

Linguistic Attitudes: A study concerning indigenous women in the Guarani village Tekoha Añetete

Sonia Cristina Poltronieri **MENDONÇA***
Aparecida Feola **SELLA****

* PhD in Language Studies, State University of Western Paraná – *Campus* Cascavel (2019). Dissertation developed with funds from CAPES Scholarship Award (2016-2019). Professor at Federal University of Latin American Integration (Unila). Contact: soniapoltronieri@yahoo.com.

** PhD in Language Studies, State University of São Paulo Júlio de Mesquita Filho (Unesp) (2000). Professor at State University of Western Paraná (Unioeste). Contact: afsella@yahoo.com.br.

Abstract:

This paper discusses research findings on the linguistic beliefs and attitudes of some informants from Guarani village *Tekoha Añetete* in Diamante d'Oeste, Paraná state. This area was chosen due to the sociolinguistic complexity highlighted by the multi-ethnic place from the tri-border area, with a significant presence of Guarani Indigenous. Six bilingual women informants were interviewed to compose the *corpus* of this study whose mother tongue is Guarani and their second language is Portuguese. Variables such as gender and age range were considered (from 20 to 35 years old, from 36 to 55 years old and over 55 years old). Thus, according to the theoretical-methodological principles of Sociolinguistics (LABOV, 2008 [1972]), as well as other research works focused on linguistic beliefs and attitudes (MORENO FERNÁNDEZ, 1998; AGUILERA, 2008; CORBARI, 2013), the points of view of six informant women were analyzed regarding their responses to five questions from the semi-structured survey, which aimed at reflecting on the manifestations of cognitive, affective and conative components, indicators of linguistic attitudes trend. It was observed that the language, inside and outside the village, suggests that both Guarani culture and language are more prestigious than the others studied here.

Keywords:

Language attitudes. Guarani. Brazilian Portuguese.

Signum: Estudos da Linguagem, Londrina, v. 21, i. 2, p. 89-110, Aug. 2019

Received on: 06/10/2019

Accepted on: 03/15/2020

Linguistic Attitudes: A study concerning indigenous women in the Guarani village *Tekoha Añetete*

Sonia Cristina Poltronieri Mendonça; Aparecida Feola Sella

INTRODUCTION

This paper involves the variable gender concerning linguistic attitudes of bilingual indigenous women, from the Guarani Reservation¹ *Tekoha Añetete*, in the municipality of Diamante d'Oeste, and along the border region of Paraná state. The text aims at describing how the components of linguistic attitudes are manifested in the speech of six bilingual indigenous informant women, taking into consideration which of the following components, cognitive, affective and conative, usually occur in the informants' responses, mainly concerning Guarani and Brazilian Portuguese (henceforth BP) speeches.

The first hypothesis was that the Guarani language was worthless and BP was superior. Another hypothesis refers to the existence of a difference in the linguistic attitude according to the roles that women have in the family, in the indigenous community, and other internal or external environments of the indigenous community. These hypotheses were established due to the scenario in this tri-border region (Brazil, Paraguay and Argentina), a scenario that allows not only those expressions of linguistic prestige and lack of prestige of Guarani speakers before local indigenous Guarani speeches in this tri-border region.

Such problematization, that comes from opting for that context of linguistic contact, has generated two questions: 1) Do linguistic attitudes of bilingual indigenous speakers reveal prestige or lack of prestige regarding Guarani speech itself? 2) How can these linguistic attitudes be observed in the studied speakers?

Fishman (1999) states that both language use and linguistic attitudes vary according to the social contexts in which they occur. Thus, it is not possible to think about languages as separated from their social context, mainly as a constitutive aspect, to identify a specific ethnical group. We take into consideration the assumptions present in the project *Crenças e Atitudes Linguísticas: um Estudo da Relação do Português com Línguas em Contato* (CAL Project, in English: Linguistic Beliefs and Attitudes: A Study about the Relation of Portuguese with Languages in Contact), as proposed by Aguilera (2009).

¹ In this text, we use capital letter Guarani in reference to the indigenous ethnical group, and guarani, in low-case letter, in reference to the language spoken by the people belonging to that ethnical group.

Sociolinguistics researches are assumptions also related to the varieties spoken in sociolinguistic complex scenarios that reflect social, regional, cultural and historical features of every area, especially in indigenous contexts.

According to D'Angelis (2015), Guaraní peoples and several sub-groups are distributed nowadays among Bolivia, Paraguay, Uruguay, Brazil and Argentina territories, in the subtropical basins of Paraná and Uruguay rivers, in South America. Currently, the Brazilian indigenous population sums up to 817,000 people, from which 502,783 are distributed among 688 indigenous lands and 315,180 inhabit some urban areas. That number makes up to almost 0.5% of the total Brazilian population, according to the 2010 IBGE Census data. They are almost 305 different ethnicities (IBGE, 2010). D'Angelis (2015) explains that the Guaraní population in Brazil is approximately 52,000 indigenous people, living in hundreds of villages across more than a hundred Brazilian municipalities, located in seven states: Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina, Paraná, São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Espírito Santo and Mato Grosso do Sul.

According to Carvalho (2013, p. 91), “based on linguistic, Guaraní people are part of the *Tupi* linguistic basis, of the linguistic family *Tupi-Guarani*, and presents three dialects in Brazil: Kaiowá, Nhandeya and Mbyá”.² Guaraní language covers a group of peoples who speak that language in South America. Melià (2010) defines Guaraní language as a great cultural and historical metaphor about a group of peoples present in subtropical basins of Paraná and Uruguay rivers, in South America.

Nowadays, the Guaraní peoples are distributed throughout Bolivia, Paraguay, Uruguay, Brazil and Argentina, and their language, in its diverse varieties, is unique and spoken by all the groups in these countries. Thus, the Guaraní language may be considered, according to Carvalho (2013), as a historical language of Mercosur. Although Guaraní is a language spoken in five countries and official in Mercosur countries, only in Paraguay it is an official language since 2011, as well as Spanish. In Brazil, the State consolidation as monolingual in Portuguese erased or silenced the linguistic reality of a country with more than 180 indigenous languages, and dozens of other immigration languages, plus Creole, Afro-Brazilian and sign languages.

