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Based on a study conducted in the summer of 2009 in Asunción, Paraguay, this thesis analyzes the generational changes in the dialect of three Spanish-speaking sample groups. These groups, divided by age, are made up of two distinct generations, one younger and two older. Further, the younger group and one older group are members of the same family. The groups' discussions of various topics are investigated in order to learn their ideas and opinions about changes to and possible influences on their speech. The data collected is analyzed according to linguistic changes in these three participant groups, looking for marks of the creation of an identity separate from other generations and attitudes towards various possible influences on the particular dialect of Spanish used by the groups.

In general, there are similarities and differences between the generational groups recorded. The similarities are mainly found between the groups from the same family and between the older groups. The most dissimilar were the younger group and the older, unrelated group. This disparity between the older generation and the younger points to a shift in language use and identity.

INTERGENERATIONAL LINGUISTIC CHANGES TO THE SPANISH DIALECT OF  
THREE PARTICIPANT GROUPS FROM GREATER ASUNCIÓN (PARAGUAY)

by

Sarah Gevene Hopton Tyler

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Approved by

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Committee Chair

APPROVAL PAGE

This thesis has been approved by the following committee of the Faculty of The Graduate School at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

Committee Chair \_\_\_\_\_

Committee Members \_\_\_\_\_

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Date of Acceptance by Committee

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date of Final Oral Examination

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### **Contextual Overview**

Paraguay is a small, geographically-isolated country in South America, with the only contact to or from the outside world coming from the Paraná River, which connects the capital, Asunción, with Buenos Aires in Argentina. Enclosing Paraguay are Bolivia to the northwest and north, Brazil to the northeast to southeast, and Argentina in the south to the west. Though originally larger than it is today, Paraguay has always been landlocked by these three countries.

Since its first view by Europeans in the sixteenth century, Paraguay has been isolated, geographically, culturally, and linguistically. In 1537, Juan de Salazar y Espinoza, leading an expedition of Spanish conquistadors, found groups of Guaraní, the local indigenous population, in what is now Paraguay. From its founding, Paraguay served mostly as a way-station for European explorers searching for precious metals and other commodities not found elsewhere. The difficulty of geographical access meant that Paraguayan Spanish tended to maintain many archaisms while remaining constantly influenced by Guaraní (Lipski, 1994, p. 304). Additionally, the explorers settled in the country and formed families with indigenous women, leading to the large percentage of *mestizaje*, or racial mixing, found in Paraguay. In these family units, the fathers spoke Spanish and the mothers Guaraní. The transmission of each language tended to come



from the respective parent. Also, because of the social status of the conquistadors as compared to the Guaraní culture, Spanish came to represent the “cultured” classes, whereas Guaraní became the “language of the heart.” Furthermore, by forming families with the local indigenous population, these conquistadors became members of Paraguayan society, accepting Guaraní as a legitimate, although not as valued, method of communication because of the family connections through their wives and children (Choi, 2004, pp. 242-243).

The official acceptance and value of Guaraní has evolved over time. During the dictatorship of Carlos Antonio López from 1842 to 1862, the official stance on the Guaraní language was more repressive and only allowed for the teaching of Spanish in schools. Additionally, López ordered the change of Guaraní surnames to Spanish to assimilate the Guaraní and to encourage the rejection of their “mother” tongue and culture (Choi, 2004, p. 243). Still, during the dictatorship of his son, Francisco Solano López, Guaraní became a nationalistic symbol of Paraguay, representing the country’s defensive stance during the War of the Triple Alliance from 1865 to 1870. More recently, in 1967 Guaraní was recognized as a national language in the National Constitution, and in 1992 it was elevated to official language status alongside Spanish. Therefore, Paraguay became the first Latin-American country that could boast official bilingual status with an indigenous language (Choi, 2004, pp. 241, 243-244).

## **Geographic and Social Distribution of Language in Paraguay**

The use of Guaraní and Spanish is geographically separate. Although a majority of the population of Paraguay speaks Guaraní at home (59.2%), most Guaraní speakers are rural (82.7%). Only 35.7% of the total population speak Spanish in the home, and, of the 56.7% of the population that lives in urban areas, only 54.7% speak Spanish. An overwhelming number of Guaraní speakers live in the country, whereas Spanish-speakers, in the minority overall, are slightly in the majority for those who live in the cities (Choi, 2005, p. 233).

The social distribution of Guaraní and Spanish reflects a pattern of cultural segregation in which Guaraní has been used by members of the socioeconomically lower class and Spanish by those from the highest. There are also two distinct domains for the use of Spanish and Guaraní. As Choi (2005) points out, “The use of Guaraní is limited to familiar and informal environments, while Spanish is the language of governmental, administrative and educational activities. Guaraní is a symbol of national identity, whereas Spanish is the key to social and economic advancement” (p. 236). That is, Guaraní is esteemed as a symbol and idealized as such, while in reality, Spanish is regarded as a socially favorable means of expression.

## **Certain Influences on and Features of the Paraguayan Dialect**

**Guaraní and Jopara.** Guaraní is by far the largest influence on Paraguayan Spanish. With the coexistence of the two languages in the same small geographical area, their mutual linguistic and cultural influences has been vast. In a diglossic state such as

Paraguay, the effects of the G. I. Asoli's substratum theory can be seen (Cassano, 1973, p. 406). The substratum theory defined by Cassano as when "the language of conquering peoples is superimposed upon the language of conquered peoples, some characteristics of the language of the latter group are retained and are grafted upon that of the former group" (1972a, p. 22). That is, the dominant language is affected by the dominated language. Here, Spanish can be considered the culturally dominant language, while Guaraní is the culturally dominated language (Cassano, 1973, p. 414). Although Spanish is seen as the socially and economically desirable language, Guaraní has influenced Spanish reciprocally.

One of the most striking features of Paraguayan speech is *Jopara*, the mixture of Guaraní and Spanish, spoken by most of the country. According to Lustig (1996), "el *jopara* puede considerarse una variante diastrática y diasituacional del guaraní paraguayo, que por su parte ocupa una posición intermedia en un *continuum* que abarca varios grados de hispanización o 'desguaranización', desde el guaraní tribal y un académico guaraní "puro" hasta el español paraguayo y el español estándar" (p. 21). That is, there are those who speak exclusively Spanish and those who speak "pure" Guaraní (considered by most to be an artificial academic form), and then there is *Jopara*, the in-between language, a continuum between those who speak a Spanish-influenced version of Guaraní to those who only insert a few words of Guaraní into their Spanish.

**Linguistic features.** Numerous lexical differences between Paraguay and other Spanish-speaking countries come from Guaraní. Place names, local flora and fauna, and

surnames predominate with Guaraní influence. *Mburucuya, Ñemby, Tembetary, Cañada de Ybyray, Mbocayaty, Ycuá Sati, Ytay, Itá, Loma Pytá, Caacupe*, and *Mburicao* are all neighborhoods in Asunción. Some cities, such as *Ñemby, Ypané*, and *Guarambaré*, still use designations that come from the Guaraní. Likewise, many departments, like *Caazapá* and *Caaguazú*, have Guaraní names. Hispano-Guaraní toponymies, are found in the names arroyos (*Arroyo Jhū, Yycu'í Arroyo*), lakes (the famous *Ypacaraí*), islands (*Isla Yaguareté*), and hills or mountains (*Tupāsy Cerro*) (Cadogán, 1969, pp. 65-66).

Many words for local flora and fauna also come from the Guaraní, such as the aforementioned *mburucuya*. Other such words include *ñandú*, a flightless, ostrich-like bird, *urubú*, ‘vulture’, and *yopará*, ‘hanging jungle vine’ (Lipski, 1994, p. 313).

Surnames, although not originally used by the Guaraní, were introduced by the Spanish. During their conversion to Christianity by the Jesuits, first and last names were created and given to the Guaraní. In these two names, the first name generally came from Spanish, while the last name from Guaraní. There has been some retention of these surnames as a form of Paraguayan cultural identity to present day, although many were forced to Hispanicize their names during López’s regime, (Choi, 2004, p. 243; Turner, C. B., & Turner, B., 1993, pp. 142-143).

