# UNIVERSIDAD MAYOR DE SAN ANDRES FACULTAD DE HUMANIDADES Y CIENCIAS DE LA EDUCACION CARRERA DE LINGÜÍSTICA E IDIOMAS



## LANGUAGE DISLOYALTY IN AYMARA NATIVE SPEAKERS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF LAW AT "UNIVERSIDAD PÚBLICA DE EL ALTO"

TESIS DE GRADO PRESENTADA PARA LA OBTENCIÓN DEL GRADO DE LICENCIATURA

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## UNIVERSIDAD MAYOR DE SAN ANDRÉS FACULTAD DE HUMANIDADES Y CIENCIAS DE LA EDUCACIÓN CARRERA DE LINGÜÍSTICA E IDIOMAS

Tesis de grado:

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For their continuous support.

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#### **ABSTRACT**

This research was developed in sociolinguistic field, more specifically in the study of language attitudes. Thus this study was conducted with University students of the School of Law at Universidad Pública de El Alto, where we can evidence that most of the students are of Aymara origin. Moreover, this study is intended to contribute to revaluation of linguistic identity as well as the preservation of the Aymara language and culture. Thus the main goal of this research is to describe the factors that leading to Language Disloyalty.

The methodology applied for the data collection was mixed (qualitative and quantitative) methods and the type of study was descriptive investigation. Likewise the techniques applied for this research were the interview and test administration and the data collection tool applied was the questionnaire.

The theories that support this research are from sociolinguistics authors as: Joshua Fishman, David Crystal, David Harrison as well as some authors of Andean Sociolinguistics such as: Xavier Albó and Luis Enrique Lopez who have conducted some studies on language attitudes in our society.

Regarding the results gathered from the questionnaires and interviews, we can state that the factors that lead to this phenomenon (Language Disloyalty) is due to Sociocultural factors such as Migration, Use of Aymara with the purposes of Affinity and Solidarity, Ethnic Identification. As well as Attitudinal factors as Ethnic Shamed, Social Discrimination and Sociolinguistic factors Language Displacement, Diglossia, Communicative Accommodation, Phenomenon of the Negative transfer, Bilingualism which restrict the spreading out of their mother tongue. Likewise the students manifested that they are exposed to some Linguistic prejudices that denigrate their identity and these are reflected in the following statements: Aymara language is not a standardized language, Aymara language is spoken by indigenous people, Aymara speakers are considered as lower class, backward, uneducated and ignorant. As well as, in final results we observe that these students use more their mother tongue in a family domain than in the rest of domains as friend, University and society.

**Keywords:** Linguistics, Sociolinguistics, Prejudices, Aymara, Language Attitudes.

#### **RESUMEN**

El presente trabajo de investigación se desenvuelve en el campo de la sociolingüística más específicamente dentro del estudio de las actitudes lingüísticas. Este estudio fue realizado con los estudiantes Universitarios de la Carrera de Derecho de la Universidad Pública del Alto, donde se evidencia que la mayoría de los estudiantes tienen un origen Aymara. Asimismo, se considera que la realización de este trabajo contribuirá a la revalorización de la identidad lingüística y la mantención de la lengua y la cultura Aymara. Por lo que el objetivo principal de este trabajo es describir los factores que conducen a la deslealtad lingüística.

En cuanto a la metodología aplicada para la recolección de datos fue a través de la combinación de los métodos cualitativo y cuantitativo y el tipo de estudio de investigación es descriptivo. Con respecto a las técnicas para la recolección de datos fueron: la entrevista y la aplicación de pruebas, y el instrumento utilizado fue el cuestionario.

Las teorías que respaldan a esta investigación son de autores especialistas en el campo de la sociolingüística como: Joshua Fishman, David Cristal, David Harrison y como también autores del campo de la Sociolingüística Andina como: Xavier Albo, Luis Enrique quienes han realizado estudios sobre actitudes lingüísticas en el contexto boliviano.

Con respecto a los resultados obtenidos de los cuestionarios y las entrevistas podemos establecer que: los factores que conducen a la deslealtad lingüística son los siguientes : Factores socioculturales como la migración, el uso de la lengua Aymara con propósitos de afinidad y solidaridad, e identificación originaria. Como también Factores Actitudinales como: la vergüenza étnica y la discriminación social y Factores Sociolingüísticos como el desplazamiento de una lengua, la diglosia, acomodación comunicativa, la motosidad y el bilingüismo. Asimismo los Prejuicios Sociolingüísticos que los estudiantes manifiestan con relación a su lengua materna y a los hablantes de dicha lengua.

Además en los resultados finales se observa que los estudiantes Universitarios tienden a comunicarse más en la lengua Aymara en un ámbito familiar que en un ámbito social como en la (Universidad, con los amigos y el resto de la sociedad).