Data generated in the indigenous location of *Tekoba Añetete* have shown that there is a lot to be explored, as it will be disposed throughout this paper. Amidst all the researched literature – thus, this thinking only makes sense in such a scope –, we were able to verify in Languages/Linguistics knowledge area, from CAPES dissertations and theses base, 2015-2018 quadrennium, that only a few papers concerning indigenous languages and/or Guaraní language refer to the topic of linguistic beliefs and attitudes.

² Original quotation: “em termos linguísticos os Guaraní fazem parte do tronco linguístico Tupi, da Família Linguística Tupi-Guarani, da Língua Guaraní, apresentando no Brasil os três dialetos: Kaiowá, Nhandeva e Mbyá”

RESEARCH AREA: *TEKOKHA AÑETETE*

The village *Tekoha Añetete*, whose name means “Truly Guarani Village”, is located at the *Linha Ponte Nova (New Bridge Line)* of Diamante d’Oeste municipality. It is located in the far western region of Paraná state, 595 km away from Curitiba, the state capital. According to IBGE (2010), the municipality has 5.027 inhabitants, corresponding to 2,561 inhabitants in the urban area and 2,466 in the rural one. The State Law n.º. 8,674 created Diamante d’Oeste municipality on December 21st, 1987, breaking its territory up from Matelândia municipality. It is nearby São José das Palmeiras, Ramilândia, Missal and Santa Helena municipalities. Diamante d’Oeste is located at 514 meters above sea level and in the following geographical coordinates: 24° 56' 46" south latitude and 54° 6' 13" west longitude. Figure 1 illustrates Diamante d’Oeste location in Paraná state map.



Source: Elaborated by Abreu (2006)

Figure 1 – Diamante d’Oeste municipality Area

The village *Tekoha Añetete* occupies a 1,744 hectare-area and is located nearly 20km away from the urban center of Diamante d’Oeste and almost 110km away from Foz do Iguaçu, as illustrated in Figure 1. The village is a legal indigenous reserve, approved by a Decree of July 28 2000 (FUNAI, 2018), acquired by the families who have established there since April 19th, 1997.

According to the village chief, the beginning of the village *Tekoha Añetete* has helped almost 30 remaining families of the *Tekoha Jacutinga*. In 2019, the population was nearly 420 people, including adults and children, who basically live by selling handicrafts and from agriculture subsistence, developed by families that live in the village.

IBGE demographic census (2010) registered 286 literate indigenous persons, representing almost 70% of all the indigenous people in the village. This population belongs to the *Nhandeva* sub-group, one of the three divisions of the Guarani peoples. They speak Guarani language, with the predominance of the *Nhandeva* dialect, a trace of utter importance to the ethnic culture maintenance. The Guarani language is learned by the child with the family help, while BP acquisition as the second language happens from 4-5 years old when they start attending *Colégio Estadual Indígena Kuaa Mbo'e* (Indigenous State School Kuaa Mbo'e), which is in the village.

In relation to what kind of house they live in, according to IBGE (2010) data, houses are predominant, from which 87.9% have electrical power and basic sanitation with potable water. Itaipu Binational Hydroelectric Plant built them when the families began to be settled in the village. Most of the houses have a television parabolic antenna and a mobile phone tower is installed above the school.

The resident population of *Tekoha Añetete* counts on healthcare at the health center unit in the village, from Monday to Friday, which offers them basic health services, such as a physician, a nurse and a dentist. There are also two Guarani health agents. The health unit has two support cars for emergency transportation to the closest medical unit, including on Saturdays, Sundays and holidays. There are also three houses of worship, a soccer field and a community space for some leisure time, as well as culture and craft activities in the village.

LINGUISTIC BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES

Theoretical-methodological principles of Sociolinguistics, Beliefs and Attitudes, Social Psychology and Language Studies were applied to carry out this study. It was assumed that any individual's linguistic attitude is the result of a sum of their beliefs, knowledge, affections and propensities to behave somehow regarding a language or a sociolinguistic situation. Studies on attitudes constitute an important contribution to think about the sociolinguistic environment of some society, mainly in contexts of linguistic diversity, as in the far western region of Paraná.

Psychologists as Lambert and Lambert (1966) were precursors of the *matched guise* technique, with French and English speaking students in Montreal, Canada. Thus, the goal of these researchers was to examine to which language was attributed more prestige; how a group saw the other one from its own language perspective, and also how the attitudes of a larger group influenced a smaller one.

According to Aguilera (2008, p. 105), Lambert would like to understand “the demonstration of preferences and social conventions about users’ status and prestige, to which he called ‘attitude’”.³ He observed that social groups with more social prestige exert their power on linguistic attitudes of speech communities. Even though that study was not about sociolinguistic, the research assured a higher prestige attribution and more positive characteristics to the so-called English-speakers. Aguilera and Silva (2014) highlight, based on that study,

that the members’ attitudes of a smaller group are affected by contacts with groups considered to have a higher social position, as such informants show some feeling of inferiority in relation to their own language due to, above all, coercion they undergo from the larger group (English language) (AGUILERA; SILVA, 2014, p. 706).⁴

Such finding was confirmed in another sociolinguistic study carried out by Labov (2008), which assures that the speech of a group with higher status showed more prestige in relation to the speech of a lower-class group. Labov (2008, p. 21) warned in his research that “someone cannot fully understand the development of a linguistic change without taking into consideration the community life in which it happens”⁵ since social pressures work continuously upon a language.

It can be observed that there is a commitment between attitude and behavior; that is, attitudes have also influenced on speakers’ behavior regarding other languages, which, in turn, may be affected as well by other extra-linguistic factors. Theoretical approaches about linguistic attitudes have been defined by established definitions for attitudes, namely: mentalist theories, psychological nature and behaviorist theories.

