

Paraguayan People In Argentina: Is Spanish Being "Pidginised"?

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Abstract

The Paraguayan community in our country has grown considerably during the last ten years. According to unofficial records, it is estimated that about one million Paraguayans live and work in Argentina. However, the official records (Paraguayan consul Dr. Peña) state that only 260,000 Paraguayans live in Argentina, this is due to the number of illegal immigrants which cannot be estimated. Most immigrants are located in Buenos Aires (60%), and about 25%-30% is in the border area (Formosa, Chaco, Corrientes and Misiones). There is a small percentage (5%-10%) in the rest of the country.

One of the main causes of their migration is the economic situation Paraguay is going through nowadays, so they come to Argentina hoping to be employed. Men work mainly in factories and/or as bricklayers and, women, on their part, work either cleaning houses or as baby-sitters. Unfortunately, the social condition of most Paraguayan immigrants in Argentina is that of farmers, with no professional qualifications, low education level and, what is even worst, no personal belongings.

As a result of the economic crisis we are living in Argentina, many Paraguayan families have decided to return to their country, though the situation there is not at all encouraging. Consequently, more and more people continue coming from Paraguay (most of them illegally) in order to get a job and thus, keep their basic needs satisfied. They are called 'irregular migrants', people who enter a country, usually looking for a job, without the necessary documents (UNESCO, 2004).

In 1992, the Paraguayan government declared guarani as the second official language of the Republic, which implies the application of such language in formal education. In the past, on the contrary, only Spanish was the language spoken at schools, which obviously caused an immense feeling of failure in most students whose language was guarani. At least 60% of children who were about to begin school did not either speak or understand Spanish, it was evident that half of them left school before finishing primary, and the ones who did finish this stage, did so in a deficient way. Hence, this is one of the main reasons of their little competence in Spanish.

Migration is an important factor regarding culture and language contact,

so even those who do not migrate are affected by movements of people in or out their communities (UNESCO,2004). Again, as the Paraguayan community in Argentina is growing, there are many entities such as "Club Social y Deportivo Paraguayo", radio stations, newspapers ("Paraguay nuestro país") and TV programmes ("Viva Paraguay"-TVA) which represent this increasing community. As they are integrating our own culture, far from looking at discrimination and rejection, I am particularly interested in the way they speak. How is it that their mother tongue (guarani) influences their Spanish in such a way that makes it sound so peculiar? Although I am not going to concentrate on guarani, I will attempt a conclusion by analysing everyday Spanish.

Introduction

In order to facilitate the arrival at a conclusion in this synchronic study, I have chosen three people who belong to the same social class within the Paraguayan community settled in Argentina. Each of them is at a different stage of their language development because of the amount of time they have been living in Argentina, immersed in our culture, in contact with our language. We will be able to explore the differences in these individuals' performance in Spanish, which is, of course, their second language. Being guarani their first language, it is worth mentioning that even though they had the opportunity to learn Spanish at school, the teaching was not done through the appropriate method (Krivoshein, 1994).

According to the research I have carried out, the linguistic phenomenon called diglossia, that is to say, when two languages are used within the same society but in rigidly differentiated circumstances (Sebba, 1997), which predominated during many years in Paraguay, is slowly disappearing owing to the declaration of guarani as an official language together with Spanish. Many Paraguayan citizens regard it as a patriotic act, whereas a minority still sees guarani as a subordinate language (Sarabia, 1996). These people want their children to learn how to read and write in Spanish, but they are not aware of the fact that, to be able to do that, the children have to learn how to read and write in guarani first (Krivoshein, 1994). In the past, guarani was only learnt at secondary school, and the percentage of people who could make it up to that phase was, unfortunately, very small.

Currently, the whole educational system is being changed so as to incorporate guarani in the early stages of formal education. Not only as a means of communication, but also the teaching of the indigenous language. The main objective of such change is to avoid failure, and consequently high

dropout rate at schools. They also want to give guarani the status it should have as an extremely valuable part of Paraguayan culture. Despite the fact that everyone in Paraguay speaks guarani, it is the only country in Latin America where the indigenous language still prevails.

Future generations will undoubtedly benefit from this promising resolution. However, as far as this study is concerned, the opportunities the people I interviewed had, were not so promising.

Doing Research...