Other lexical particularities found in Paraguayan Spanish are archaisms, that is, carryovers from old Spanish that have survived due to Paraguay’s relative isolation. For instance, de Granda (1987) lists 111 distinct Paraguayan lexical archaisms found in a study he conducted between 1977 and 1981, which, even at that time, he felt was nowhere near an extensive list of all the archaisms held over in the Paraguayan Spanish

dialect. Some examples of these archaisms are *abanarse* (abanicarse), *ahogo* (asma), *conserva* (dulce de naranja), *determinar(se)* (decidir algo), y *ojear* (hacer mal de ojo), among many others (pp. 9-31). Other examples include the use *todo*, especially with *ya*, to emphasize temporally recent completion, as in the phrase *Ya trabajé todo ya* [I already finished working], and the lack of the use of *tan* in comparisons, in that instead of *Mi hermano es tan alto como el de Juan*, one would hear *Mi hermano es alto como el de Juan* (de Granda, 1988b, pp. 255-262).

### **Overview of Current Study**

This study focuses on the age distribution of attitudes towards various influences and the changes brought by these influences on the Greater Asunción dialect of Paraguayan Spanish in a small sample of Spanish-speakers. By analyzing the answers given by three groups of participants to discussion questions, one can see changes between the generations to the dialect within one family. These differences between the participant groups are evidenced by each group's acceptance of the factors that have given their dialect its own "flavor." Therefore, by looking at how each group differs from the other while discussing these questions, one can see how the Spanish of the studied portion of the population is evolving.

**Objectives.** The objectives of this study are to find the differences and similarities in attitudes and expression in two groups of participants within a single family, compared with a third, older group from outside the family. This study will look

at two separate, but related, issues regarding generational change to the Spanish dialect of Greater Asunción, Paraguay: the linguistic construction of generational identity and influences on the dialect from internal and external sources, as well as how these influences have changed over the years. Additionally, the researcher will look for relationships between attitudes and language use as they relate to Guaraní and/or foreign language and dialectical influences.

**Hypothesis.** The hypothesis upon which the study is based is that through the acceptance and integration of media, the implementation of the State's educational standards, and the social changes of Greater Asunción, Paraguay, the use of Spanish by each generation of participants shows marked changes from the speech of both older and younger generations. Slang, attitudes, and other aspects of language use will vary depending on acceptance by the participants of these alterations. Moreover, these distinctions will point to the formation of a group identity, in that the users of one form of dialect can create social "in" and "out" groups between each age group within the family, and between the family and society at large. Using the conclusions of other sociolinguistic studies, the hypothesis of this investigation is that the groups will be divided linguistically according to the ages of the participants.

**Research questions.** The following research questions were framed using this hypothesis and broken up into two distinct but related topics: group identity and language attitudes.

1. a. What do members of various generational speech groups of Spanish-speakers from Greater Asunción feel set them apart from others, linguistically?  
b. How does each group define itself as a separate entity from other generational groups through their specific use of language?
2. a. What are the generational attitudes towards possible impacts on the participants' language from sources such as technology or other cultural/linguistic influences?  
b. How do they feel these influences have changed their speech?  
c. Is there a relationship between the acceptance of a source of linguistic influence and the actual influence of this source upon their language in this specific population?

These research questions are formulated to discover the opinions and observations of the three groups on their generational identities and their attitudes towards different influences on their dialect of Paraguayan Spanish. The questions are also designed to discover any variations in their dialect, as well as influences that may have inspired these modifications.

**Relevance and reasons for the study.** This study of the changes to the Paraguayan Spanish dialect is among the few found in the current literature. While most studies focus on the bilingualism particular to Paraguay, not many have specifically investigated the Spanish apart from its relationship with Guaraní. Attitudes of the

respondents towards various influences on their dialect point to the acceptability of these influences, especially as the media and modes of delivery change so rapidly this day and age. Therefore, by studying the attitudes participants have towards influences on their dialect, one can see how the language has changed for them in the last several decades and perhaps understand these changes.



## **CHAPTER II**

### **REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE**

The topics of this study as they pertain to the literature can be separated into two general subjects: the linguistic creation of identity, specifically in Paraguay, and the attitudes found in Paraguay towards other languages and influences. In the creation of identity, several other studies have focused on the linguistic history and particularities of Paraguay. Likewise, the opinions and attitudes of Paraguayans have been explored in depth in a large number of scholarly publications.

#### **Paraguayan Linguistic Identity**

The sociolinguistic theories that form the methodological basis for this study center on the idea of the speech community. The speech community is created by a group of speakers joined by the recognition of the language variation utilized by its members (Gumperz, 2001). In general, the members of each generation separate themselves from the former through their use of language in order to form their own identity. As Meliá (2005) writes, “Una lengua tiene sólo la consistencia real del acto de habla, en el momento histórico de su efecto” (p. 903). In other words, language variations reflect the historicity of their expression. Therefore, through the interpretation of language placed in its historic context, the identity of the historically placed group is

defined by the changes that separate it from the previous group. In the case of Asunción, political and cultural changes have allowed the language to evolve to reflect the definition of each new generation through the quality and quantity of linguistic features.

Probably the most extensive description of Paraguay and its languages comes from de Granda's (1988a, 1988b) work in the late 1970s. Though published several decades ago, de Granda's research includes the general history of Paraguay, a description of the society, and an in-depth discussion of the Spanish of Paraguay. As one of the main resources for any linguistic investigation of Paraguay, de Granda includes discussions on the bilingualism of Paraguay; language attitudes; Guaraní influence on the phonetics and lexica of Paraguayan Spanish; and the history of the Spanish dialect of Paraguay. This exhaustive description of the linguistics of Paraguay, though somewhat outdated, still serves as the definitive description of this Spanish dialect and the influences that have affected it. De Granda's work serves as a comparison of current and past linguistic features to those found during the course of this study, as well as a basis from which to understand many of the characteristics particular to Paraguay.

Studies on the linguistic features specific to Paraguay or Asunción form a basis upon which to determine any changes to the Spanish dialect. Most of these studies, conducted in the seventies and eighties, could be applied to the older generations investigated in the present study. Tessen (1974), concentrating exclusively on Asunción, describes various phonetic, lexical, and syntactic aspects of the Spanish of the city. While admitting that "some . . . lexical and syntactic items are possibly heard in other dialect areas of Western Hemisphere Spanish," Tessen (1974) also notes that he

encountered them for the first time in Paraguay (p. 937). The influence of Argentina is noted in regards to the “telescoping of *voy a* to /vyá/ heard in Argentina [that] seems to occur at all social levels in Paraguay” (p. 937). Because of the influences investigated in this study, previous notations of the impact of other dialects serve as a basis with which to compare current data.

In his description of Latin American Spanish (mainly based on previous studies), Lipski (1994) lists many phonetic, syntactic, and lexical features of Paraguayan Spanish. Especially relevant to the present study is his description of code-switching, that is, the alternation of “Spanish and Guaraní lexical items in syntactic frames appropriate for each language,” which “follows general patterns and constraints of code switching observed in other bilingual societies” (Lipski, p. 311). The lexical characteristics of Paraguayan Spanish, however, are sparse in Lipski’s (1994) overview, only naming *che* as a connection with other Southern Cone countries, and some Guaraní terms found outside of Paraguay, such as *ñandú* (an ostrich-like bird) and *yopará* (a hanging jungle vine) (p. 313). The code-switching between Spanish and Guaraní observed in the current study can be compared to the observations Lipski proposes in order to detect any variations in the current situation.

All of these studies, by either analyzing small features or more general trends, explain some qualities of the speech of the older participants. One can further see any evolution from the recorded traits found in these studies and the form of the language used today. In other words, these studies will help with the analysis of the current dialect used by participants as a reflection of the changes that have occurred in the last several

decades, since the publication of these linguistic articles and books. They also indicate what features of the dialect pertain to the standard Paraguayan dialect and which innovations have appeared in the speech of the participants more recently.

Turn-taking in politeness has been a source of study for decades, since Erving Goffman proposed it as a measure of identity in the 1950s (Schlegoff, 2). Since then, linguistic researchers, such as Schlegoff (2000), and the team of Sacks, Schlegoff, and Jefferson (1974), have realized the value of discourse organization, which has been especially prevalent in applications to and analyses of politeness and cultural identities. Though not directly cited in studies conducted in Paraguay, a change in turn-taking indicates that there has been a wider, cultural transformation among the speakers of a community, and can therefore be applied to any participant group differences found in this study. Likewise, since variations of the organization of group discussions are culturally ascribed, they can indicate the cultural identity of the participants.