Moreno Fernández (1998, p. 182) highlights that, according to the behaviorist theory line, attitudes are interpreted “as a behavior, as a reaction or response to any given stimulus, that is, to a language, a situation or to some determined sociolinguistic characteristics”.⁶ On the other hand, for mentalist approaches, which support many other kinds of research analyses on linguistic attitudes – including this one –, since attitudes are very intangible mental states, it is not possible to measure or directly observe them, so that it becomes necessary to call upon to indirect techniques (GÓMES MOLINA, 1996; MORENO FERNÁNDEZ, 1998; BLANCO CANALES, 2004).

³ Original quotation in Portuguese: “a manifestação de preferências e convenções sociais acerca do status e prestígio de seus usuários que ele chamou de atitude”.

⁴ Original quotation in Portuguese: “que as atitudes dos membros de um grupo menor são afetadas pelos contatos com grupos considerados de posição social mais elevada, pois tais informantes manifestam um sentimento de inferioridade em relação ao seu próprio idioma devido, sobretudo, à coerção que sofrem do grupo maior (idioma inglês)”

⁵ Original quotation in Portuguese: “não se pode entender o desenvolvimento de uma mudança linguística sem levar em conta a vida da comunidade em que ela ocorre”.

⁶ Original quotation in Spanish: “como una conducta, como una reacción o respuesta a un estímulo, esto es, a una lengua, una situación o unas características sociolingüísticas determinadas”,.

Studies regarding linguistic beliefs and attitudes may significantly collaborate for elucidating speakers' positions from different geographical regions, in relation to their own speech and how the other one speaks as well. In other words, these studies help to clarify the linguistic reality comprehension of a community, a region or a country, which can explain the fact that some speakers modify their linguistic behavior according to the speech-group's identity and the individuals to whom they are related to. Hence, it is considered that languages have a social dimension, and such dimension is expressed in communication and interaction between an individual and the society in which they act out.

Moreno Fernández (1998) understands that a linguistic attitude is constructed based on three elements that are on the same level: knowledge or beliefs (the cognitive component), appreciation (the affective component) and behavior (the conative component). In regards to these elements, a speaker's expression might reveal value judgments, beliefs, the intention of behavior, reaction to prestige or lack of prestige, and linguistic awareness about some contexts and circumstances. One of the direct consequences of linguistic awareness is the speakers' linguistic security or insecurity, which Moreno Fernández (1998) explains as it follows:

linguistic security happens when what the speaker considers correct or adequate coincides with the spontaneous uses of such a speaker; linguistic insecurity can be seen when such coincidence decreases or disappears. The prototype of an insecure speaker would be that someone capable of making statements as the following: 'It never would occur to me to say it has fallen of I', or 'I would never say things like *go will I* or *come will I*' (MORENO FERNÁNDEZ, 1998, p. 182).

In languages, a speaker's behavior in relation to its own variety may admit the occurrence of two possible attitudes: either appreciation or rejection, *i.e.*, the same variety could be the object of both positive and negative attitudes, depending on the appreciation made within the speech-group. According to Aguilera (2008, p. 106), "any attitude in relation to groups with identity might, in fact, be a reaction to the varieties used by that group or to the individuals in that variety".⁸ Due to this condition, Guarani informants' linguistic attitudes towards languages, the school and contact outside their village are reflected in their judgment and use of both guarani and BP languages.

⁷ Original quotation in Spanish: "*se habla de seguridad lingüística cuando lo que el hablante considera como correcto o adecuado coincide con los usos espontáneos del mismo hablante; la inseguridad lingüística surge cuando tal coincidencia disminuye o desaparece. El prototipo de hablante inseguro sería aquel capaz de hacer afirmaciones como éstas: A mí nunca me ocurriría decir me se ha caído o Yo jamás diré cosas como iré o vendré*".

⁸ Original quotation in Portuguese: "*qualquer atitude em relação aos grupos com determinada identidade pode, na realidade, ser uma reação às variedades usadas por esse grupo ou aos indivíduos usuários dessa variedade*".

Aguilera coordinated the project *Crenças e atitudes linguísticas: um estudo da relação do português com línguas em contato* (CAL Project) from 2008 to 2012 to promote the integration of research groups focused on issues of linguistic description and analysis of the Portuguese language spoken in Paraná. CAL Project has as its main goal to produce a *corpus* about linguistic beliefs and attitudes in eight cities in Paraná state. From these cities, six are located in the border area with Argentina and/or Paraguay: Santo Antônio do Sudoeste, Pranchita, Capanema, Foz do Iguaçu, Marechal Cândido Rondon e Guáira. The others are in the countryside of the state: Ponta Grossa and Irati. Such aim was developed with professors from Unioeste, UEL, UEPG and UEM.

CAL Project restores the interest in sociolinguistic studies in some locations with multi-lingual contexts, highlighted by historic migration and by their proximity with the Argentinean border. One of these research results is Corbari's dissertation (2013), whose title is *Atitudes Linguísticas: um Estudo nas Localidades Paranaenses de Irati e Santo Antônio do Sudoeste (Linguistic Attitudes: A Study in Irati and Santo Antônio do Sudoeste Cities, in Paraná)*. The researcher investigated how linguistic attitudes of speakers are manifested in two cities of Paraná: Santo Antônio do Sudoeste, in the southwestern region, on the border with Argentina, and Irati, in southeastern Paraná region. Due to the socio-historical realities of complex sociolinguistic scenarios in both localities, that research explored the possibility that the languages in contact could generate distinguished linguistic attitudes there.

After analyzing the data, the author pointed out some results that suggest positive attitudes from the informants towards languages and their speakers in both communities. However, a small part of the informants showed some prejudice based on stereotyped visions, culturally constructed or mediated by issues of identity.

METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES

The readings done for theoretical backgrounds have enhanced to define goals, the establishment of methodological procedures and documents writings that were sent to the National Foundation for Indigenous Peoples (FUNAI), to the National Council for Research and Technological Development (CNPq), to the Research Ethics Committee (CEP) of Unioeste, to the National Commission on Research Ethics (CONEP), so that the access to the indigenous area could be authorized, as well as generate research data with the bilingual informants of the indigenous village *Tekoha Añetete*, under resolutions CNS 466/2012, CNS 5010/2016 (for human studies) and the Normative Instruction number 011/PRES/1995 from FUNAI.

A methodological approach was adopted based on the mentalist theory, which allows measuring the variables of a linguistic attitude, such as the relation between the speaker's stimuli based on a question and the speaker's evaluative response. The mentalist

conception of linguistics characterizes an attitude as a multiple-component structure, made by elements such as affective (emotions and feelings), cognitive (perceptions, beliefs and stereotypes present in any given individual) and behavioral or conative ones (a trend to act and react in a certain way according to a given object). Based on that theoretical assumption, also used by researchers from CAL Project, such as Corbari (2013), survey questions were elaborated to allow some stimuli for the demonstration of bilingual Guarani's linguistic attitudes. Thus, those interviews with six women informants were defined according to the following profile:

a) the person lived in Jacutinga village and now lives in the village *Tekoha Añetete* since its foundation in 1997;

b) the person is a descendant of a family that lived in Jacutinga village but now lives in *Tekoha Añetete* village since its creation in 1997.

The bilingual informants were interviewed according to their profile mentioned above and the variable age range, from different families of the village *Tekoha Añetete*. Their information was obtained from a list of names of the pedagogical committee at the local school and the village leaderships. The participants' anonymity was kept both in the documental research and the generated data by surveys and interviews. These are the reference acronyms: M is for women; 1 - for the range from 21 to 35 years old; 2 - for the range from 36 to 55 years old; 3 - for the range over 55 years old, and the sequence from 1 to 6 was used to identify the informant. For instance, the acronym 1M1 is related to the woman informant 1, from 21 to 35 years old group.

The instruments for data generation were elaborated in order to do the analysis based on the mentalist theory. It was also taken into consideration Lambert and Lambert's (1966), Labov's (2008) and Moreno Fernández's (1998; 2012) theoretical insights during the semi-structured survey preparation for data generation with those informants. An adaptation to the model survey was also applied by CAL Project (AGUILERA, 2009) for the sociolinguistic and cultural reality of the researched speech community. Eight changes were made until the final version of the survey, which was composed of 50 questions.

The questions were grouped in five blocks with the following presentation: Block 1 - Identification of language acquisition and informant's use; Block 2 - Consistency of diversity and knowledge level of the languages spoken in the location; Block 3 – Speakers' perception about social and linguistic behavior; Block 4 – Language and speakers' assessment by the informant; and Block 5 - Identification of trends according to the reaction. Questions were organized in blocks aimed to make *indexes* of cognitive, affective and conative components to assure that the responses would reveal attitudes. The term *attitudinal index* is used in this analysis to refer to the three components of attitudes, which are considered interrelated. It is understood that the beliefs are a cognitive gist, but can trigger emotional and behavioral reactions.

DATA ANALYSIS

The responses of all six female informants were selected for this paper in relation to a question in each block, as it is shown in Chart 1:

- Question 11: What language do you speak? (Block 1)
- Question 22a: At the village's school, what languages are spoken? (Block 2)
- Question 22b: How do/did you feel whenever you need(ed) to use Portuguese at the school? (Block 3)
- Question 44: What language do you consider to be the ugliest one? (Block 4)
- Question 47: And if you needed to work outside the village, would you look for a Brazilian, an Argentinean or a Paraguayan boss? (Block 5)

In response to question 11, *What language do you speak?*, all six informants expressed the cognitive component as they said that they speak Guarani. Although they use, during the interview, BP, the informants do not declare to speak BP. This denotes linguistic loyalty to their mother tongue and ethnic identity, as shown in the responses below:

Question 11: What language do you speak?

Inf. 1M1

L86NQ: What language do you speak??

L87INF: *Guarani. In fact, nowadays it is all ... how do you say it ... it's all mixed up like that... I speak Guarani, I also learned to speak Guarani Mbya, I speak*

L89INQ: Why ... is there any difference?

L90INF: *Yes, there is a difference from Guarani to the other languages. For example, Guarani Kaiowá speaks a little more different than the person who lives here.*

L91INQ: And you speak Mbya, there is also Nhandeva?

L92INF: *Nhandeva too. Nhandeva is the most spoken one here.*

L93INQ: It is the most spoken, so do you speak both?

L94INF: *Yes*

Inf. 2M1

L31INF: *Guarani*

Inf. 3M2

L50INF: *Guarani*

Inf. 4M2

L74INF: *Guarani*

Inf. 5M3

L79INF *Only the v'ry Guarani (só o guarani memo)*⁹

Inf. 6M3

L167INF: *Guarani*

Informant 1M1 triggers the cognitive component by resorting to the expression “*it’s all mixed up like that*” and “*there is a difference from Guarani to other languages*”, which demonstrates that the informant is aware of the linguistic variations regarding how she could speak Guarani in its three dialects (Mbya, Nhandeva and Kaiowá). The border area favors linguistic variations among the languages and the demonstration of phenomena such as code-mixing and code-switching, which have been studied in bilingual communities to explain the mixing of languages and/or the switching of speech codes in adults and bilingual children.

The code-mixing phenomenon study, concerning bilingual linguistic competence, is pointed out for two possibilities of analysis by the scholars. According to Von Borstel (2011, p. 116-117), one of them focuses on the relation between language mix and code-switch in adults speech; “the other focuses on the linguistic process of language mix, when the acquisition of linguistic input in bilingual children occurs, in relation to the differentiation of both languages”.¹⁰ And regarding code-switch, a phenomenon that occurs in speakers who live in bilingual and/or multilingual communities, Von Borstel (2011) explains:

The models studied to interpret code switch are mostly concentrated in two different aspects: one on the linguistic plan of grammatical rules, called grammatical conditioning, and the other on sociocultural and pragmatic plans, which means a code-switch as a discursive strategy in the communicative interaction of multilingual speakers (VON BORSTEL, 2011, p. 120).¹¹

⁹ In order to respect the original speech of the informants, as well as to testify the tones and informality of spoken language in the interview, as evidences; from here on, we will try to replicate the popular pronunciation into the English spelling. We will leave between parentheses the original transcriptions in Portuguese, for better comprehension of the situation.