Paraguay can be properly considered a bilingual country since it has two officially declared languages and the Paraguayan community in Argentina is obviously, bilingual as well, "in the sense that their members commonly use two languages in their daily lives" (Lyons, p.281). Although they speak both languages, guarani and Spanish, their competence in the latter is quite limited.

Paraguayan people learnt their native language in their houses through oral tradition, which is one of the reasons why most of them cannot read or write in guarani. Furthermore, Spanish-speaking parents would not speak Spanish in the house, which placed guarani as the only means of communication in the families. This was inevitably confusing for children, who had to learn Spanish at school and were even taught in that language, but had to speak in another completely different language when they got home. So, imagine a child who, on the one hand, can speak in his native language and, on the other hand, can read and write only in his second language? Lack of concordance, absence of expressions containing complex structures, incoherence and inexactness are characteristic of most Spanish Paraguayan speakers (Krivoshein, 1994), dreadful consequences I would say.

Bearing in mind that the acquisition of one's native language is different from the acquisition of a foreign language, and what is more, that it is not the same to acquire a language as a child than as an adult (Lyons, 1981), we can describe the participants as bilinguals who acquired their native/first language as children and their second language as adults. To be more specific, they can be categorised as circumstantial bilinguals, i.e. "people that learn another language to survive" (Baker, p.3). In other words, "their first language is insufficient to meet the educational, political and employment demands and communicative needs of the society in which they are placed" (Baker, p.4). The terrible thing is that it also happened to them in their own country, but this is not a matter to be dealt with in this paper.

Since bilinguals typically use their two languages with different people,

in different contexts and for different purposes (Baker, 2001), code-switching is very common among Paraguayan people. Whenever they meet and there are no Argentinians present, they speak in guarani all the time, though according to information provided by one of the participants, it affects them. She said that after spending too much time speaking in guarani, she finds it difficult to speak in Spanish again. How strange?, being Spanish a phonetic language, on the contrary, it is far more difficult to pronounce guarani words. It seems that here is the Spanish speaker writing, so it is not at all an objective comment.

Finally, before going to the analysis of the participants' speech, I'd like to point out that there are certain conditions which are necessary for pidginisation to take place. First of all, the most essential aspect is that there must be a bilingual community. Secondly, the people in the community must be fluent at least in one of the languages involved. Thirdly, there must be an urgent need to bridge a communication gap. Thus, pidgins emerge as a strategy to enable communication to take place with speakers of some other language (Sebba, 1997).

Sociolinguistics

The participants within this study have been living in our country long enough to become fluent in Spanish as well. Whether out of will or necessity, the truth is that they manage to communicate successfully in their everyday lives. However, there are instances of ungrammaticality (ill-formedness) that caught my attention. In other words, phrases and sentences which do not respect the Spanish grammatical rules (Lyons, 1981). Nevertheless, "well-formedness (including grammaticality), must not be confused with acceptability, potentiality for use or even meaningfulness" (Lyons, p.62).

"C"

Let us begin with the participant who spent less time living in Argentina, four years. She returned to her country twice, though as a visitor.

I have noticed many instances of ungrammaticality as regards syntax, inflection, deixis, word order, choice of articles and collocation. All the same, ungrammaticality does not prevent her from communicating and being perfectly understood. In addition, she is not very fluent, the vocabulary is quite simple and her accent is strong which is evident in the pronunciation of some consonants for instance v, ll and t.

In spite of the fact that she did learn Spanish at school, when she arrived home her whole family would speak in guarani, as all families did and still do

Symposium Proceedings

in Paraguay. As a result, when she came to Argentina, she knew very little Spanish.

Examples of ungrammaticality in her speech:

- Deixis: Pronoun not necessary because of pro-drop language. e.g. "Bueno yo me vine en el 2000."

- Inflection: There's no agreement between the article and the noun. e.g. "Yo tenía trabajo allá pero la dejé."

- Deixis: Unnecessary adverb of time because of present continuous tense. e.g. "Igual como acá ahora e'toy trabajando."

- Wrong choice of preposition. e.g. "...yo venía acompañada con mi tía..."

- Redundance. e.g. "...volvieron otra ve'..."

- Lack of auxiliary verb. e.g. "...mi tío quedó sin trabajo..."

- Word order. e.g. "Un poquito tiempo trabajé..."