### **Paraguayan Language Attitudes**

The attitude of the population of Paraguay towards Guaraní and Spanish is another well-developed field of linguistic research. Since 1992, when the government recognized Guaraní as one of its two official languages, along with Spanish, attitudes towards this indigenous language have evolved to include a level of prestige and popular acceptance not seen previously (Choi, 2005). Now, according to Choi (2005), Paraguayans show a distinct pride in both languages- an ethnographic pride in Guaraní and a more utilitarian pride in Spanish (176).

Corvalán (1990) focuses her attention on Asunción, emphasizing the bilingual distribution of speakers of Guaraní and Spanish. Additionally, she dedicates a portion of her article to the geographic layout of Asunción, especially as it pertains to its two main languages, as well as exploring the illiteracy of several social and linguistic groups. The migration of Guaraní speakers from the country to various neighborhoods of the city has created linguistic and geographic identifying markers, according to speech use and settlement. Neighborhoods and socioeconomic status within Greater Asunción have a large effect on the speakers' preferences of means of expression and attitude towards Guaraní. As it pertains to this study, the descriptions of the neighborhoods allows the participants to be placed socioeconomically in order to determine what, if any, influences their status and the byproducts of their status (such as education, travel, exposure to languages, etc.) may have had on their speech or opinions.

Jopara, the mixture of Spanish and Guaraní, has also been studied extensively. Lustig's 1996 article not only describes Jopara but also explores its value as Paraguay's third language, alongside the concept of a "pure" and everyday Guaraní and Spanish. Lustig also analyzes the official status granted to Guaraní in 1992, listing and explaining the official declarations, and recounting the installation of "official bilingualism" in schools and other government institutions. Likewise, he looks to the effects this legislation has had on Guaraní, Spanish, and Jopara.

From this change in attitude and the scholastic integration of Guaraní, one can see shifting influences on the language used by the new generation. Meliá (2005) and Solé (1996) focus on Guaraní as part of the patriotic identity of Paraguay and how this identity

has evolved parallel to the attitude of the population towards Guaraní. The attitude of Spanish-speaking Paraguayans indicates the level of interference between the two co-official languages. In theory, then, if there is no stigmatization of Guaraní, there is a larger possibility that lexical features will influence the Spanish dialect. Through official and general attitudes, Guaraní influence is not corrected or devalued by the media or schools and other official institutions, which, in turn, allows the growing influence and adoption of the language by the general population (Hudson, 1998, pp. 210-211).

The bilingualism found in Paraguay and the influence of Guaraní on the dialect have been studied extensively by many academics, such as Choi (2000, 2001, 2005), de Granda (1980, 1987, 1988a, 1988b, 1995-1996), and Corvalán (1990). Choi (2005) and Fogelquist (1950) focus on Paraguayan bilingualism, whereas Cassano (1972a, 1972b, 1972c), de Granda (1980, 1995-1996), and Pruñonosa (2000) have analyzed not only Guaraní/Spanish bilingualism, but also the effect of languages separated socially but coexisting within the borders of one country. Since Paraguay exhibits such a unique linguistic situation, the diglossia of the country has captured the imagination and attention of these researchers, resulting in not only a long tradition of studies and analyses, but also expectations held by participants as to the nature of any linguistic study. In other words, because the interchange between Guaraní and Spanish has been studied for so long, participants tend to assume that the studies of which they are a part are based on their usage of both languages (personal observation).

There seem to be no studies about linguistic changes between generations of Spanish-speakers in Paraguay, nor the influences that may inspire these changes.

However, the literature indicates that over time, linguistic varieties, are subject to the modification of different levels, such as phonological, lexical, morphosyntactic, and pragmatic. These modifications are evident when comparing groups of speakers by age. For example, on the lexical level, the slang created by adolescents linguistically separates them from older generations (Chambers, 2009; Hudson, 1998).

All of these sources have allowed this study to compare the changes between generations of the participants and place them in their linguistic context. The hypotheses about the identity construction of each group, and its attitudes towards external and internal attitudes, are based on the previous research mentioned in this chapter. The methodology used was based those described by these researchers. This study's methodology owes much to Chambers (2009), Silva-Corvalán (2001), and especially Johnstone (2000), as they formed the theoretical basis for both the qualitative analysis and presentation of the data.

## **CHAPTER III**

### **OUTLINE OF PROCEDURES**

#### **Overview**

Conducted during the summer of 2009 in Asunción, Paraguay, this study explores the differences in speech between two generations of one family and one group of unrelated participants. The goal of the study is to find linguistic alterations and retentions in the two generations represented as the influences on the Spanish dialect of Greater Asunción change from one generation to the next. According to Choi (2005), “there is a clear tendency toward Spanish-Guaraní bilingualism” (p. 175). However, beyond the drift towards acceptability by Spanish-speakers towards the country’s second official language, there have also been innovations to the popular speech from additional countries’ dialects and other languages altogether, as seen in the analysis of the speech and attitudes of the participants. Furthermore, this variation between generations marks an attempt to delineate generational identity, created through the formation of an in-group speech community versus an out-group speech community both within the family and between the family and Greater Asunción at large.

#### **Objectives**

The objectives of this study are to discover if and how the Greater Asunción variety of Spanish, specifically that of this small sample, is changing. Every language



evolves, and in this case, with the special relationship between the Spanish and Guaraní of Paraguay, there is an added dimension of the level of acceptance by the participants of the interference of the latter on the former. Moreover, it is important to discover if the positive or negative opinions of internal or external influences is a factor of any possible linguistic differences in the dialect, as evidenced by the participants of this study.

### **Research Questions**

The questions that formed the structure of this study can be broken into two subgroups: Group identity and language attitudes.

1. a. What do members of various generational speech groups of Spanish-speakers from Greater Asunción feel set them apart from others, linguistically?  
b. How does each group define itself as a separate entity from other generational groups through their specific use of language?
2. a. What are the generational attitudes towards possible impacts on the participants' language from sources such as technology or other cultural/linguistic influences?  
b. How do they feel these influences have changed their speech?  
c. Is there a relationship between the acceptance of a source of linguistic influence and the actual influence of this source upon their language in this specific population?

## **Methodology**

**Participants.** This study was conducted by convenience, both in the participant and setting selection. All 18 participants were either family members or friends of family members of the researcher, and the settings were chosen according to space allowances and familiarity to the participants. All participants came from the upper-middle or upper-classes of Greater Asunción, Paraguay.

Each participant was assigned to one of three groups (hereafter, Group 1, Group 2, and Group 3), based on age and familial or social relationship. Four of these participants formed the group of older family members (Group 1), six took part in the younger family group (Group 2), and eight were in the group of unrelated older participants (Group 3). The first two groups came about based on their presence at the social function at which the discussions took place, further divided according to age. Group 3, however, was made up of regular attendees of a weekly metaphysical discussion club, specifically from a similar age group.

The age range of the members of Group 1 is 56 and older, whereas the ages of Group 2 are 24 to 35, except for one participant, who is between 18 and 23 years old. Group 3 extends in age from 46-55 (three participants) to 56 or more (five participants) (Figure 1). One can see a clear age division between Group 2 and Groups 1 and 3 (Figure 2). Group 3 also serves as a control for the other older group, since it is not a part of the family social group. Therefore, differences between Groups 1 and 3 could be compared to the speech of Group 2 to see any family-specific features of speech.

Figure 1. Group distribution as a percentage of all participants.

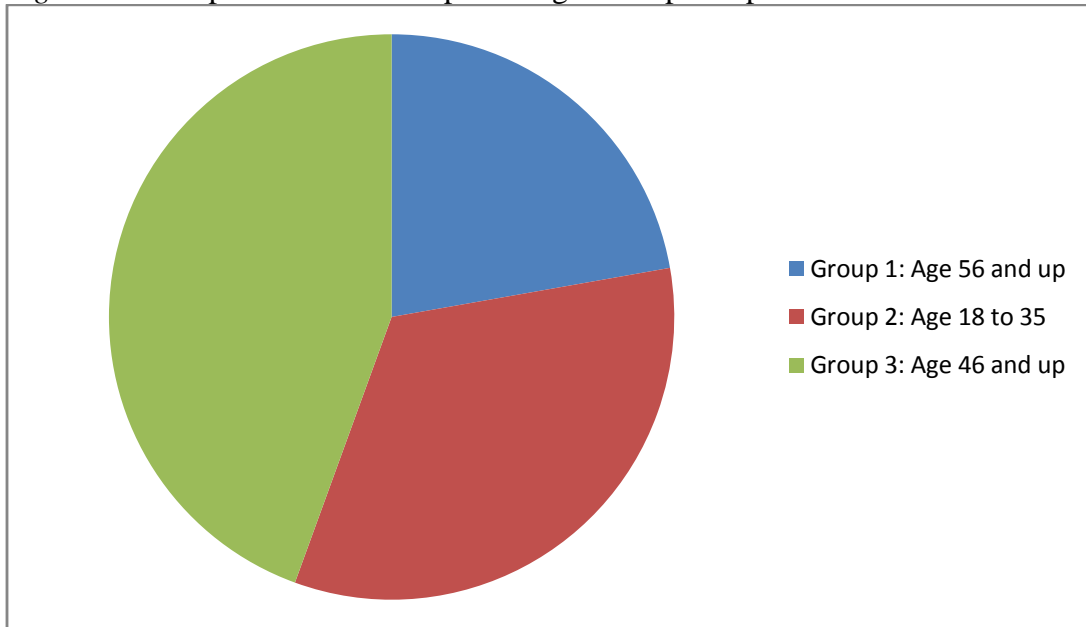


Figure 2. Age distribution of all participants.