¹⁰ Original quotation in Portuguese: “*a outra centrou-se no processo linguístico de mistura de língua, quando ocorre a aquisição do input linguístico de crianças bilíngues, em relação à diferenciação das duas línguas*”.

¹¹ Original quotation in Portuguese: “*Os modelos estudados para interpretação da alternância de código concentram-se, na maioria das vezes, em dois aspectos diferentes: um no plano linguístico de regras gramaticais, denominados de condicionamentos gramaticais, e o outro no plano sociocultural e pragmático, pelo qual se entende a alternância de código como uma estratégia discursiva na interação comunicativa de falantes multilíngues*”.

It should be highlighted that, from the six informants, only 1M1 shows consistency in the linguistic variation of Guarani. Even so, she expresses her proficiency degree in relation to the variants. However, she does not mention BP, although she answers using this last language with a high degree of proficiency and mastery, as it is possible to identify in the use of the modalizer “in fact” or “for example”, to highlight linguistic awareness, etc. Therefore, 1M1 triggers her knowledge regarding her bilingual speaking, which is an indication of the cognitive component.

Informant 5M3 uses terms like “only” and “v’ry” (very, “*memo*” a spoken variation of *mesmo* in BP), which are indications of argumentation; they highlight the presence of the cognitive component, as well.

According to the responses given by the six informants, in relation to question 11, it can be seen that the cognitive component manifests itself to reveal the linguistic loyalty of appreciating the Guarani mother tongue, which is the language of ethnic identity of the Guarani social group, to which the village *Tekoha Añetete* belongs.

Regarding question 22a, *At the village school, what languages are spoken?*, all six informants manifest the cognitive component perceiving that both Guarani and BP are spoken. According to their responses, within the school space, Guarani is the language of more prestige for communication among local Guarani students and teachers; on the other hand, BP is a language with more prestige and used by Guarani students to talk with the teachers and non-indigenous teachers/employees of the Indigenous State School *Kuaa Mbo’e*. Observe the answers:

Question 22a: At the village’s school, what languages are spoken?

Inf. 1M1

L322INQ: And, at the village’s school, what languages are spoken?

L323INF: *Guarani ... and since there are white teacher, female teacher, it is obvious that they speak in Portuguese to the students, isn’t it?... so the students have to talk to them in Portuguese, but always in Guarani among them, like that.*

Inf. 2M1

L210INF: *They teach almost all languages here, except French ((laughter))*

Inf. 3M2

L168INF: *It is Guarani because everybody studies together... all Guarani... chatting together all Guarani... only teacher who doesn’t speak Guarani speaks Portuguese because he doesn’t understand*

Inf. 4M2

L218INQ: And at the school here in the village, what languages are spoken?

L219INF: *language?*

L220INQ: Yes

L221INF: *Guarani*

L222INQ: And is there any other one besides Guarani?

L223INF: *No*

L224INQ: But, when you go there to learn, what language do you speak at school?

L225INF: *Portuguese*

Inf. 5M3

L165INF: *all the same, all Guarani, some speak Portuguesei, some in English (ingleis) ... all children who are studyin (estuda), learnin (aprendeno)*

Inf. 6M3

L571INF: *there is a person who teaches Guarani... there is a teacher who teaches Guarani... and there is a teacher who teaches Brazilian... and there is another one who teaches Spanish... but I haven't been yet to Spanish.*

In spite of Guarani and BP are the spoken languages at the school, it should be noted that Guarani is the most spoken language among Guarani speakers. For 1M1, such a communication process and the differences in the way of speaking are developed according to the situation in the classroom. Initially, 1M1 answers that Guarani is the spoken language, and then she states that there are some white “teachers” and female “teachers” who speak BP.

The application of the term *white* evidences an awareness that those teachers who speak BP are from a different ethnicity to Guarani and that they are not indigenous. So, aiming at explaining such process of verbal interaction at the school, 1M1 manifests the conative component by highlighting the behavioral attitude of the speakers, which means that those students have to engage in a conversation using BP with their teachers, although they “always” speak in Guarani among students.

Despite not naming the languages spoken at the school, 2M1 figures it out that, in that space, all kinds of languages are spoken, except French, which reveals that her answer occurs based on the languages she has already studied at school. 3M2, on the other hand, delimits the prestige of Guarani in the communication among students and she uses the modalizers “all” and “every” to point out that only the teacher does not speak Guarani because he does not understand that language.

Informant 4M2 doubts when she asks “Language?” and then she answers “Guarani” and that there is no other language spoken in the school besides Guarani. However, when she was questioned what language she speaks when she goes to school,

the reply was BP. This informant's reaction demonstrates that there may be little linguistic contact with BP at school, as she attends the first year of elementary school, which denotes a linguistic uncertainty in relation to some proficiency in BP.

5M3 responses highlight two occurrences of the term *all*, as she states "all Guarani" and "all the same". This indicates the possibility that, at the school, all the speakers in the village use Guarani. When stating "there is someone who speaks portuguei", she matches BP with non-indigenous teachers and employees, and when she says "someone has English" she refers to the English teacher.

Concerning to learning, 5M3 highlights that some children learn both Guarani and BP. Meanwhile, informant 6M3 does not directly answer what languages are spoken at the school, but she demonstrates some perception that some teachers teach Guarani, BP and Spanish; in other words, she reveals her experience in linguistic contact with all three languages in the school context.