- Deixis: subjective pronoun not necessary. e.g. "...me decidí a quedarme yo..."

- Syntax: lack of concordance. e.g. "Sí, le ayudé cuando pueda."

- Syntax: wrong choice of tense. e.g. "...nosotro' hablando mucho en nue'tro idioma allá..."

- Inflection: There's no agreement between the subject and the verb. e.g. "...en casa nosotro' llegaba y no... hablaba má' en otro idioma."

- Inflection: No agreement between the article and the noun. e.g. "...lo grandes..."

- Articles: wrong choice. e.g. "lo verbo", "lo diario", "lo trámite", "lo documento."

- Syntax: Lack of object. e.g. "...ahora ya tengo..."

Note: There are more examples highlighted in the transcriptions. You will also see the context of the examples provided.

In conclusion, I considered her to be at the earliest stage of the second language development compared to the rest of the participants. Not only does she produce a considerable number of ungrammatical phrases, but also communicates using simple vocabulary and simple structures. Besides, she hesitated quite often while speaking, though this probably cannot be determined by just one interview.

We shall continue exploring the language of another participant whom I have classified into the intermediate stage of language development in relation to the other two.

"B"

This participant has spent nearly ten years in Argentina. He is more fluent than "C" and he has incorporated some Argentinian words and expressions in his vocabulary such as "laburo", "plata" and "mi vieja," "re feliz," respectively. His accent is less evident, however, it is still there. Why is it so? How is it possible that after spending so much time in another country he has not lost the accent? The answer to the previous question will be provided in due course.

Examples of ungrammaticality:

- Word order. e.g. "Ante' vivía en el campo yo."
- Wrong objective article. e.g. "...ahí la plata lo ves..."
- Inflection: There's no agreement between the subject and the verb form. e.g. "Ante vivía acá mi tío y se fueron."
- Syntax: Lack of auxiliary verb. e.g. "...ahí quedó a vivir mi hermana..."
- Wrong choice of article. e.g. "lo conocí a la amiga de mi hermana..."
- Inflection: There's no agreement between the subject and the verb form. e.g. "ello' me trata bien..."
- Word order. e.g. "...má' amigo' tengo argentino' que paraguayó'."
- Inflection: "...una vez que te conoce (la gente), ya te levá' bien ello', te trata bien.

It is interesting to notice that there are far less instances of ungrammaticality. This, plus the fact that he is more fluent than the previous case analysed, induced me to place him at the intermediate phase.

Curiously, he is one of the few people, within his social class, who had the opportunity to learn how to read and write in guarani thanks to his father.

"A"

As we already know, she has been here for nearly thirty years. Such a long time, again, compared to the other two participants, helped her to acquire the language in such a way that she is as fluent as a native speaker. Yet, her accent is rather "supicious."

Examples of ungrammaticality:

- Inflection: Unnecessary pronoun. e.g. "...me empecé a buscar trabajo..."
- Syntax: Lack of article. e.g. "...fui a Ciudadela a casa de..."
- Syntax: Lack of concordance in tenses. e.g. "...me preguntó si vine a quedarme..."
- Wrong choice of article. e.g. "...las patrona..."
- Syntax: Lack of concordance. e.g. "Despué' empecé a buscar otra casa

y... siempre trabajé dos, tres año' en esa casa."

- Inflection: There is no agreement between the subject and the auxiliary verb. e.g. "...del jardín no' ha enseñado en el Paraguay..."

- Wrong choice of article. e.g. "...la dos idiomas..."

- Inflection: there is no agreement between the subject and the verb form. e.g. "...te brinda lo mejor lo' familiare'..."

- Inflection: No agreement between the article and the adjective. e.g. "...uno viene má' gorda de lo que es."

Although there are various instances of ungrammaticality in her speech, she possesses a wider vocabulary and her fluency is admirable. In my opinion, she is at the last stage of language development, it does not matter that her Spanish competence is less developed, "balanced bilinguals with equal and strong competence in their two languages are rare" (Baker, p. 16).

Going back to the question of accent, I have come to the conclusion that it remains because they are always in contact with people who still live in their country of origin. They come and go whenever they can and even get together with people from Paraguay who live here as well. Therefore, they will never lose their characteristic accent, and certainly not, their native language.

Before ending this paper, it is absolutely necessary to revise certain theoretical aspects which are relevant for the conclusion of it.

