.01	-0.21	-0.06	0.48	0.06
CDULCE	0.31	-0.04	0.02	-0.03	-0.19	-0.08	0.36	0.10
CHABLA	0.14	-0.04	0.04	-0.13	-0.34	0.15	0.08	0.59
GTEXTOS	-0.05	0.08	0.03	0.14	0.04	-0.16	0.13	0.58
GTXGUSTA	0.08	0.06	-0.03	-0.02	0.19	-0.13	0.09	0.58
GHABLA	0.02	0.12	-0.10	0.13	-0.36	0.27	0.04	0.54
GHABLO	0.08	0.12	-0.06	0.39	-0.18	0.05	-0.11	0.54
CHABLO	0.43	-0.11	0.19	0.01	-0.21	0.14	-0.09	0.42
CSOLO	0.07	0.00	0.07	-0.17	0.14	0.12	0.07	0.36
GSOLO	-0.34	-0.11	-0.04	0.18	0.17	0.36	0.09	0.35
VARIANCE	3.40	3.33	3.24	2.51	1.95	2.06	2.24	2.56
PERCENTAGE	7.39	7.24	7.04	5.46	4.24	4.47	4.86	5.57

Appendix 2 – Key

Abbreviation	Factor	English Translation of Questionnaire Items (Originally in Spanish and Guaraní)
CSIGUE	Spanish pride	Spanish must continue.
CASTGRAM	Spanish pride	It is important to study Spanish grammar.
CALGU	Spanish pride	I want my child to be taught some subjects in Spanish.
CTEXTOS	Spanish pride	The Spanish of the school textbooks represents well what we speak.
CLEER	Spanish pride	If a pupil speaks only Spanish, s/he must learn to read and write first in Spanish.
CTXGUSTA	Spanish pride	I agree with the Spanish that is used in school textbooks.
GTRABAJO	Guaraní use	I speak Guaraní at work.
GAMIGOS	Guaraní use	I speak Guaraní with my friends.
GMAYOR	Guaraní use	I speak Guaraní with my oldest son/daughter.
GPROFE	Guaraní use	I speak Guaraní with the teachers at school.
GPAREJA	Guaraní use	I speak Guaraní with my spouse.
GMENOR	Guaraní use	I speak Guaraní with my youngest son/daughter.
HABLOJO	Guaraní use	I speak <i>jopara</i> [Guaraní-Spanish mix].
CAMIGOS	Spanish use	I speak Spanish with my friends.
CMAYOR	Spanish use	I speak Spanish with my oldest son/daughter.
CPROFE	Spanish use	I speak Spanish with the teachers at school.
CPAREJA	Spanish use	I speak Spanish with my spouse.
CTRABAJO	Spanish use	I speak Spanish at work.
CMENOR	Spanish use	I speak Spanish with my youngest son/daughter.
GUARGRAM	Guaraní pride	It is important to study Guaraní grammar.
GLEER	Guaraní pride	If a pupil speaks only Guaraní, s/he must learn to read and write first in Guaraní.
GSIGUE	Guaraní pride	Guaraní must continue.
GALGU	Guaraní pride	I want my child to be taught some subjects in Guaraní.
GSANG	Guaraní pride	The language of the Guaraní is in our blood.
GDULCE	Guaraní pride	Guaraní is a sweet language.
JOPARA	Guaraní pride (negative value)	In Paraguay, it is acceptable to speak <i>jopara</i> [Guaraní-Spanish mix].
ELCAS	Linguistic purism	All Spanish must be eliminated from spoken Guaraní.
ELGUAR	Linguistic purism	All Guaraní must be eliminated from spoken Spanish.
GDIFIC	Language contact	Guaraní is a difficult language.
CENTOR	Language contact	Spanish impedes Guaraní.
GENTOR	Language contact	Guaraní impedes Spanish.
CDIFIC	Language contact	Spanish is a difficult language.
GAUTH	Language value	In order to be authentically Paraguayan, one must know how to speak Guaraní.
CECON	Language value	In order to progress economically, one must know how to speak Spanish.
GECON	Language value	In order to progress economically, one must know how to speak Guaraní.
CAUTH	Language value	In order to be authentically Paraguayan, one must know how to speak Spanish.
CSANGRE	Language value	The language of the Spaniard is in our blood.
CDULCE	Language value	Spanish is a sweet language.
CHABLA	Linguisti self-esteem	Here in Paraguay we speak Spanish well.
GTEXTOS	Linguisti self-esteem	The Guaraní of the school textbooks represents well what we speak.
GTXGUSTA	Linguisti self-esteem	I agree with the Guaraní that is used in school textbooks.
GHABLA	Linguisti self-esteem	Here in Paraguay we speak Guaraní well.
GHABLO	Linguisti self-esteem	I speak Guaraní well.
CHABLO	Linguisti self-esteem	I speak Spanish well.
CSOLO	Linguisti self-esteem	In Paraguay, it is acceptable to know how to speak only in Spanish.
GSOLO	Linguisti self-esteem	In Paraguay, it is acceptable to know how to speak only in Guaraní.

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