In relation to question 22b, *How do/did you feel whenever you need(ed) to use Portuguese at the school?*, all six informants expressed the affective component when assuring that they feel or felt embarrassed or shy when speaking BP and stimulate both cognitive and conative components as they explain their thoughts and reactions towards using BP at the school. Observe the answers:

Question 22b: How do/did you feel whenever you need(ed) to use Portuguese at the school?

Inf. 1M1

L341INF: *When I was studying outside, I even felt bad, like, I felt embarrassed, like, to speak Portuguese and miss any word, I spoke and stopped, like, I didn't speak no more. I, when I mistook a word I kept quiet, so nowadays, as I told you, the children, I think that they don't have any more those so many difficulties to speak in Portuguese.*

Inf. 2M1

L120INQ: And how do/did you feel, when you go to APAE and have to speak Portuguese?

L122INF: *Well, I feel like strange among others ((laughter)), not with indians huh, but I feel safe there, because they are all specialists, aren't they? There we have assistance with a psychologist that talks a lot with us; there I began to learn more about dialogue with others.*

Inf. 3M2

L178INQ: Which is the most difficult?

L179INF: *Oh, the most difficult to complete ...like, we can do it... to complete the question (in Portuguese), we don't know what we are gonna do, and the teacher explains everything and then we forget, so it's even more difficult to do.*

Inf. 4M2

L187INF: *I felt... I felt like speakin (falá)... I felt that before... before school... I felt like learnin (aprendê) to speak (falá), because I thought one day I was gonna work, to be able (prá podê) to speak (falá) all in Portuguese.*

Inf. 5M3

L258INF: *I couldn't see much (oiá muito)...I lacked glass (óculo)... to make (fazê) glass (óculo) and after that he continues*

Inf. 6M3

L801INF: *It's more better to speak (mai melhó fala) Guarani language... no use, we wanna speak (qué fala) another language; for me, it seems it's not gonna work (prá mim parece que num vai dá certo não).*

It is possible to observe that 1M1 has some linguistic certainty in relation to BP and expresses three times the modal adverb “like” (*assim*) to express the affective component of her “bad” feeling and “embarrassment” at the school. This was because she was afraid of making a mistake on misspeaking a word and her reaction was to stop and no longer speak to her colleagues or teacher. Then, 1M1 guesses that nowadays children do not have that difficulty in speaking BP anymore. And according to 4M2 and 5M3 answers, there is such difficulty since the informants have shown to be shy and take breaks, so they could not express themselves due to a lack of BP proficiency. Both 4M2 and 5M3 have shown, somehow, the same situation that 1M1 experienced before when she did not have BP proficiency.

Informant 2M1 expresses the affective component when stating to feel “strange among others”, but she also currently feels safer because she has learned to talk to the others. 2M1 found out some evidence of a conative component. 3M2, on the other hand, states that it is difficult to speak in BP because, although the teacher explains, students end up forgetting and do not know what to do to answer in BP. The BP learning process requires the student an even higher effort to understand the school content. But for 4M2, it is better to speak Guarani language than speaking any other language, she also reveals the feeling that “it seems that it won't work”.

The feeling of difficulty in speaking and the fear of committing mistakes could also be identified in some informants' behavior during the interviews. Such communication difficulty may be related to their level of education, considering that these two informants,

with high and middle school education, have shown that speaking performance in BP was easier, as well as they were less shy during the interviews, than 3M2 and 5M3, respectively, considering the age ranges 2 and 3, with incomplete elementary school.

In response to question 44, only one informant named a language as ugly, two of them said that there is no ugly language, another did not know how to answer it and yet another did not answer it because she wishes to “be everybody’s friend”. Observe the answers below:

Question 44: What language do you consider to be the ugliest one? Why?

Inf. 1M1

L656INF: *The ugliest language? For me there isn't any; I don't know how to speak like that... because Portuguese, Paraguayan or Spanish, or Caingangue languages for me they can be ugly but, for them who understand them, they will also be a language... so it doesn't exist, for me, there is no worse nor better languages.*

Inf. 2M1

L323INF: *I don't know how to answer that.*

L324INQ: Why?

L325INF: *It's because I don't have, I don't think there is an ugly language, that's all.*

Inf. 3M2

L486INF: *I don't know the ugliest ((laughter)) ... I don't know*

L487INQ: why don't you know?

L488INF: *I can't tell (falá) it 'cause I don't understand those other languages either... I don't know... so I don't know which one is the ugliest.*

Inf. 4M2

L451INF: *I think Spanish ((laughter))*

L452INQ: Why?

L453INF: *Because I can't speak (falá) Spanish*

Inf. 5M3

L477INQ: and what is the ugliest language?

L478INF: *((silence)) I also (tamem) don't know (prá) ... I also (tamem) all the same*

Inf. 6M3

L686INF: *((laughter)) I don't wanna disappoint anyone ... I wanna be everybody's friend.*

For informant 1M1, “*there is no worse or better language*” shows the speaker’s linguistic awareness concerning differences among languages. Thus, a language that she considers to be ugly may not be so for another speaker. Informant 5M3 replies that there is no

ugly language and, by stating “*I also (tamem) all the same*”, she denotes her belief that all languages are equal. Informants 2M1 and 3M2 did not know which language was the ugliest, but they showed some differences among them since 2M1 stated “*I don’t think there is an ugly language*” and 3M2 said, “*I can’t tell (falá) it ‘cause I don’t understand those other languages either*”. Informant 4M2 was the only one who named a language to be ugly: Spanish, and she justified her choice by saying that she does not speak Spanish, meaning that she evaluates both Guarani and BP to have more prestige because she speaks both of them. Informant 6M3 did not answer the question and her reaction was a laugh followed by a break, which indicates some thinking about the question and her speech control. Then, 6M3 stated “*I don’t wanna disappoint anyone ... I wanna be everybody’s friend*”, which demonstrates that language is associated with the speaker’s socio-cultural environment.

Finally, the informants’ answers are expressions of their relationships with the speakers of a socio-cultural context, both inside and outside village *Tekoha Añetete*. And, this comes following Moreno Fernández (2012) findings:

The influence of the social environment is linked to how speakers reciprocally interpret their linguistic profiles, as well as on how they categorize and perceive the social organization and its dynamics, including the communicative dynamics¹² (MORENO FERNÁNDEZ, 2012, p. 49-50).