"Syntax and inflection are complementary and constitute the principal part, if not the whole, of what we are calling grammar. Jointly, they determine the grammaticality of sentences: the syntax, by specifying how lexemes combine with one another in particular constructions; the inflectional rules by specifying which of the forms of the lexeme should occur in one construction rather than another" (Lyons, p. 102).

Pidginisation is the process through which native speakers of two separate languages develop a contact language so they may function in the same society (Cook, 1993 cited in Andersen, 1997). According to Andersen, the process refers to the creation of a pidgin language, but not the psychological process involving an individual's attempt to communicate. Undoubtedly, this is the key point in my study, these people's urgent need to communicate.

Characteristics of pidgins:

- They have no native speakers.
- They are different from the source languages.

- They are governed by convention.
- They have simple grammar.
- Syntax: no articles, reduced use of prepositions, no copula, no inflection (use of adverbs instead), no complexity, and no passive voice.
- Morphology: No plurals (numbers are marked), only content words (no function words).
- Phonology: Transparency (consonant + vowel).
- Semantics: One to one, only one meaning (transparency).
- Lexis: Simple, reduced vocabulary.

Conclusion

Despite the fact that the participants' language is not a "pidgin" properly defined, it shares some of its characteristics to a certain extent. First of all, it is still quite rudimentary. Second, its simple grammar and lexicon are based on Spanish, while its consonant sounds (mainly t, v, ll, s), are based on guarani. Third, articles are used but the choices are usually wrong. Inflection is present, however, it is frequently misused. They also find it extremely difficult to pronounce the plural forms. Finally, there are no instances of ambiguity in their speech.

Hence, the following definition of pidginisation is more suitable for the purpose of this study:

The process whereby a language is reduced grammatically to become a pidgin (Sebba, 1997). Interestingly, it has been proved that the speech of L2 learners is often reduced in similar ways, for example by leaving out grammatical morphemes and simplifying negation (Cook, 1993 cited in van Houten, 1997).

Schumann's (1978) study of Alberto, a 33-year-old Costa Rican man learning English, found that although the end result of his learning was not a pidgin, his process of acquiring an L2 was similar to pidginisation (Cook, 1993 cited in van Houten 1997). The findings indicated that Alberto used a reduced and simplified form of English. While his speech became largely depidginised as he approach the target English forms, he used pidginised speech in several ways (van Houten 1997):

- Use of no (a single pre-verbal negative form is typical of pidgins)
- Lack of inversion (there is a tendency for pidgins to have a single word order and to prefer consistency between form and meaning)
- Lack of auxiliaries (pidgin also lack auxiliaries)
- Lack of possessive "-s" (there is also a lack of inflectional morphology in pidgins)

Symposium Proceedings

- Unmarked forms of the verb (similar to the lack of inflections in pidgins)
- Lack of subject pronouns (similar to reduced pronoun systems of pidgins).

Alberto's speech also fails to resemble pidgins as a result of positive transfer from his native Spanish.

Andersen (1981) comparison of Alberto's L2 speech with speakers of Hawaiian Pidgin English found that:

- Pidgin speakers also have a "no+V" rule for negation.
- Alberto and pidgin speakers lack inversion of subject and verb in questions.
- The more pidgin speakers that use each morpheme, the higher the percentage of correct use for Alberto
- While Alberto, like pidgin speakers, expresses possession through word order rather than through "-s", he transfers the Spanish word order to English.

Pidgins evolve much like interlanguages, changing from one point in time to the next, so the development of an L2 learner's interlanguage may be governed by many of the same rules as a pidgin language system (Cook, 1993 cited in van Houten, 1997). Although the participants are three different people and we cannot see the development of the language in only one individual, I tried to categorise them in a way that we can see them as belonging to different stages of language development, paying close attention to the mistakes they make. Thus, noticing how they either improve their grammar or become more fluent.

After an exhaustive research, a detailed analysis, and the application of theory, I have reached the conclusion that pidginisation is actually taking place and it is owing to the following reasons:

- The participants belong to a bilingual community.
- They are fluent in both languages.
- There is a need to communicate with people who speak another language.
- Their language is rudimentary and, consequently, resembles a pidgin in many aspects already mentioned.