Palabras claves: Lingüística, Sociolingüística, Prejuicios, Aymara, Actitudes lingüísticas.



#### **CHAPTER I**

#### INTRODUCTION

In recent years, our country has been experiencing major structural changes in its political, social and cultural systems. These changes have been made evident by the new government, which has implemented a new political constitution for the new Plurinational State of Bolivia, which recognizes all the ethnic and cultural diversity of our country. This feature is important since different ethnic groups and nationalities that make up the Bolivian country have begun to claim certain social and political demands. As a result, new public policies targeting the linguistic promotion and the strengthening of our native languages have been designed. These policies, however, require an effective process of linguistic normalization in order to ensure the full recovery that is to say; the speakers can have an acceptable proficiency of the four linguistic skills in their mother tongue: (speaking, listening, reading and writing). Furthermore, these native languages need to be revitalized in order to get an absolute number of speakers as well as they must be transmitted in an intergenerational way in order to preserve them and to guarantee their everyday and official use, as it is in the case of Aymara. Likewise, it is important to know the extent to which Aymara speakers value their mother tongue. Based on observations of daily life in our urban context, we could evidence that the use of Aymara is being relegated to particular contexts. It seems that Aymara speakers are indifferent to their language, generating a negative linguistic attitude, a phenomenon which could be described as language disloyalty.

Thus, this study aims to examine the origins of language disloyalty and the factors that lead to this behavior, particularly in students enrolled in the third year of the School of Law at Universidad Pública de El Alto (UPEA) of the 2013 academic year. Furthermore, it also aims to analyze the extent to which these students value Aymara.



The subject matter that this research seeks to understand is why students of the School of Law at Universidad Pública de "El Alto" seem not to appreciate or maintain their mother tongue (Aymara) given that the majority of these students are of Aymara descent and despite the fact that the government has made this language official and therefore has extended its domains of use.

The goal of this research is to contribute and reevaluate the linguistic identity and the preservation of the Aymara language and culture; because, if the Aymara language disappears or dies, so will the aspects of the Aymara culture die. Likewise this research also seeks to contribute to guarantee the official use of Aymara through public policies that promote the Aymara language.

The basis of this thesis is a sociolinguistic study which focuses on the use of language that expresses the identity of these bilingual students whose mother tongue is Aymara but who also speak Spanish. The variables that have been taken into account include sex, age, and background of the speaker.

The methodology to be applied for the data collection is mixed quantitative and qualitative. For the first one, questionnaires are analyzed by statistical technique and then these are shown in graphs. Regarding the qualitative methodology, the main objective of this phenomenological method is to understand the social meanings and experiences produced by the subject. Concerning the type of study, it is descriptive. This kind of study allows the researcher to describe the more relevant characteristics of people, or any other phenomenon; in this particular case, factors leading to language disloyalty are described.

The population and sample of the study have been selected from students enrolled in the third year of the school of Law at UPEA. The primary data collection tools are questionnaires and interviews. The questionnaires comprise four sections a) demographic information on students b) Likert scale items and c) multiple choice questions, d) closed questions. As for the Interviews, they lasted approximately 15



minutes. Prior to initiating this research, 15 students were taken into account to carry out the pilot study with the goal of validating the data collection instruments, as well as being prepared in case of some contingencies.

#### 1.1. PROBLEM STATEMENT

According to Bustos Alberto (2008) Language disloyalty is a linguistic phenomenon which contributes to the decline and even disappearance of a language. This occurs when speakers deny or reject their own language.

Building upon the above stated, the present study originates from the idea of conducting a sociolinguistic study of students at Universidad Pública de El Alto (UPEA) whose native language is Aymara and where this phenomenon (language disloyalty) apparently occurs as a result of the contact between Aymara and Spanish.

Nowadays, a great number of rural migrating students of this University seem to be influenced by some factors that seem to be responsible for the displacement of their native language to particular, infrequent, and private family contexts. As a result, Aymara-Spanish speaking students seem to demonstrate language disloyalty.

In the light of what has been stated, the central problem of this research is presented in the following manner:

What are the factors that contribute to language disloyalty in students of the School of Law at Universidad Pública de El Alto who are Aymara native speakers?

#### 1.2 OBJECTIVES

#### 1.2.1 General Objective

• To identify the main factors that lead to language disloyalty in Aymara native speakers of the Department of law of Universidad Pública de El Alto.



#### 1.2.2 Specific Objectives

- To identify linguistic prejudices that cause language disloyalty, through sociolinguistics interviews.
- To identify the sociocultural factors contributing to the maintenance and displacement of the Aymara language, through the interview technique.
- To determine the domains in which students use the Aymara language.

#### 1.3. RATIONALE

Language disloyalty has been considered within the field of sociolinguistics as a phenomenon that leads to the denying of one's mother tongue. This attitude can contribute to the disappearance or death of a language

As we know, "...language diversity is essential to the human heritage. Each and every language embodies the unique wisdom of peoples. The loss of any language is thus a loss for all humanity" (UNESCO 2010:3).