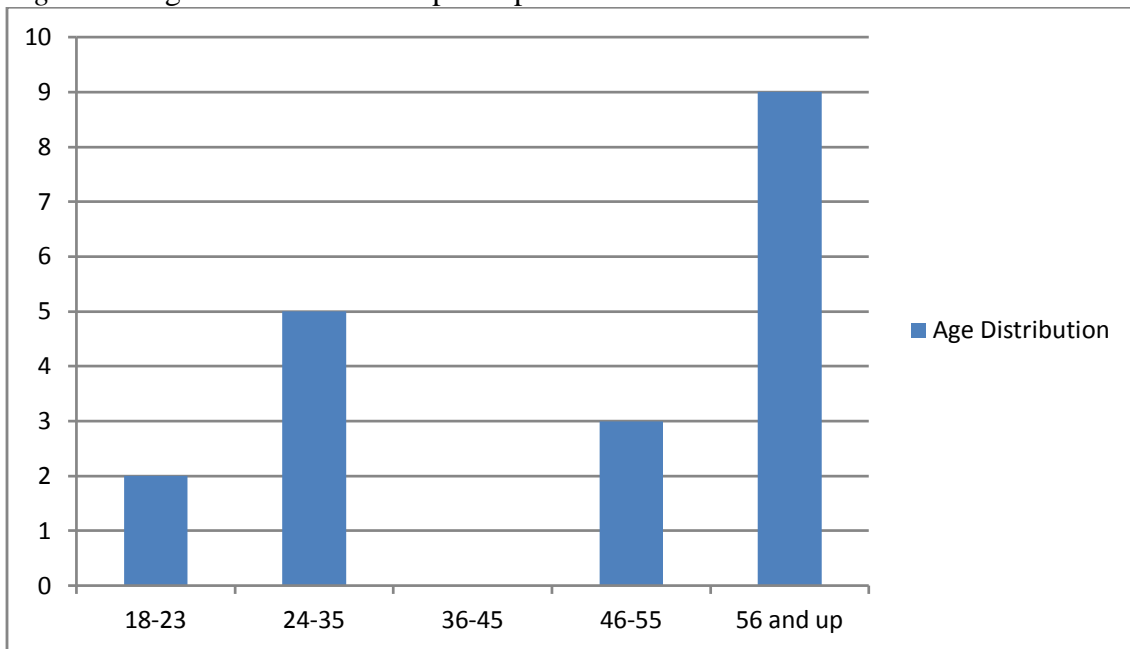
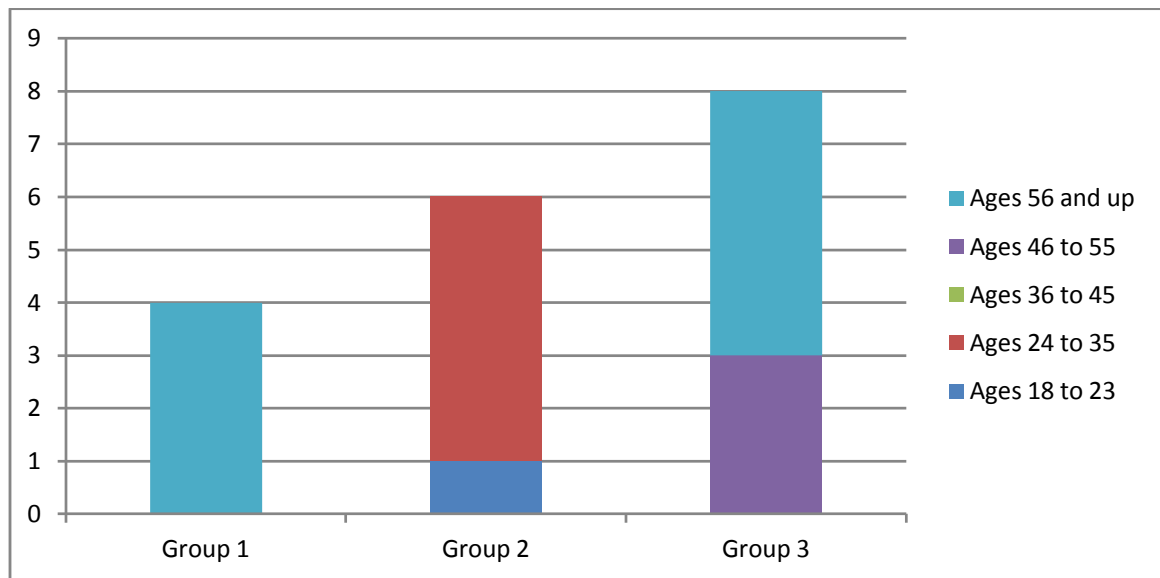


Figure 3. Age Ranges Within Groups.



This classification of the participants based on age range yields a lack of 36 to 45-year-olds, the one age range not represented by any of the three groups. This absence comes from a generational gap between parents and parent-aged participants (Groups 1 and 3) and their sons and daughters (Group 2). The largest age range that participated is 56 and older (Figure 3). The smallest is 18 to 24. The reason this age group is so underrepresented is that the sole participant from this age range is a grandson, and therefore the intermediary between the child and grandchild generations. The other participants of Group 2 are all children or friends of the children of the 56 and up participants of Group 1. Therefore, the division proposed of age groups belonging to each generation is 18 to 35 for the younger generation and 46 and up for the older generation.

The participants all live in Greater Asunción. The neighborhoods of residence include Villa Morra, Herrera, San Roque, Recoleta, and Villa Aurelia. The only city of Greater Asunción represented is San Lorenzo, where six respondents of Group 3 reside (Table 1). San Lorenzo is a commercial and educational hub for the area, and only slightly smaller than Asunción proper (World-Gazetteer.com). The neighborhoods of Recoleta, Villa Morra, Villa Aurelia, and Herrera are all in the same region of the city, with San Roque closer to the downtown area. All of these residential zones are populated by those of the socioeconomic upper-middle and upper-classes (personal observation). The educational level of the participants, also an indicator of socio-economic status shows that a clear majority of the participants have at least some university education, with only one respondent stating that she only finished high school (Table 2). The rest of the participants are evenly distributed educationally between having some university education, having completed their university education, or having received advanced degrees. In a country where the illiteracy rate stood at 6.7% in 2000 and only 45% of eligible students attended high school in the same year, that 94.4% of the participants possess degrees of higher education indicates that they are well above the average for educational, and therefore socioeconomic, levels (Encyclopedia of the Nations).

**Context.** In order to elicit the most natural speech possible in an artificially constructed scenario, several steps were taken. The venues were informal and familiar; the discussions between friends and family members were recorded, which rendered the need for the presence of the researcher unnecessary. The reason for the need for natural,

Table 1

## Residence of Participants by Group

	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3	Total of 1 and 3	Total
Villa Morra	4			4	4
Herrera		2	1	1	3
San Roque		2		0	2
Recoleta		2		0	2
San Lorenzo			6	6	6
Villa Aurelia			1	1	1

Table 2

## Education of Participants by Group

Educación	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3	Total of 1 and 3	Total
A Some school education.				0	0
B I finished high school.			1	1	1
C Some university education.	2	1	3	5	6
D I completed my university studies.		4	2	2	6
E I received an advanced degree.	2	1	2	4	5

relaxed conversation was to decrease any interference from nervousness or variations due to possible accommodation to unknown people in an unfamiliar place.