All in all, I can definitively state that, in all these cases, Spanish is being "pidginised". In other words, we could say that Spanish is being "simplified" for the sake of survival. Why not? Probably, we have come across a new immigrant's pidgin.

Final Reflection

The realisation of this paper has given me the opportunity to explore the field of sociolinguistics, which I found more than interesting. Not only have I learnt a lot about the culture of another Latin American country, but also I have been in contact with members of its community, whom I regard as humble, helpful and, above all, cheerful people.

Besides, this study provided me with evidence so as to believe that language change occurs within one individual, not only at a social level, and I am also convinced that most of the times, it occurs unconsciously and unintentionally.

Appendix Interviews

"A" (Extremely fluent)

Q: ¿Cuándo y por qué decidiste venir a la Argentina?

A: Bueno cuando tenía 16 años tenía ganas de... de venir a probar, a ver que... como es la vida acá, a trabajar y... y me vine. Me dieron permiso y me vine.

Q: ¿Viniste sola?

A: Vine con una chica eh... vecina mía que... hace muchísimos años está acá en la Argentina trabajando, y vine, ella era mi tutora cuando me trajo porque era menor de edad.

Q: ¿Cuánto años tenía tu tutora?

A: Y habrá tenido 25, 30 años esa época.

Q: ¿Cómo fue tu primer día en Argentina?

A: Bueno, el día que llegué me fui con ella a su trabajo, que... trabajaba en Congreso cama adentro. La señora me recibió muy bien, **su patrona** y que sé yo. Después de ahí **me** empecé a buscar trabajo, **fui a Ciudadela a casa de una** hermanastra que tengo que... me recibió... un desastre, porque no se acordaba de mí y por la seguridad de acá, este... me preguntó, primero miró, me preguntó todo, le dije todo como era, que su marido trabajaba en un banco, que es tal fulano de tal, **así me recibió y me preguntó si vine a quedarme**, le dije que no, porque no me gustó la forma en que me recibió. Entonces **me** fui de vuelta con esta chica a su trabajo, y ella me consiguió trabajo con las patronas, me consiguió trabajo a... allá por la ruta 8, en donde están todo los... ¿Cómo es que se llama? Eh... donde están todo los gendarme' eso'...

Q: ¿Barrio militar?

A: El barrio militar. Ahí empecé a trabajar en la casa de un coronel.

Q: ¿Cuánto tiempo trabajaste en ese lugar?

A: Y ahí trabajé...un año mas o meno'. **Después empecé a buscar otra casa, y... siempre trabajé dos, tres año en esa casa.**

Q: ¿Siempre conseguías trabajo por intermedio de conocidos?

A: Siempre tenía este, referencia' de la casa donde trabajaba buscando... mejoría, mejor trabajo, mejor pago. Y siempre con referencia de lugares donde **he** trabajado.

Q: ¿Cómo te sentís viviendo hoy en la Argentina?

A: Y yo me siento una argentina más en este momento.

Q: Cuando llegaste a la Argentina, ¿sabías hablar en castellano?

A: Siempre he hablado en castellano, del colegio, **del jardín no' ha enseñado en Paraguay** a hablar en, en castellano. Allá en la escuela esa época se hablaba en castellano sino...este no...no funcionaba. Recién ahora empieza a...**en la idioma guaraní** que... que exigen en el colegio para hablar.

Q: ¿Tus padres hablaban en castellano en tu casa?

A: Mis padres en la casa todo' hablábamo' en guaraní, **todo se conversa en guaraní**, con la persona que no entiende guaraní se habla en castellano, sino no.

Q: ¿Se habla en guraní todo el tiempo?

A: Todo el tiempo, todo el mundo habla en guaraní eh... muy poco se exige el castellano, pero todo el mundo habla castellano y guaraní, e' como, **la dos idioma** se hablan.

Q: Siendo que fuiste a Paraguay recientemente, ¿cómo encontraste la situación allá?

A: Bueno eh... e' todo tranquilo. E' como siempre, uno en su país se halla, tiene su' familiare', visita a todo' **lo' familiare'** habido y por haber y... **y lo pasá bien, te atiende lo mejor, te brinda** lo mejor lo' familiare' y **uno** viene má' **gorda** de lo que es (Risas).

"B" (*Fluent, many Argentinian words*)

Q: ¿Cuándo y por qué decidiste venir a la Argentina?