Concerning Aymara, nowadays this language is still an underprivileged language due to lack of written materials as vocabulary and grammar books. As well as many Aymara speakers when they come from the rural regions in search of more lucrative employment or a better life in urban areas, they tend to shift their ancestral tongue in favor of Spanish and sometimes they believe that their mother tongue is not worth retaining. These attitudes that they present towards their language make us to think that they are not pride of their language or they are disloyal to it.

Thus this project seeks to identify the degree of rapport or loyalty towards the Aymara language in students who have migrated from countryside. Moreover, this project aims to identify the factors that lead students to reject their mother tongue. In view of the above stated we have classified the reasons to conduct this research as follows:



The research also aims to contribute to the theory of the sociolinguistic field, particularly Andean sociolinguistics, theorizing about Aymara language loyalty and demonstrating the necessity of revitalizing the Aymara language and promoting the development of effective and real actions to preserve Aymara language, here lies the theoretical value of the investigation.

As for the social relevance, the intention of this research is to contribute to the appreciation of the Aymara linguistic identity and the maintenance of this language and culture as well, because in the event of its disappearance the culture may disappear too. (Unesco "language vitality and endangerment", 2007). What is more, the study aims to generate moral reflections regarding the cultural values that Aymara-Spanish speaking students hold with regards to the use of their mother tongue.

We hope this research may be used as the basis to provide the framework to guarantee the official use of the Aymara language through the planning of language promotion public policies in favor of the Aymara. Likewise, it pretends to let the society know that this language should be transmitted in an intergenerational way, due to the fact that in recent years, it has been classified as endangered language due to lack of intergenerational transmission by the encyclopedia of the World's Endangered Languages of Christopher Moseley (2007).

Finally, we expect the study can serve as a basis for future research and thus, this work be improved bearing in mind that language is in constant change.

#### 1.4 HYPOTHESIS

The language disloyalty phenomenon observed in Aymara native speakers of the Department of Law at Universidad Pública de El Alto (UPEA) is mainly due to sociocultural, attitudinal and sociolinguistic factors as well as linguistic prejudices.



#### 1.5 VARIABLES

According to Tamayo (2005), a variable refers to some specific characteristic that assumes one or more different values.

In this research the variables are as follows:

#### 1.5.1. Independent Variable

Sociocultural, Attitudinal, Sociolinguistic factors and Linguistic prejudices

#### 1.5.2. Dependent Variable

The language disloyalty phenomenon observed in Aymara native speaker of the Department of Law at Universidad Pública de El Alto (UPEA).



### 1.6 OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS OF VARIABLES

	OPERATIONAL	DEFINITION OF IND	DEPENDENT VARIABLES	
INDEPENDENT VARIABLE	CONCEPTUAL DEFINITION	DIMENSIONS	INDICATORS	DATA COLLECTION TOOLS
Sociocultural	Sociocultural factors are customs, lifestyles and values that characterize a society. Some examples are religion, attitudes, economic status, class, language. These factors can affect quality of life.	-Without prejudice  - With prejudice  -With relative Prejudice	The informants do not show a negative attitude towards Aymara society and culture  The informants show a negative attitude towards Aymara society and culture  The informants show a relative attitude towardsAymara society and culture	Interview Interview
Attitudinal	Personal opinions or feelings involving personal attitudes towards specific issues or things in general attitudinal and behavioral changes	-Without prejudice - With prejudice -With relative prejudice	The informants do not have a negative opinion or feeling towards Aymara language  The informants have a negative opinion or feeling towards Aymara language  The informants have a relative opinion or feeling towards Aymara language	Interview Interview
Sociolinguistic	Study all aspects of the relationship between language and society. Also it studies such matters as the linguistic identity of social groups	-Without prejudice  - With prejudice  -With relative prejudice	The informants do not show a negative sociolinguistic attitude.  The informants show a negative sociolinguistic attitude  The informants show a relative sociolinguistic attitude.	Interview Interview Interview
Linguistic Prejudices	Linguistic prejudice is a manifestation of racism towards a certain language and their speakers	-Without prejudice  - With prejudice  - With relative  Prejudice	The informants do not have a negative manifestation towards Aymara language  The informants have a negative manifestation towards Aymara language  The informants have a relative manifestation towards Aymara language	Interview Interview Interview



	OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF DEPENDENT VARIABLES				
DEPENDENT VARIABLE	CONCEPTUAL DEFINITION	DIMENSIONS	INDICATORS	DATA COLLECTION TOOLS	
LANGUAGE DISLOYALTY IN AYMARA- SPANISH SPEAKERS	A kind of negative attitude that implies the absence of adherence to Aymara language and its maintenance.	Language Disloyalty  LANGUAGE SKILLS	- The informants lack full language skills in Aymara language. The speakers (do not understand, do not read, do not speak and do not write in Aymara)	Questionnaire	
		Language Disloyalty  LANGUAGE  DOMAINS	-The informants do speak Spanish instead of Aymara in social relationships of tight-knits groups such as: Family, Friends, University, Farmer's markets.  - The informants do speak Spanish instead of Aymara in social relationships of non tight-knits groups such as: Outside the University, strangers.	Questionnaire	
		Language Disloyalty  LANGUAGE  DOMAINS IN A  READING LEVEL	-The informants read in Spanish instead of Aymara, some written materials such as: Public signs, Advertisements, Emails, Newspapers, Magazines, Newsletters and Books.	Questionnaire	
		Language Disloyalty  LANGUAGE  DOMAINS IN A  WRITING LEVEL	-The informants write in Spanish instead of Aymara some Emails,Articles and homework.	Questionnaire	
		Language Disloyalty  LANGUAGE  ASSESSMENT	- The informants show the level significance regarding their mother tongue	Interview	



#### **CHAPTER II**

#### THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter provides an overview of literature by the most prominent authors who have studied deeply the phenomenon of language disloyalty in the field of sociolinguistics. The research considers the following authors: David Crystal, Peter Muysken, and Fishman. These Americans and Europeans scholars offer several theoretic proposals related to sociolinguistic studies. These theories serve as a referential basis for the research; however the study is mainly based on theories of Fishman, who wrote about language loyalty and disloyalty. Likewise it is important to consider other investigations related to language loyalty that is the case of Xavier Albo, who has studied language attitudes in our society. Moreover the theoretical concepts related to the research are the following: linguistic attitudes, language loyalty and disloyalty, language attrition, language and identity, bilingualism, language shift and maintenance, language death, language vitality and endangerment and the Aymara language.

#### 2.1 DEFINITION OF LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

#### 2.1.1 Language Attitudes from a Psychological Point of View

The criteria for a comprehensive approach which emphasizes the importance of studying attitudes in the sociolinguistic field is proposed by Villena Arraya (2005). According to his concepts the following ideas are presented:

Attitudes are the subject of social psychological studies, and can be conceptualized via two psychological theories: *The Mentalist*, which has served as the basis for most research on language attitudes that define: "attitude" as the readiness to do something, a variable that operates between stimulus, and that affects a person and his response, predisposing individual to react in one way or another to a given stimulus. While "Mentalists" use techniques that allow for some degree of complexity and can illuminate something as intangible as a person's state of mind, Behavioral



Theory, argues that attitudes remain in people's response to social situations. As a consequence, Behavioral Theory utilizes a method of direct observation of the behavior of its research subjects. Attitudes, as conceptualized by Mentalists, can be analyzed via three sub components: The Affective Component which deals with assessments and feelings towards a given stimulus; that is to say "what we feel" when given stimulus. The Cognitive Component which takes into account the information provided by the stimulus, that is to say, "what we think" when we confronted with this stimulus. Finally, the Conative component is conceptualized as one's tendency towards the stimulus.

Consequently, an attitude is revealed as a stimulus and response for something. Thus Mentalist and Behavioural theories are psychological reactions to given social acts, which express through knowledge, perceptions, emotional reactions, feelings and behavioural intentions.

#### 2.1.2 Languages Attitudes from a Sociolinguistics Point of View

Languages attitudes from a sociolinguistic point of view are predispositions to act favorably or unfavorably towards a language motivated by beliefs which have an affective and a cognitive component (Lopez Morales cit. for Bentivoglio and Sedano 1999: 135-136).

Whittaker (1985) states attitudes are social behaviors in language. The primary types of language attitudes include: standardization, autonomy, historicity, and degree of vitality, which were studied by Fishman (1970) and Lastra (1992) and others.

"Linguistic attitude is a social manifestation of the individuals, focused and referred both language and use itself within a society." (Moreno Fernandez, 1998:179)

According to Huguet and Lapestra (2006), scholarly attention to language attitudes helps contribute greater knowledge in contexts that are characterized by language contact. At the same time, they argue that greater attention should be given to the institutional support that a language receives.



Moreover linguistic attitudes [...] can contribute strongly to the spread of linguistic change, to the definition of speaking communities to consolidate usage patterns and social assessment and in general, to a wide range of phenomena closely related linguistic variation in society. (Blass Arroyo 2004: 352)

Blass Arroyo (2007) argues that linguistic attitudes should include the following elements: language fidelity, language pride, and language rejection. According to his studies, these conceptual categories would be defined as the following:

Language fidelity (attitudinal parameter) is defined as a resistance from the speakers to the loss of language use, or to changes in language structure. Language pride identifies the degree of enthusiasm that the speaker feels towards his/her native language. Language usefulness is defined as the degree to which a language is necessary for social communication in a particular speaking community. Language rejection is a negative feeling towards a language.