The location of the study was, for the Group 1 and 2, an *asado*, a family gathering at the house of a family member, which created an informal setting. The site for Group 3's discussions was a weekly women's metaphysical tea that took place at the home of one of the participants, also a familiar and informal environment. This lessened the amount of artificiality which might come from a formal study environment, where the participants might feel unable to speak freely or may use a more formal speech pattern in place of speaking naturally.

The participants were seated in a group around a single table, facing each other. All of the interactions of the participants were recorded using an Olympus DS-30 digital voice recorder in order to capture all audio aspects of communication and reduce the need for the researcher to be present during the discussions. This recorder was placed in the center of the tables, and, though not unobtrusive in its placement, was small enough to be eventually ignored by most participants.

The researcher was not present during the discussions for groups 1 or 3, though was near enough to answer any clarification questions the participants might have. For Group 2, the researcher was unobtrusively present, and did not add to the discussion. The participants therefore did not feel the need to slow their speech, enunciate unnaturally, or use less slang or dialect-specific words in order to ensure that they were understood by the researcher.

**Questionnaire.** For each group, participants were requested to fill out a questionnaire of six questions in order to identify origin and age group of each participant (Appendix, Figure A1), and then to converse with each other using eight discussion questions (Appendix, Figure A2) designed to measure attitude, language use, and linguistic differences between each generation of respondents. The ethnographic questionnaire was filled out before the beginning of the discussion in order to avoid using participants that were not officially part of the age group (i.e., under 18 or falling in the other group's age range) or any that were not from Greater Asunción. For those from Asunción proper, the neighborhood of origin was requested in order to determine socioeconomic class. Along with neighborhood residence, the level of education of each participant was inquired as a further indicator of socioeconomic status.

The discussion questions were generally proposed to measure the attitudes of the participants towards the transformation of the Spanish dialect of Greater Asunción, if any, and the possible causes of these perceived changes. The questions begin with personal opinions about the alterations in speech between their parents' generations and their own, and when and why they think the deviations might have occurred. Next, questions about possible influences on the Spanish dialect of Greater Asunción are posited, requesting the views of the participants regarding various media, such as television and music, and regions, including the other South American countries, Europe, Asia, and North America, as well as any fluctuations in their sentiments towards these regions in recent times.



One purposeful omission was the impact of Guaraní on the Spanish of Paraguay. This was done because the degree of the effect needed to be evident. In other words, in the questions about the influences on Paraguayan Spanish, the option was open for the participants to mention Guaraní or not, thus allowing the researcher to learn the extent of the opinions on Guaraní influence. For example, if one group mentioned Guaraní words exclusively, while another barely alluded to any impact, this would indicate a possible shift in attitude towards and acceptance of the Guaraní language and its influence on their Spanish dialect.

### **Data Collection**

The data for this study were collected during two separate social occasions in the summer months of 2009, as indicated previously. The interviews of each group vary in time taken. Group 1 uses a total of 20 minutes and 34 seconds; Group 2 lasts 34 minutes and 43 seconds, and Group 3's discussion comes to 58 minutes and 49 seconds (Figure 4). The total, therefore, of discussion for the highest age range (56 or older) is 79 minutes and 23 seconds, while the lower age range (24 to 45) lasts the 34 minutes and 43 seconds stated previously (Figure 5). This difference in total time shows that there may be a slightly larger representation of the views of Group 3, since there is a larger base of collected data, and therefore more data to analyze. With more data and time for opinions, there may be a slight overrepresentation of Group 3's thoughts and opinions.

Figure 4. Total discussion time per group.

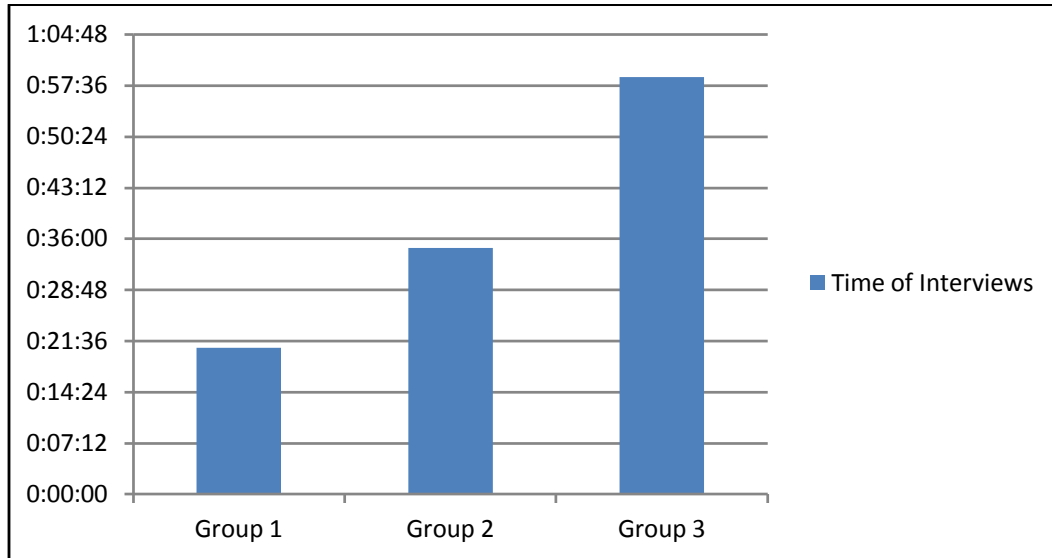
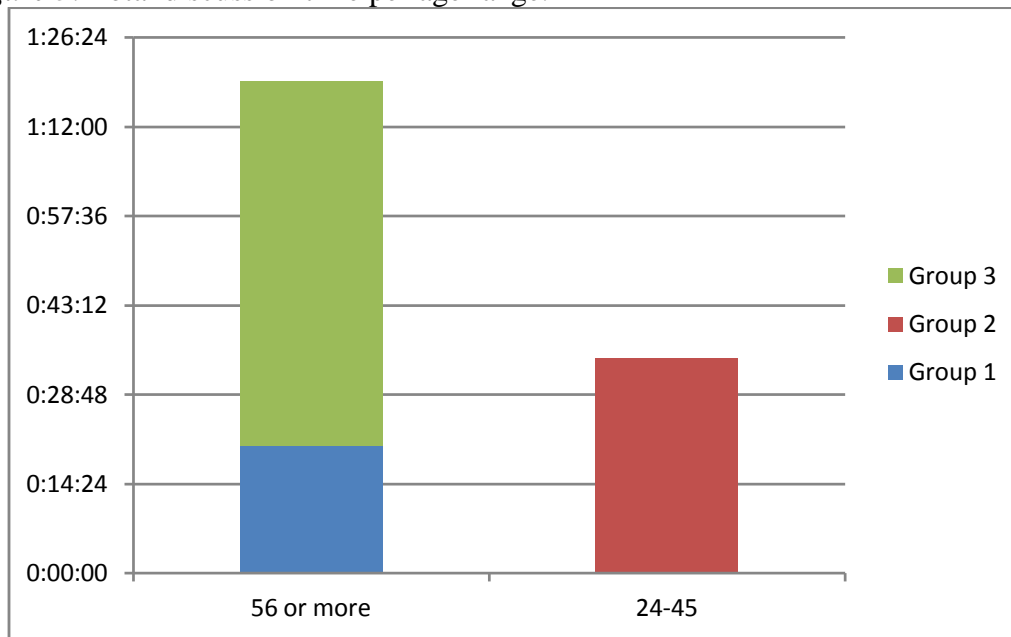


Figure 5. Total discussion time per age range.



## CHAPTER IV

### RESULTS

#### **Analysis**

The data examined in this section allude to many trends in recent changes to the Spanish dialect of Greater Asunción, Paraguay. The analysis of these data, following the research questions proposed, deals with the participants' identity as a member of the generational speech community and their attitudes towards influences upon their dialect.

#### **Identity**

1. a. What do members of various generational speech groups of Spanish-speakers from Greater Asunción feel set them apart from others, linguistically?

Each group interviewed shows a very clear notion of themselves as a separate generation from the others, though they tend to focus more on what divides them from younger age groups. Each of the three groups specifically names younger people, as related to what how they speak and what they do: “la nueva generación”, “para gente como nosotros, no los jóvenes,” “es como se saludan los chicos de ahora” (Group 1); “los más joven” (Group 2); and “los niños en la escuela” and “los jóvenes” (Group 3). Speaking of older groups, generally they mention specific family members: “nuestros padres,” used both in responding to the reading of the first question aloud and repeated

three times beyond this, with stressing (Group 1); “mis abuelos y mi papá” (Group 2), “en la época de nuestros padres,” (Group 3), which may come from the wording of Question 1.