B: O sea, **ante' vivía en el campo yo**, o sea que eh... económicamente e'tábamo' mal. Y... el campo allá en el Paraguay toda la gente trabaja así, en la chacra y eso, y... ahí **la plata lo ve'** así cada ve' que hay cosecha y eso, nada más.

Q: ¿Cuáles son los tiempos de cosecha?

B: Y así en febrero, marzo y abril, cosecha de soja y algodón y eso. De'pué' ya empieza otra ve' toda la, la' plantacione', ahí ya... ya no hay má' trabajo.

Q: ¿Todos los años podías conseguir trabajo en la cosecha?

B: No, a veces, por eso decidí venir acá. O sea que la gente de allá viene acá y... y **labura** y lleva **plata**.

Q: ¿Vos habías escuchado que acá había trabajo?

B: Sí, acá había trabajo. O sea, mi hermana vino cinco años antes que yo y siempre no me ayudaba y...

I: Mandaba plata...

B: Sí, no me mandaba plata, sí. Por eso decidí venir.

I: Vos querías hacer lo mismo, ¿Y qué tipo de trabajo encontraste?

B: Y así tipo construcción y eso. Y ahora, ahora estoy **laburando**, ando bien, hago refacción y eso.

Q: ¿A quién le mandás plata?

B: A **mi vieja**, mi hermana también siempre le manda.

Q: ¿Cómo fue tu primer día en Argentina?

B: Vine con mi abuelo, vine y... **antes vivía acá mi tío y se fueron**, me dejó la casa y ahí **quedó** a vivir mi hermana. Después conocí a un amigo ahí, después **lo conocí a la amiga** y eso de mi hermana, no me llevamos **re bien**, y ahora ya tengo un montón de amigos, ya... **me llevo bien con ellos, me trata bien**.

Q: ¿Gente de Argentina y gente de Paraguay?

B: Conocí un montón de paraguayos también acá, pero **más amigos tengo argentino que paraguayo**. (Risas)

Q: ¿Te parece que se está volviendo la gente a Paraguay, o que vienen cada vez más?

B: En este momento, va llenando la gente, eh... **lastimosamente** ahora tan mal, no como antes, antes estaba bien. Escasea un poco el **laburo** y... la gente tiene que ir allá. Yo voy pero de visita (risas), me gusta este lugar.

Q: ¿Qué rescatás de este lugar?

B: Y... un montón de cosas.

I: Por ejemplo...

B: Amistades, está lleno de gente.

Q: ¿Te resulta difícil estar lejos de la familia?

B: Y un poco difícil pero, ya te acostumbrás ya.

Q: ¿Cómo te sentís viviendo hoy en la Argentina?

B: Hoy, me siento **re bien**. Todo lo que tengo ahora, toda la amistad que tengo, me llevo **re bien**. Me siento **re feliz**.

Q: ¿Qué opinás de la inseguridad en la Argentina?

B: A mí nunca me pasó nada, una vez que conocí a la gente, no me hace nada, **una vez que te conoce ya... te lleva bien con ellos**.

Symposium Proceedings

"C" (*Fluent, simple vocabulary*)

Q: ¿Cuándo y por qué decidiste venir a la Argentina?

C: Bueno yo **me** vine en el 2000, **me** decidí a venir acá porque quería conocer un poco **de** ambiente y a parte por el tema de trabajo. Igual **yo tenía trabajo allá pero la dejé** y... porque pensé que **me** iba a resultar un poco más.

Q: ¿Qué trabajo tenías allá?

C: Trabajaba en una casa de familia también. **Igual como acá ahora e'toy trabajando.**

Q: ¿Sentías que te pagaban poco?

C: Y sí, **un poco del tema de eso** también, pero más allá de eso, eh... mi tía tenía, vivía acá y... aproveché la oportunidad de venir a conocer y trabajar y de'pué' al final me gu'tó y me quedé ha'ta hoy.

Q: ¿Cómo fue tu primer día en Argentina?

C: Bueno, yo venía acompañada **con** mi tía, y ella me llevó directamente para **la** casa.

Q: ¿Ella está en Argentina o en Paraguay ahora?

C: No, ello' **volvieron otra ve'**, eh... en el 2001, **volvieron** otra ve' allá porque eh... allá **tenía** su campo y toda esa cosa, y entonces' acá **mi tío quedó sin trabajo** y tuvo que volver.