Language attitudes are subjective manifestations reflected in feelings and beliefs that speakers have about their own language or the languages of others. Moreover these are based on group values with which speakers feel identified. Thus, language attitudes and identity are tied up each other and because of that, they are expressed in the attitudes of individuals by means of their languages and their users. Attitudes can be positive or negative depending on the entire language appreciation of the speakers. So some Aymara speakers manifest a negative attitude towards their ancient language. This attitude remains in their minds as feeling of rejection that then is expressed with no use of their mother tongue among society.

#### 2.1.3. Positive and Negative Attitudes

Crystal David (2008) describes language attitude as a term used for the feelings people have about their own language or the language (s) of others, these may be positive or negative.



According to Francisco Moreno Fernandez, attitudes can be divided into two groups, on the one hand *positive* attitudes, also called favorable attitudes regarding a given language which may lead to the predominance of the use of that language. On the other hand, *negative* or unfavorable attitudes may lead to the forgetfulness and disappearance of a language because the language has not been spread out. Moreover, he argues (Pg. 179) that some speakers of minority languages have a negative attitude towards their own language when these languages do not allow social development, economical improvement or the movement to other places which are different from their own social circles. This is due to the fact that a language is not valued at all.

In this particular study, based on participant observations of the Department of Laws at the Universidad Pública de El Alto, the attitudes towards Aymara language seem to be negative, the speakers have been replacing their mother tongue by other more prestigious language such as Spanish without noticing displacing their language and culture too.

Gomez Donato (2001) argues that native languages in our city are more and more rejected and restricted in society. This is due to language contact between Spanish and Aymara. Moreover he assures that this problem arises from school because it prohibits children to speak their native language. This aspect leads to native children to be introverted, submissive and insecure. Furthermore they become unaware of their own cultural identity and in some cases they might deny it.

Apaza (2010) claims that when Aymara speakers migrate to the urban region, they go through difficult situations, they do not know whether to adopt completely the language of higher prestige or to retain their native identity. Due to they think that speaking a native language would reduce the chances of success in society.



Consequently, attitudes have a decisive influence on the processes that affect language variation and change, which are produced in speaking communities. A positive attitude can speed up the process of language change, which in certain contexts may include the predominance of one language to the detriment of another; it may help make the teaching and learning of a second language more effective; it may ensure that certain linguistic variants or styles prevail while others are limited to less formal contexts. By contrast, a negative attitude can lead people to abandon or neglect a language, or can prevent the spread of a variant or a linguistic change.

This study takes the position of Francisco Moreno Fernandez and Belemans (2009) which explain that language attitudes must be understood as social manifestations of the individuals focused in both language and its use. Furthermore, these manifestations can be positive as well as negative, also they can considered important in making up a parameter to analyze the vitality of a language.

#### 2.2. LANGUAGE LOYALTY

The concept of language loyalty was presented by Joshua Fishman in an important work (1964), in which speakers showed fidelity towards their language or on the contrary, rejected the language in order to identify themselves with the new community.

Language loyalty (and its opposite) is used in sociolinguistics to refer to a concern for the preservation of the use of a language, or the traditional form of a language, when that language is perceived to be under threat. (Crystal, D. 2008: 266).

López Luis Enrique (1993) defines language loyalty as a feeling of appreciation and adherence towards the language that is used by to certain speakers or group of speakers. Most of the speakers are usually loyal to their language if they assume a positive attitude, defend their language use and use it every time they can. Moreover language loyalty is part of ethnic loyalty, features or membership of a particular social- historical group.



According to Areiza (2004) language loyalty as an attitude arises from contact between languages which produce linguistic conflict, a process that presents an interesting development from the perspective of psycholinguistics and education. This process is almost emotional in its emergence, and is a psychological reaction aimed at preserving the language.

Moreno Fernandez (1998) argues that this attitude emerges as a reaction to the possible substitution or replacement of a language, leading speakers of the minority language to fight to preserve it, while at the same time, the language comes to stand as a social symbol and an authentic cause for which speakers are willing to fight.

Thus, the language of a particular group comes to act as a source of cultural identity (Fernandez 2000; Lapestra, Huguet 2006 and 2008). Language provides the symbol of the group given that it is connected to the diagnostic element collective identity, that is, the development of a feeling of belonging within that group. (Fishman 1997; Turner 1990)

Trudgill Peter and Hernández Campoy (2007) state that language loyalty is a positive attitude that speakers possess towards their mother tongue that leads them and their communities to maintain the language use and to transmit this language to the coming generations, thus achieving a language subsistence instead of a change language.

Bolaño Sara (1993) states that language loyalty arises as a psychological reaction for the preservation of identity in the group. It occurs especially, in historical and traditionally dominated groups by the most economic power and prestigious culture. This kind of problem appears in many parts of the world, where some minority speech communities are in conflict with the majority group and the language is precisely the reason.