Similarly, they strongly recognize speech, especially slang words and influences, as dividers between their generations and younger or older age groups. Group 1’s answer to the first question, which deals with the change in slang between their and their parents’ generation, centers upon Guaraní and sexual terms (and sometimes both): “Todo sexual”, as one respondent stated. Separating them from the younger generation, Group 1 notes that, “Dera [*slang word*] es de la nueva generación.”; “no tan común como ese se dice ahora. ¡Dentro poco van a poner japirona [*slang word*] en el diccionario!”.

Likewise, Group 2 remarks on many speech differences between themselves and their parents. “Hablaban mejor mis abuelos y mi papá,” noted one participant. As Group 3 comments, “antes no tenían acceso a tanta información,” and “se habla más rápido también,” comparing themselves to their parents. Regarding the differences between themselves and the younger generation, they feel that “los más joven convierten todo en verbo,” such as *chatear*, *mailear*, *mensajear*, *facebookear*, etc. They also mention the texting shortcuts, and told two jokes about misunderstandings arising from shortcuts and spelling mistakes.

Group 3’s opinion of today’s slang is, “ahora usan palabras muy groseras que antes no conocían ni usaban. Es mal gusto.” As to their parents’ generation, the largest change they see is globalization and the influence they see coming from a shrinking planet. Now, they feel, there is much more of a foreign influence on Paraguay and

Paraguayan Spanish than in their parents' generation, due to more travel, and the influences of technology, especially the influx of information via the relatively new media of television and the Internet.

1. b. How does each group define itself as a separate entity from other generational groups through their specific use of language?

Improvisational use of slang is extremely different for each age group. Groups 1 and 3 almost exclusively use Guaraní slang while speaking; Group 2 repeatedly uses Spanish slang, such as *che* and *fulana*. While all of the groups are aware of both Spanish and Guaraní slang, the use of one or the other denotes a familiarity and preference for the language in spontaneous speech. Therefore, while Groups 1 and 3, members of the older generation prefer Guaraní, Group 2 prefers Spanish.

One of the most striking differences between the group interactions is the disparity in turn-taking. In both the older groups, Group 1 and 3, the participants speak over each other, interrupting without apologies. Only one person in Group 3 complains about being drowned out by the rest, though for the entire hour there are constant interruptions or expressions of agreement or disagreement. Group 2, however, has fewer interruptions, and at one point, one participant that has been interrupted in the middle of her sentence says, “dame el micrófono.”

What this means in terms of politeness and identity construction is, basically, that the younger set of participants does not follow the same politeness rules of their parents,

therefore separating themselves from the previous generation. Whereas the older groups interact with less politeness, the younger group is more formal in its communication. Therefore, while the concept of politeness for the older groups does not include formal turn-taking, the younger respondents clearly have a more formal concept of politeness. This difference in interaction indicates that, while the younger participants would have learned turn-taking rules from their parents, they have rejected those rules in favor of their own linguistic rules, creating an in-group identity.

### **Attitudes**

2. a. What are the generational attitudes towards possible impacts on the participants' language from sources such as technology or other cultural/linguistic influences?
- b. How do they feel these influences have changed their speech?

The time used for interviews reflects each group's interest in the subject. The groups do deem some questions repetitive, or feel that they had already answered the question in previous discussions. However, if the subject is one of sufficient interest, they return to the question repeatedly, adding to previous comments, sometimes at great lengths. All three groups take more time with the first and last questions (Appendix, Figure A2), questions 1 and 8 (Figures 6 and 7). The introductory time is taken to adjust to the format and state ideas that are not necessarily part of the question. As the discussions go on, in general, the question time becomes shorter, as they express that they had already answered the questions and also become more succinct in their answers. The

Figure 6. Discussion time taken per question by group.

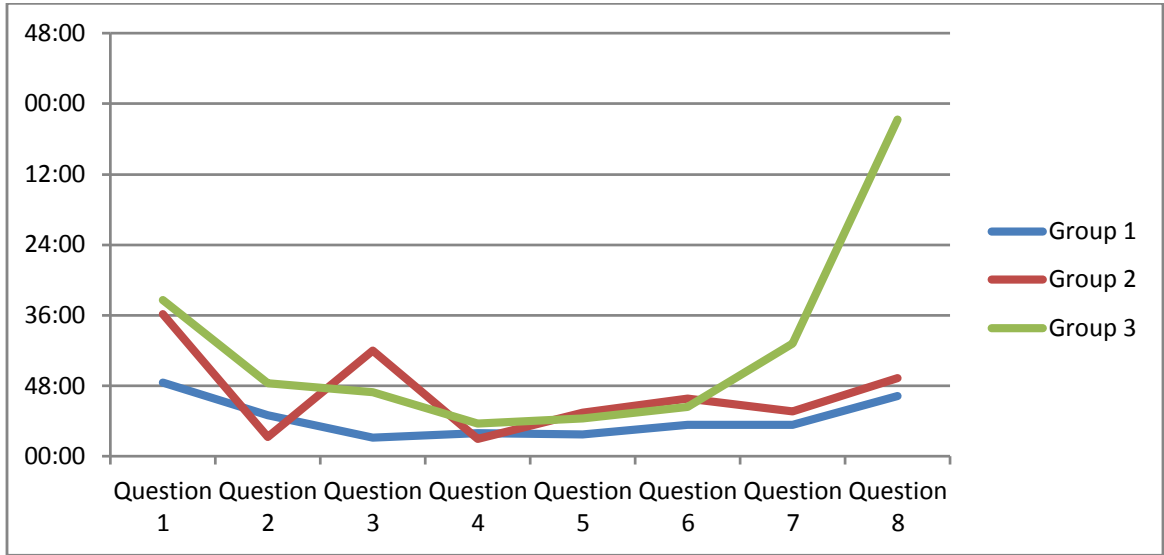
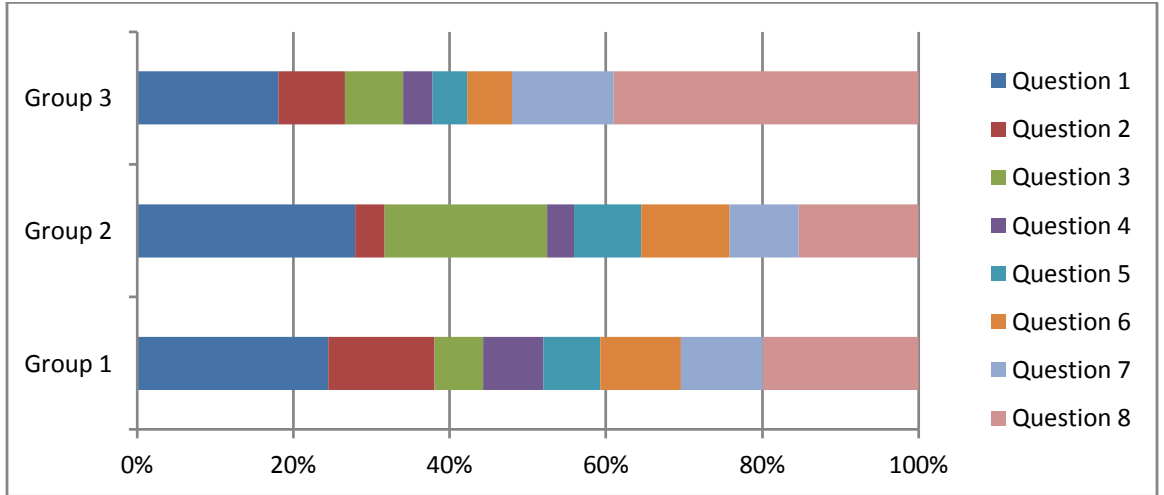


Figure 7. Time taken per question for each group, as a percentage of total discussion time.



time taken on the last question is also longer than the rest, as the participants mention ideas not previously stated or drift off into tangential lines of discussion.

The largest disparity found is in question 3, which addresses the changes in influences on Paraguayan Spanish. Here, Groups 1 and 3 use an average percentage of their total talk time to address this subject. Group 2, however, uses 7:13, its second-longest time taken on a question. Interestingly, the time they take is mainly dedicated to Guaraní, with debates as to the efficacy of the instruction of Guaraní in schools, and if it should be an official language of Paraguay alongside Spanish. In other words, the value of Guaraní and how the bilingualism of Paraguay should be addressed appear to be of the most interest to the younger group.