Q: ¿De qué trabajaba tu tío?

C: Y ahora, en este momento, e'tá trabajando en el campo, pero acá trabajaba en contrucción.

Q: ¿Luego qué hiciste? ¿A dónde fuiste a buscar trabajo?

C: Bueno, mi tía fue a hablar con una señora que ya tenía preparado, y fui ahí y bueno, me quedé ahí. Bueno, **un poquito tiempo trabajé**, no me gu'tó, me quedé sin trabajo y estuve sin trabajo sei' mese' y de'pué' encontré trabajo en un negocio.

Q: ¿Cómo te sentís viviendo hoy en la Argentina?

C: **En el primer momento** me costaba, pero ahora ya me e'toy hallando y me gu'tó má' acá, por eso **me decidí a quedarme yo** y seguiré trabajando.

Q: ¿Volviste alguna vez a Paraguay?

C: Y volví hace poquito, fui ahí, encontré todo bien mi familia y bueno...

Q: ¿Y desde acá podés ayudar a tu familia?

C: Sí, **le ayudé cuando pueda.**

Q: ¿Es verdad que muchas familias están volviendo a Paraguay?

C: Y no sé ahora que, **cuando fui yo** ahora la ve' pasada, e'tá un poco má', hay má' trabajo y e'tán un poco má' mejor, pero yo **me** decidí volver y quedarme. O sea que no sé ha'ta cuando pero, como me gustó má' acá, estoy decidida en este momento de quedarme por ahora. Con el tiempo no sé,

volverá, o sea que volveré algún día pero más adelante.

Q: Cuando llegaste, ¿sabías hablar castellano?

C: Sí, o sea que me co'taba mucho. O sea que **nosotro' hablando mucho en nue'tro idioma allá** y bueno, me co'to un poco, pero ahora ya e'toy un poco má' aco'tumbrada.

Q: ¿Habías aprendido en el colegio o en tu casa?

C: Sí, un poco el en colegio y en mi casa también.

Q: ¿Desde qué año tenías en el colegio?

C: Desde 1er grado. Pero en el colegio, o sea que e'tudiábamo' y en el colegio hablaba un poco má', pero en **casa nosotros' llegaba y no... hablaba má' en otro idioma.**

Q: En el colegio, ¿te enseñaban en castellano o en guaraní?

C: En ca'tellano. Yo no e'tudié guaraní, **guaraní no sé ni e'cribir** porque no, no... o sea que nosotros' aprendimo' guaraní por nue'tro idioma de ahí pero de leer yo no e'tudí. Por ese tema yo no sé ni e'cribir en guaraní, porque e' má' difícil.

Q: ¿Hay mucha gente que habla sólo guaraní en Paraguay?

C: Sí, hay mucha gente.

Q: ¿Son personas grandes o hay chicos también?

C: Y... todo', **lo grandes y lo chico también.**

Q: ¿Incluso ahora te resulta difícil el castellano o ya ves que te comunicás muchísimo mejor?

C: **Por lo que yo era ante', me comuniqué un poco má' mejor**, pero me falta todavía de...a vece' se me traba la lengüa, o...**por el tema de lo verbo** toda esa cosa, eh... me cuesta.

Q: ¿Estás en contacto con gente de tu país?

C: **No, tengo má' conocido en Argentino, mi paisano mucho no conozco acá.** A vece' me encuentro pero ha'ta ahí nomá', no... mucho no me junto. E'toy má' con gente de acá, con ambiente de acá, y así.

Q: ¿Tenés documento argentino?

C: El tema de todo **lo trámite** de lo' papele' era muy difícil, que tenía que ir allá y conseguir todo y me salió muy caro, pero bueno, gracias a Dio' **ahora ya tengo.**

Q: ¿Sabías que existen centros para la comunidad paraguaya?

C: Sí, **leí en lo diario**, ví y no sé como es el tema ahora si e' fácil o mucho má' difícil, pero la vé' pasada **cuando fui yo a mi casa**, para volver era muy complicado, meno' de 500 peso' tenía que tener, o sea que meno' de 500 peso' no te dejan pasar para acá. Así que e'tá muy complicada la cosa, pero bueno, ahora **con lo documento** y eso ya no me preocupó.

Symposium Proceedings

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