Therefore, the speaker’s position about the most beautiful and the ugliest language is influenced by the socio-cultural environment and by the way the speakers show their affective, cognitive and conative elements in their relationship with the social groups and their members.

The last answer analyzed refers to question 47, *if you needed to work outside the village, would you look for a Brazilian, an Argentinean or a Paraguayan boss?* Four informants said that they would look for a Brazilian boss, one did not choose any of them and the other one did not know how to answer. Observe the answers:

Question 47: if you needed to work outside the village, would you look for a Brazilian, an Argentinean or a Paraguayan boss? Why?

Inf. 1M1

L742INQ: And, if you needed to work outside the village, would you look for a Brazilian, an Argentinean or a Paraguayan?

¹² Original quotation in Spanish: “*La influencia del entorno social viene condicionada por la forma en que los hablantes interpretan recíprocamente sus perfiles lingüísticos, así como por el modo como categorizan y perciben la organización social y su dinámica, incluida la comunicativa*”.

L744INF: *A Brazilian one.*

L745INQ: Why?

L746INF: *Because I would get along better with the person. Here I know better the person, and also, if I had to work out I would take a job only with the person I trust, someone I already know, or the person I know that can refer me and then I would not work in any place*

Inf. 2M1

L374INF: *For me, it would be better a Brazilian one.*

L375INQ: Why?

L376INF: *Because I understand that language better.*

Inf. 3M2

L550INF: *A Brazilian*

L551INQ: Why?

L552INF: *Because I have to go directly to the hospital, then it has to be Brazilian.*

L553INQ: So, why a Brazilian? Why would it be easier?

L554INF: *Yes, it is easier because they see [patients] where someone works, the folk here has everything, physician, nurse, then in there.*

Inf. 4M2

L500INF: *I think a Brazilian one.*

L501INQ: Why?

L502INF: *Because I can speak Portuguese, I need to work and I have to go out and talk to people.*

Inf. 5M3

L586INF: *No.*

L587INQ: Wouldn't you work outside the village?

L588INF: *No.*

Inf. 6M3

L785INQ: *I dunno (num) about that either (tamém)... I never worked (trabaiei) ... I only worked (trabaiei) when I was a child (minina) ... I worked (trabaiei) for a white lady that I mentioned for you, ma'am (prá sinhora)*

Informant 1M1 said she would work with a Brazilian boss, but she also highlighted “I would take a job only with the person I trust, that I already know, or the person I know that can refer me”. It should be observed that the informant’s attitude depends on a true relationship with a person she already knows, or that she is referred to. The 3M2 answer also justifies

her favorable position to the Brazilian because she works in the health area and has an easy relationship with Brazilian people. She also justifies: “it is easier because they see [patients] where *someone* works [at the clinic or hospital]”, meaning where she would work. Informants 2M1 and 4M2 said they would look for a job with a Brazilian boss because they understand and speak BP, as they explain: “*I understand that language better*” (Inf. 2M1) and “*I can speak Portuguese, I need to work and I have to go out and talk to people*” (Inf. 4M2). Informants 5M3 and 6M3 answers are possibly associated to the fact that those informants have little contact outside the village, mainly concerning labor. Most of the informants justified their choice for a Brazilian boss due to their proficiency in speaking BP, trustful relationships and ease of work.

The informants’ answers, related to the five analyzed questions in this paper, reveal that the linguistic situation of Guarani regarding the triple border area of Brazil, Paraguay and Argentina is complex and there is a linguistic diversity in this region of contact among indigenous languages, BP and Spanish. The informants have shown some awareness on differences of the Guarani spoken in the village and the one spoken in Paraguay and Argentina. It was observed that the position expressed by the informants is related to both level of knowledge and the perception of each informant in relation to the other’s speech.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

According to the three studied components, it is possible to observe that linguistic evidence of the affective and cognitive components are quite based on modalizers and lexical items that represent both knowledge and feeling of the family and the village.

It was found out that the cognitive component favors the fact that the informants express their perceptions according to their ethnolinguistic profile and communicative practices they have experienced both inside and outside the village Tekoha Añetete. Insofar, the affective component reveals the feeling of language appreciation towards Guarani mother tongue in contact with BP, and the conative component shows the speaker’s social behavior concerning Guarani language and other contact languages.

When an informant answers to a given question, they are based on something that is happening at that moment, that may happen in the future, or tell some attitudes of what the person has experienced in the past. She is acting out according to the inquirer’s question, which generates a behavioral response in the individual at the exact moment of the interview. In that sense, these informants’ perceptions and awareness affect somehow their attitudes and their linguistic behavior.

It is worth mentioning that, according to mentalist theories, attitude is an internal mental state situated between a stimulus and a response to it. On the one hand, it allows anticipating behaviors, since a question comes before a response. They are internal

manifestations that cannot be directly observed nor analyzed, but by inferences and assumptions based on speakers' behavior and testimony. Speakers generally do not explicitly think about these unconscious processes; however, the question sets motion over a behavioral action. Thus, the informants' perceptions and awareness have an indirect impact on their attitudes and their linguistic behavior. It is relevant to consider that the behavior of an indigenous person would be guided by orientations of the white female inquirer during the survey for data generation, in addition to the gaze, gestures, hand movements, voice tone, etc.

It is noticeable according to the informants' answer, regarding language evaluation that Guarani is the language with the greatest prestige among them. The female informants explain that they teach BP to their children as something necessary, mainly to defend themselves in the future – and this concerns what the white culture imposes over them. It seems that both external pressures of society and internal pressures of the community are two forces that act upon the linguistic attitudes and uses of Guarani and BP in the speech community.