According to Gomez Enid (2009) Language loyalty is an attitude which result from language contact, the speaker maintains all the characteristics of their language without being influenced by the variation that comes into contact. As these studies many others were carried out in many parts of the world, as well as in Latin America with the indigenous languages such is the case of Aymara an amerindian language spoken in the Andean highlands of Bolivia.

The study about language loyalty was conducted in the city of La Paz by the scholar Xavier Albó (1996) who makes a distinction between high and low language loyalty. Who argues that loyalty is higher in rural regions and more traditional areas that have managed to learn a great deal of Spanish, for instance, the Bolivian highlands surrounding the city of La Paz. Regarding low language loyalty, he argues that it occurs when people begin to lose their loyalty towards their mother tongue and native culture and cease transmitting the language to their children. In this way, Albó provides a point of reference based on the level of language maintenance across generational groups, for which children, young and adults can be studied. Language loyalty can be high when young people and children speak the language of their parents and grandparents frequently. By contrast, if language loyalty is low, it tends to be replaced by a language that is considered to be more prestigious and more widely spoken by older siblings, and even parents begin to adopt the ways their children speak.

Thus, language loyalty is a phenomenon of attachment that occurs before the possibility of linguistic displacement of substitution. This occurs when the community reacts against the language which seeks to replace it, and that community struggles to preserve and maintain their own language. A clear example is Aymara language which survived during 500 years the imposition of the Spaniards' language. The survival of Aymara, it is due to speakers' loyalty and the desire to retain their identity expressed in cultural practices. Consequently, we consider that nowadays the entire society should be committed with them in preserving their cultural heritage. However, for the preservation of language, loyalty requires a conscious effort on the



part of older parents, in order to ensure that they teach their children to speak their native language (Aymara). Moreover, it demands the development of education policies that require all educational establishments to teach the Aymara language.

#### 2.3. LANGUAGE DISLOYALTY

Bustos, A. (2008) states that language disloyalty is a phenomenon that contributes to the decline and even disappearance of a language. This process occurs when speakers deny their own language. Moreover this phenomenon may also occur when two languages with different status co- exist, a process known as a diglossia. In this event, the language that is associated with power, money, culture, and prestige becomes a truly fearsome opponent to the "lesser" language.

According to Salvador (1983) there are two types of language disloyalty. On one hand, there is an expected response among speakers of these languages who, unable to stand the social pressure exerted by the dominant language, begin a process of abandonment, which can lead to permanent loss of that language after only a few generations. On the other hand, native speakers of any majority language deny reject it out of a desire to converge with members of other language communities under an intense standardization process, reflected at the same time by equally profound social and political changes.

"The language of origin, learned from the mother's bosom and in the father's arms, when the students deny it, is as deny to their parents". (Hernandez Chavez 1993: 190)

Apaza (2010) affirms that Aymara is still considered a less prestigious language in relation to Spanish, which possesses a high sociopolitical status. Also he argues that Aymara speakers are discriminated by some Spanish - speaking social strata, neither situation can be hidden because even native speakers refuse to speak their own language and show their own identity too. This situation leads speakers to adopt a range of attitudes towards the language and whose effects can be from the loss of language, social stigma, the displacement to total loss language.



Therefore, language disloyalty is a phenomenon of rejection, as speakers come to hold contempt towards their mother tongue. It generally occurs in a bilingual community, when two different languages come into contact within the same society. This process of contact and interference may ultimately lead to the phenomenon of language disloyalty and the substitution or replacement of one language by another. But accepting this negative attitude, which facilitates the replacement of our mother tongue by another, can be understood not only as a rejection of our language, but also a rejection of our culture.

#### 2.4. BILINGUALISM

Fishman (1988.119), Lastra (1992), Dubois Jean (1979) indicate that bilingualism is a practice of using two languages alternately. Accordingly Bilingualism is essentially an individual linguistic characterization. That is, it is an attitude of a speaker who uses two languages indistinctly.

In many speech communities in Latin America where two or more languages coexist, one is the dominant language which has more status and acceptance by society; however the other is the substrate language lacking official status.

Utta Von Gleich, states that in Latin America the individual bilingualism is considered as a problem that has two faces:

**Chart N° 1: Individual Bilingualism** 

1. Good or Prestigious	If the person speaks two international languages with long literary tradition and
	written. Example. Spanish and English
2. Problematic Bilingual	If the person speaks an indigenous language
2. I Toblematic Diniigual	as Aymara and Spanish.