The longest time taken by Group 3 is during the discussion of the last question, about other countries outside of South America, including North America (synonymous with the United States to Paraguayans). Here, a debate arises about the role of the United States in the global community, with fears expressed about their interest in Paraguay's water supply. The focus on the United States, with little mention of Asia or Europe, points to a preoccupation at the time of how the United States has treated Paraguay in the past and the present, and its future impact on Paraguay.

Group 1, on the other hand, has fairly even discussion times, though most of their answers revolve around Guaraní, its use, and its influence on Paraguayan Spanish. There are several times throughout the interview period in which they express confusion as to the focus of the discussion questions- their preoccupation with their own bilingualism as



special interest to themselves and outsiders appears as pride throughout the discussions they hold.

Therefore, each group had its particular focus, found in the continuity of subject of discussion and the time taken on certain questions posited. Group 1's interests revolve around Guaraní, its influence, and newer slang words. Group 2 also focuses on Guaraní, but more politically, especially since their own experiences with the language are extremely different from those of Group 1. Finally, Group 3 looks to possible threats to their national identity, specifically the United States. Consequently, instead of finding the most interest in internal influences, the external treatment of their culture, both in the present and the future, is their main concern. While the overarching interest in all three groups lays in Guaraní and the United States, and especially as related to their own cultural and national identities, there are also more specific interests that divide the groups one from another.

Topically, the differences in the answers of each generation are generally focal, as in based on each particular group's interests and experiences. The older generation focuses more on their relationships with the past and with other countries, cultures, and languages. The younger generation, however, tends to speak more of technology and technological changes, as well as their effects on language.

The technology most cited for changing speech is the Internet, followed closely by cellular telephones. Television is also named as a large influence, especially on slang. Local stations and programs are mentioned with pride, and many participants point to the growing number of Paraguayan programs and movies, especially those now done in

Guaraní. Still, it is unquestionable that the largest television influences are found in imported programs. It is interesting to note that the largest stated influence comes not from neighboring countries (though Argentina has an unquestionably large influence on the television of Paraguay), but from as far away as Mexico.

All three groups agree that the most popular type of television program is the *telenovelas*, Latin-American soap operas, from Venezuela (before Hugo Chávez came to power), Argentina, and Mexico, with the latter's programs being the most popular of all. Group 2, for example, mentions Mexico as a large influence on slang and speech, coming from the popularity of the Mexican *telenovelas*. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that the younger group identifies Mexican slang as differentiating from earlier slang, such as *órale*. They further note that *comedias*, or rather, comedies, are popular. These come not only from the aforementioned Latin-American countries, but also from Paraguay itself. Moreover, many of the *comedias* are performed in Guaraní as well as Spanish.

Music, conversely, seems to be more local and nationalistic, with all three groups naming the traditional Guaraní *guaranias* and *polkas* as their favorite music. They do note that popular music tends to come from outside the country, especially Argentina, and several participants say that they only listen to Spanish-language music. Further, Group 2 discusses whether or not listening to *guaranias* is something done normally in everyday situations, or whether instead they listen to the more popular stations on the radio. Nevertheless, much of the newer music named consists of *techno*, *metal*, and *country*, all forms from the United States or Europe.

Two of the countries most cited as influences on the Spanish of Paraguay by all three groups are Brazil and Argentina. In the case of Brazil, both Group 2 and 3 speak of the mixture found today in the border area between Paraguay and Brazil. Group 2 refers to “Portuñol” and Group 3 to “Brasilayos,” somewhat disapprovingly on both parts. Group 3 points to the fluidity of movement across the border to and from Brazil, since Paraguayans do not need a visa or a passport to enter Brazil or other South American countries. They also describe the destruction they see in the borderlands between the two countries, especially on the Paraguayan side, where Brazilians have entered, bought land, cleared it of anything marketable, and left.

The opinions of Argentina expressed by the respondents are more ambivalent, since in some ways the country is seen positively and in others negatively. In Group 2, one participant is teased for looking at Guaraní negatively. The others from the group say that it is “porque él quiere ser provincial de Argentina” and “porque él es argentino. In other words, by not adhering to the nationalistic pride of Guaraní, he is viewed as snobbish, as wanting to be a part of Argentina instead of Paraguayan. Some of this negative opinion of Argentina comes from history taught in Paraguayan schools. Argentina, as part of the War of the Triple Alliance, is perceived still sometimes as an enemy, along with Brazil. The rest, one participant says, is jealousy, though the rest of the group denies this.

Still, there are some very positive opinions of Argentina. Group 3 notes the dependence of Paraguay on Argentina and Brazil, pointing to the effects a recent economic crisis in Argentina have had on Paraguay: “afectaron mucho a nosotros que

vinieron los que estaban allí... La mitad de la población de Buenos Aires es paraguaya.”

Further, they relate to Argentinians as like themselves, or as their neighbors: “Fui a Argentina, me encontré con un argentino y me di cuenta de que son como nosotros;” “Es como me voy a mi vecino.”

Most of the changes Group 3 see in the speech of the younger generation, and even themselves, come from English influence. They name many different expressions of Spanglish used by the younger generation, for instance “tener sexo” as opposed to “hacer el amor” or “tener relaciones”, and how a variety of words had changed from “antes”, such as “almacén” to “super”, “delivery, antes manda,” for example.

2. c. Is there a relationship between the acceptance of a source of linguistic influence and the actual influence of this source upon their language in this specific population?

The discussions show an inverse relationship between acceptability of Guaraní and its use by the respondents. Both Group 1 and Group 3 talk about how they had not been allowed to use Guaraní, and how it had been discouraged. They also laud the acceptability today of the use of Guaraní, and how it was currently being taught in schools. They mention that even television shows, newspapers, and radio are now using Guaraní. These groups use mostly Guaraní slang, and many times slip into Guaraní or Jopara while discussing the various topics.

Group 2, however, responds differently. This group, mainly raised with Guaraní in school and a general atmosphere of open acceptance of the use of the language, regret

the fact that they do not know any Guaraní. Some of the slang words they refer to are either Guaraní or Jopara, but they do not name the quantity done so by the other groups. Instead, their slang words are mixed with Spanish and English, with maybe three of thirty-five slang words showing Guaraní roots. One exception is that they do note that generally *groserías* (swear words) are said in Guaraní. This may be due to the descriptive nature ascribed to the language, or perhaps to the separation found when one uses the swear words from another language, where they do not have the impact they would in one's own. They also never use entire sentences in Guaraní or Jopara, and those slang words used spontaneously during the discussion tend to come from Argentinean influence, such as a frequent use of *che*.

To them, it seems that it was “más prohibido usar Guaraní es esa época,” referring to their parents' days; “En la casa de mi mamá, no permitían ningunos de sus hijos hablar en guaraní,” to which another participant responds, “Pero en la casa de mamá, por ejemplo, sí se hablaban guaraní.” Further, one states that, “Usar guaraní en esa época era más prohibido, pero hablan más guaraní que esta generación.” Here we see one of the differences between the speech of their parents and themselves: though discouraged in their time, their parents still heard and used Guaraní at home while they were growing up. Conversely, though encouraged now, the parents may still harbor some of that negativity applied to the use of Guaraní and not speak nor teach it to their children. Thus, the only Guaraní that the younger group has been exposed to has been the institutionalized version, which, as one respondent stated, “de escuela es muy gramática. Era pura gramática.” In other words, the teaching of Guaraní is much more structured for them,

making it more like a foreign language than something familiar, as can be found in their parents' experience.

Group 2 is also the only one that focuses on Guaraní's use more politically, as opposed to the warmth and familiarity expressed by the older speakers of the other groups. It still forms part of their national identity, but it is treated as more of a part of their history and heritage than a living part of their present culture. Instead of coming from home instruction, and instead of it being used regularly in their daily lives, both of which are seen in the other groups' experiences, this view of Guaraní is placed outside of their homes, into the public sphere of politics and educational institutions, as well as into the country where the *campesinos* are those identified more with the use of Guaraní than those that live in the city.