In these surveys, the coexistence with BP speakers is clear and the awareness of the necessity to learn Portuguese is also observed. Nonetheless, it also evidences the importance to reaffirm the appreciation for the Guarani language. BP is seen as a kind of passport to the white people's world. The youngest informants study BP to be able to access higher education and have opportunities to work both outside and inside the village – at the school, at the health center and in other jobs such as agricultural technical assistance and basic sanitation projects.

Finally, this study points out two main motivations that allow the studied informants to learn BP. The first one concerns the idea that learning is motivated only by the usefulness of a language, considered only as an instrument to reach personal and social goals such as studying, working outside the village, buying goods, receiving proceeds, among others. The second one is motivated with a communicational purpose, in which the individual aims at mastering the culture of BP speakers and such an insertion is not seen as acculturation. Consequently, a second language is only learned just because it is needed and, many times, for the speaker's survival.

REFERENCES

ABREU, R. L. *Parana MesoMicroMunicip.svg, own work*. 2006. Disponível em: <https://bit.ly/2WRQK4r>. Acesso em: 10 out. 2018.

AGUILERA, V. A. Crenças e atitudes lingüísticas: o que dizem os falantes das capitais brasileiras. *Estudos Lingüísticos*, São Paulo, v. 37, n. 2, p. 105-112, maio/ago. 2008.

- AGUILERA, V. A. *Crenças e atitudes linguísticas: um estudo da relação do português com línguas de contato*. 2009. (Projeto). (Cópia da autora).
- AGUILERA, V. A.; SILVA, H. C. O poder de uma diferença, um estudo sobre crenças e atitudes linguísticas. *Alfa*, São Paulo, v. 58, n. 3, p. 703-723, 2014.
- BLANCO CANALES, A. *Estudio sociolingüístico de Alcalá de Henares*. Alcalá de Henares, Madrid: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Alcalá, 2004.
- BORTOLINI, J. C. *O sujeito guarani: o discurso da sustentabilidade nas comunidades indígenas (2003/2013)*. 2014. Dissertação (Mestrado em Letras) – Universidade do Oeste do Paraná, Cascavel, 2014.
- CARVALHO, M. L. B. *Das terras dos índios a índios sem terras*. O Estado e os Guarani do Oco’y: violência, silêncio e luta. 2013. Tese (Doutorado em Geografia Humana) – Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, 2013.
- CONSELHO NACIONAL DE SAÚDE. *Resolução N° 466*, 12 de dezembro de 2012. Disponível em: <https://bit.ly/3fQ9aLQCNS466>. Acesso em: 24 jun. 2015.
- CONSELHO NACIONAL DE SAÚDE. *Resolução N° 510*, de 7 de abril de 2016. Disponível em: <https://bit.ly/3bus5rVCNS510>. Acesso em: 15 mai. 2016.
- CORBARI, C. C. *Atitudes linguísticas: um estudo nas localidades paranaenses de Irati e Santo Antônio do Sudoeste*. 2013. Tese (Doutorado em Letras e Linguística) – Universidade Federal da Bahia, Salvador, 2013.
- D’ANGELIS, W. *Guarani*. Campinas: Laboratório de Estudos Linguísticos. Portal Labeurb. Disponível em: <https://bit.ly/3dHIXhGguarani>. Acesso em: 10 out. 2015.
- FISHMAN, J. A. Sociolinguistics. In: FISHMAN, J. A. (Ed.). *Handbook of language and ethnic identity*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999. p. 152-163.
- FUNAI. *Instrução Normativa N° 001/PRES, de 29/NOVEMBRO/1995*. Disponível em: <https://bit.ly/2T69yfoIN1995>. Acesso em: 20 abr. 2015.
- FUNAI. *Ingresso em terra indígena*. Disponível em: <https://bit.ly/2WuIjNITInd>. Acesso em: 20 abr. 2015.
- FUNAI. *Índios no Brasil – Terras Indígenas*. Disponível em: <https://bit.ly/2yJcKXr>. Acesso em: 16 jul. 2018.
- GÓMEZ MOLINA, J. R. Actitudes lingüísticas en Valencia y su área metropolitana: evaluación de cuatro variedades dialectales. In: CONGRESO INTERNACIONAL DE

LA ASOCIACIÓN DE LINGÜÍSTICA Y FILOLOGÍA DE LA AMÉRICA LATINA – ALFAL, 11., 1996, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria. *Actas...* Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Universidad de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, 1996. v. 2. p. 1027-1042.

IBGE. *Censo Demográfico 2010 – Terras Indígenas*. Disponível em: <https://bit.ly/2YXtlRV>terrind. Acesso em: 26 jul. 2016.

IBGE. *Censo Demográfico 2010 – Panorama*. Disponível em: <https://bit.ly/2SXtm4f>. Acesso em: 25 ago. 2019.

IBGE. *Diamante d'Oeste*. Brasil/Paraná. História & Fotos. Disponível em: <https://bit.ly/35WZaeR>. Acesso em: 25 ago. 2019.

LABOV, W. *Padrões sociolinguísticos*. Tradução de Marcos Bagno, Maria Marta Pereira Scherre e Caroline Rodrigues de Oliveira. São Paulo: Parábola, 2008 [1972].

LAMBERT, W. W.; LAMBERT, W. E. *Psicologia social*. 3. ed. Rio de Janeiro: Zahar, 1966.

MELIÀ, B. *Pasado, presente y futuro en la lengua guaraní*. Asunción: CEADUC, 2010.

MENDONÇA, S. C. P. *Crenças e atitudes linguísticas: estudo na aldeia Guarani Tekoha Añetete em Diamante d'Oeste/PR*. 2019. Tese (Doutorado em Letras) – Universidade Estadual do Oeste do Paraná, Cascavel, 2020.

MORENO FERNÁNDEZ, F. *Principios de sociolingüística y sociología del lenguaje*. Barcelona: Ariel, 1998.

MORENO FERNÁNDEZ, F. *Sociolingüística Cognitiva: proposiciones, escolios y debates*. Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2012.

VON BORSTEL, C. *A linguagem sociocultural do Brasildentsch*. São Carlos: Pedro & João, 2011.