Source: Own elaboration and translation



Concerning sociolinguistic studies about bilingualism there are several types of bilingualism such as: coordinate, compound, subordinated, additive, and so forth. However, the scholar Utta Von Gleich, has also observed receptive bilingualism in Bolivia with Aymara and Spanish language. He holds that bilingual speakers using both languages linguistically distinct in a conversation, two people speak a different language and both understand the language of each other, but each one replies in his own language. This practice occurs generally in intergenerational communication where ggrandparents still speak their original language with preference; however they understand sufficiently the Spanish language and grandchildren speak Spanish language and understand more or less the mother language of their grandparents.

The scholar Lopez Luis Enrique (1993) has analyzed in our setting, within our country two kind of bilingualism: the simultaneous bilingualism and functional bilingualism. Thus he describes the simultaneous or *cradle bilingualism*, as the acquisition of both languages at the same time (the first and the second), it is difficult to differentiate which one is the mother tongue, since both are learned simultaneously. This phenomenon can be perceived in urban contexts as Cochabamba, La Paz and El Alto. It also can occur in ethnic marriages or those households, where the father and mother speak different mother tongues and the children tend to acquire both languages.

The above description is important when understanding functional bilingualism; functional bilinguals are speakers who use their two languages depending on the context, place or topic which they speak as well as the person with whom to communicate, that is to say, if a person speaks a native language and Spanish too. This individual speaks his mother tongue only to discuss issues related to the house, the farm, the climate and the Spanish to speak at the school, market, official institutions, etc. Moreover this kind of phenomenon appears in a asymmetric situation between two languages in this case (Aymara and Spanish) where the first one is relegating to informal, domestic and affective use and the second is more spoken.



As it can be seen, the theories we reviewed are related to the phenomenon of bilingualism in Bolivia more specifically with the Andean highland language such as the Aymara. The scholars, as can be seen above, affirmed from their point of view the different types of bilingualism in our setting and their theories reflected the reality about bilingualism in our context, it is true that in our daily life we experience bilingualism as a problem where the bilingual (Aymara – Spanish) people are discriminated by the rest of society just for speaking their mother tongue and sometimes the society describing them as country people or peasant.

Concerning receptive bilingualism, it is more common to see this kind of situation in urban setting when adult people speaks their native language to communicate and the receptor speaks different language for replying them. About simultaneous bilingualism, this situation can be perceived in conversations between native speakers, where the speakers use their mother tongue in a fluent way, when they are within the Aymara speakers and also they can cope with the Spanish speakers, that is to say, they are able to speak in both languages. We cannot obviate the functional bilinguals who use their languages according to on the context they are located, whether they are in some rural area or countryside or more specifically with their family, they tend to use their mother tongue but when they are located in some urban settings they use the Spanish language as a means of communication. Thus we can say that they use any language according to the context and the person whom to speak. However, nowadays generally in the city, we can observe that the bilingual speakers are more inclined to Spanish language in all domains, family, education, job and so forth, that sometimes forget their native identity and relegate their mother tongue. In order to cope with this problem the Plurinational State of Bolivia has been devising some regulations to promote Aymara language, as well as the other 34 indigenous languages recognized as official, via the implementation of some of these languages in the school curriculum. From what is of our concern Aymara has been implemented in the curriculum both as elementary and secondary education. Likewise its use has been made compulsory, as it is the case of public employees. As it can be perceived bilingualism in Bolivia is



a political movement and the main target of the Government is making official and develop its domains of use of all indigenous languages, depending on the region. Regarding Andean languages more specifically with Aymara language the main purpose is to achieve an equal use and appreciation of both languages (Spanish and Aymara).

#### 2.4.1. Language Domains in Multilingual Societies

The concept was introduced by Fishman in the 1970s and has been influential in the study of multilingual societies. Fishman defines as "institutional contexts and their congruent behavioral occurrences" (1972: 441) the speaker can participate in these domains (home neighborhood, work, education, government).

Based on participant observations, it was possible to evidence that in the case of Aymara, the speakers use different domains for each situation or context seeing their conveniences to use the language. E.g. at home they speak their native language, with their friends and almost for every domain such as university, work, market, neighborhood, and so forth, they use Spanish.

**Chart N° 2: Language Domains** 

DOMAIN	SPANISH	AYMARA
Family		X
Friends	X	
Education/ university	X	
work	X	
Market	X	
Neighborhood	X	

Source: Adapted from Fishman (1970)



#### 2.5. DIGLOSSIA

Cristal David (2008) states that diglossia is a situation where two different varieties of a language co-occur throughout a speech community, each with a distinct range of social function. In sociolinguistics is usually called terms of a high (H) variety and a low (L) variety.

Diglossia describes any stable situation, in which there exists a strict functional differentiation between a (socially) L (low) variety and a distinct H (high) variety. The H variety is differentiated from the L. variety mostly through a greater degree of grammatical complexity. It is a strictly standardized and codified language whose transmission does not occur in the context of primary socialization, but rather secondarily in schools. It is not used in everyday conversations, but instead in formal speech situations and for written communication. (Bussmann H. 2006:.314).