Interestingly, during the discussions, Group 1 states that they think that Guaraní and Jopara are used more today than in the past. However, their children, forming part of Group 2, lament their lack of knowledge of Guaraní and tend towards the use of Spanish slang. Consequently, though their parents speak Guaraní with some fluidity, this group's members of the younger generation lack that familiarity with the language that would enable them to communicate with a large portion of their fellow Paraguayans.

## **Conclusion**

In general, there are both similarities and differences between the generational groups recorded. The similarities were mainly found between the groups from the same family (Group 1 and Group 2) and between the older unrelated group and the older

family members (Group 3 and Group 1). The most dissimilar were the younger group and the older unrelated group (Group 2 and Group 3). This disparity of data in comparison points to a shift in language use and identity between the two generations of participants in this study.

## **CHAPTER V**

### **CONCLUSIONS**

#### **Recapitulation**

This study, conducted in the summer of 2009, explores the ways in which the Spanish dialect of Greater Asunción, Paraguay, has changed from one generation to the next in three specific participant groups. The identity formed by each group's generation is created through language change, both in the acceptance and rejection of certain words or ways of speaking, and through attitudes towards various influences on the language. By exploring the speech and attitudes of these three groups consisting of older and younger members of one family and one additional, unrelated older group, one can see many ideas and opinions about the changes and influences on the language today.

#### **Conclusions**

Three generational groups of Spanish-speakers from Greater Asunción feel that what sets them apart, linguistically, from other generational groups is that, first of all, they have a very strong sense of self as a social group. They separate themselves while talking from both older and younger generations through their specific use of language, especially their use of slang. The older generational groups prefer the use of Guaraní and Guaraní slang, whereas the younger group uses mainly Spanish slang. Further, turn-taking is different, in that the older members of the groups interrupt each other almost



continuously, while those participants from the younger group tend to speak one at a time.

The generational attitudes of the participants towards influences on their language are evident, first of all, in their preferences for certain questions over others. Group 2 focuses on the changes in influences on Paraguayan Spanish, while Group 3 is more interested in outside influences on Paraguay, both culturally and linguistically. Group 1 is more focused on Guaraní and bilingualism.

Overall, the participants from the younger generation concentrate on technology and the effects of technology on their dialect, while those from the older are more centered on relationships, especially with the past and foreign countries. Technology, especially, plays a large role influentially, according to the participants. That is, they state that through television programs from Mexico, Argentina, and Venezuela, many Spanish slang terms have entered the dialect. Musically, the younger generation tends to be more traditional, preferring local *guaranias* to foreign pop. The opinions of all respondents of foreign countries are varied and ambivalent. Brazil and Argentina are the top two mentioned countries, with both positive and negative opinions expressed. Further, the influence of English, especially English technological terms, is noted.

The relationship between acceptability of a source of influence on the language and its effect on the dialect is especially evident in the case of Guaraní. However, it is an inverse relationship, in that, the older generation of participants, who cite both familial and social discouragement of their speaking Guaraní, knows how to speak Guaraní and Jopara. The younger group, though encouraged by their families, taught in school, and

exposed to Guaraní through various media, know next to no Guaraní and favor Spanish for slang.

### **Limitations**

This study had many challenges in timing and gathering of participants. Discussion groups, as opposed to one-on-one interviews, require more time and planning than was possible for this study. The political situation was such that random sampling was not feasible, and will probably continue to be so for some time. The attitudes of many Paraguayans towards United States citizens continue to be negative, if not fully hostile in some cases. Moreover, there were outbreaks of disease within the family group, including H1N1 and dengue, which hampered the ability to gather enough people in one place. Weddings, births, and deaths all seemed to happen in the six-week period that the study was conducted, which would have been inappropriate venues for discussion, and therefore took up the time of most people who would otherwise have been able to participate.

### **Reflections**

However, even with these obstacles, the groups that did come together had much to say on the subject of their changing language and the influences that may lead to its evolution. They were especially amused when naming slang terms, even more so since most of them were sexual. The participants ultimately had a good time, both with being with each other and voicing their opinions, which made the study that much more

interesting and amusing to conduct. They especially seemed to enjoy teasing each other and the investigator about the questions and the answers to those questions.

In general, the views expressed were positive. The participants obviously have a very strong national and cultural pride, which is evident in the answers given as well as in the tone these answers are given. They voraciously defend their culture against outsiders. However, as critical as they could be about outsiders, their love for Guaraní showed in their constant focus on the language and willingness to provide examples, when able. Those who did not speak Guaraní also expressed pride, identifying with the language, using it to define the borders between Paraguay and its neighbors, especially Brazil and Argentina.

The most surprising findings of the study were the changes in turn-taking and the inverse relationship between social and cultural acceptability of Guaraní and its use. That the younger group used a different turn-taking system may show a speech influence that was not present in their parents' day. Further, that Guaraní, though officially accepted and encouraged, is lost to those who were among the first to experience the learning of Guaraní outside of the home shows how it is indeed a language of the heart and the home.

### **Recommendations for Further Study**

This study should be considered a springboard for future examinations. More groups are necessary to reach any broader conclusions or applications to the Spanish-speaking population of Greater Asunción in general. Further, a smaller breakdown of groups would enable a more specific view of changes to the dialect; that is, the age

ranges of the groups should be broken up. Instead of a younger group of 18 to 35, if more participants were available, two groups made up of the original breakdown of 18 to 25 and 26 to 35 would be more telling. Also, it would be very interesting to see how those under 18 speak, compared to those older than them.

Another way that this study could be expanded is to include one-on-one interviews with the respondents by the researcher, in addition to the group discussions. The individual interviews would reduce any peer pressure they may feel, and the continued use of group discussions would eliminate any speech accommodation for the interviewer. Also, a comparison of the answers for both could be valuable in order to see how they change their speech or opinions for the group cohesion or identity.

The addition of further questions about Guaraní, such as attitudes in the household or learning experiences, would be very interesting for exploring the changes in acceptability and use, especially if applied to those speakers under 18. Perhaps the loss of Guaraní is only relegated to the 18 to 35 year-old generation, while the younger, through media and schooling, have picked up a greater amount of the language.

In all, this study's findings, though preliminary and very limited in scope, point to many possible trends in the evolution of the Spanish dialect of Greater Asunción, as well as the influences that may inspire these trends. The changes between generations allow each to build its own identity, separate from the previous and following, and therefore allows the members of that generation to recognize and bond with other members of the same speech community. Here we see the speech of members of one generation heavily influenced by Guaraní and that of members of another affected by foreign dialects and

languages, such as those from Mexico, the United States, and Argentina. These influences have come about through the growing interconnectedness of the world and increasing information available due to new technology- computers, the Internet, cell phones, and cable television. As the language evolves in the future, it will be exciting to see where all of this influx of outside stimuli takes the dialect, as well as where this leaves Guaraní in relation to Spanish: either as an academic foreign language children learn in school or something uniquely theirs in which they can take pride.

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## APPENDIX

### QUESTIONNAIRE AND DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

*Figure A1.* Questionnaire

1. ¿Es usted hombre o mujer?
2. ¿De dónde es usted?
3. ¿Si es de Asunción, de cuál barrio?
4. ¿Cuál es su edad?
  - a. 18-23
  - b. 24-35
  - c. 36-45
  - d. 46-55
  - e. 56 o más
5. ¿Tiene hijos o nietos?
6. ¿Cuál es su nivel educativo más alto?
  - a. Un poco de educación escolar.
  - b. Completé la escuela secundaria.
  - c. Un poco de educación universitaria.
  - d. Completé mis estudios en la universidad.
  - e. Conseguí un título avanzado.

*Figure A2. Discussion Questions*

1. ¿Cuáles son algunas palabras que usan ustedes que no usan/usaron sus padres?
2. ¿De qué manera hablan de forma diferente entre el habla de hoy y el del pasado?  
¿Cuándo y por qué cree Ud. que cambió?
3. ¿Qué piensan influye el castellano de Paraguay? ¿Han cambiado estas influencias de las del pasado? ¿Cómo?
4. ¿Cómo ha cambiado Paraguay en los últimos años?
5. ¿Ha aumentado el uso de la televisión? ¿Qué programas son populares, y de dónde son?
6. ¿Cómo ha cambiado la música recientemente? ¿Qué tipo de música les gusta? ¿De dónde es esa música?
7. ¿Qué piensan de otros países sudamericanos? ¿Han cambiado estas opiniones? ¿Por qué o por qué no?
8. ¿Qué piensan de Europa? ¿De Asia? ¿De Norteamérica? ¿Han cambiado estas opiniones? ¿Por qué o por qué no?