According to Bourdieu (2001), Calvet (2004), Fishman (1988), and Yaguello (1988) diglossia as the inequality of languages which is ranked by the highest social prestige, that is given to some languages over others, by the number of speakers of each language and the degree of development in its written tradition. Also the most prestigious languages play a vehicle role between two or more languages fair prestige and these can become languages or dialects of local use.

Paucara (2002) affirms that in our sociocultural setting with Aymara language, diglossia is represented as follows, Spanish language is represented as an official language or as language (A) that possesses a status of superiority over Aymara and a language (B), which has been displaced domestic, informal, community and closely linked to folklore, myths, traditions and rituals use.

Several authors pointed out that this sociolinguistic phenomenon is originated in a bilingual setting, where two languages (a majority language and minority language) share an uneven use of the language, where the first one is a more prestigious Language, which has more power in terms of its domains of use; and the second



one lacks prestige and standardization and its use is restricted to informal functions or familiar use. As for diglossia in our context, Spanish language in Bolivia, is a powerful language it is also considered as a standard language that possesses prestige for its use in education and society, however indigenous Aymara language is a non-standard or minority language since it lacks of written rules that define its use. Moreover Aymara's vitality diminishes and diminishes every day, due to the fact that it does not have a complete codification. Under this situation, it is necessary to establish language policies for this language before it disappears.

#### 2.6. LANGUAGE ATTRITION

Jack C. Richards and Richard Schmidt (2002) state that language attrition is the loss of a first language L1 or a second language L2, the loss can be gradual rather than sudden. The loss of an L2 can occur in settings where the language is not used in the community and the loss of the first language or L1 occurs in situations where the community speaks a different language. Language loss is also called language attrition and the individuals who experience this situation are called attriters.

Seliger (1996) defines as temporary or permanent loss of the speaker's language performance ability in the use of grammar. It can happen at the level of phonology, morphology, semantics, syntax and pragmatics.

Han 2004; Lardiere 2006, Long 2003; Sharwood, Smith,(1983-1989,2007) define it as a skills and performance theoretical dichotomy that in adults can affect primarily in performance, but in adult of L2 does not result in incomplete grammatical representations.

Several authors have discussed language attrition and most of them affirm that this phenomenon arises when a language comes into contact with another language (the L1 and L2) likewise it appears as a result of language shift. Talking about attrition in indigenous languages as in the case of Aymara, the phenomenon occurs when the native speakers migrate to urban settings and come into contact with Spanish



speakers. The causes of this linguistic deficit can be the loss of the performance ability of their native language which is at the level of phonology, morphology, semantics, syntax and pragmatics.

### 2.7. LANGUAGE AS A SYMBOLIC MARKER OF CULTURAL IDENTITY

Meyerhoff (2006) describes language identity as the way in which individuals can strategically use language as a powerful symbol of identity when testing or maintaining intergroup boundaries. Likewise Fishman (1979), Ninyoles (1972), Fergusón (1984) agree with the fact that language is a symbolic marker of cultural identity.

"Language is a central feature of human identity. When we hear someone speak, we immediately make guesses about gender, education level, age, profession, and place of origin. Beyond this individual matter, a language is a powerful symbol of national and ethnic identity". (Spolsky, 1999:181).

Language is a means of communication, through which human groups can understand the messages of other people. Indigenous languages are associated with a historical past of an ethnic group which is later contained within a nation, wherein language has become a symbolic marker of sociocultural identity, whereby the individual member of a group is rendered distinct from that of another group. (Apaza 2010: 245).

"Language contain generations of wisdom, going back into antiquity. Our languages contain a significant part of the world's knowledge and wisdom. When a language is lost, much of the knowledge that language represents is also gone". (Russell Bernard cit. in Gina Cantoni, 2007: 4.)

Language variety is understood as the variant of a language spoken by people from a particular geographic site. At the same time, a speaking community is identified as a group that has shared linguistic features, and it is recognized as distinct from other communities when the speaker becomes aware that his speech differs from that of other language variants and becomes conscious of the features that characterize



those differences (Obediente 1999:213). It is from this perception that arises language identity, which is a sense of belonging to a different language group than others. This linguistic identity can be seen as positive or negative, depending on the speaker's attitudes towards their language.

On the other hand, Chambers states that people unconsciously express their identity through their dress, manners, possessions and speech. Moreover he express that speech is much less manipulable and much harder to control consciously, and is therefore much more revealing of our identity.

The language with its grammar proverbs and idioms allow us to understand the way of thinking and feeling of a mother tongue, vocabulary, literature that gathers the experience over time. Hence, the language becomes an expression of personality in the group a medium of identification concerning its culture... (Fyle, Clifford N, 1983: 6-7).

David Harrison (2007) states that language is our human cultural heritage, where the traditional wisdom is found in oral history, poetry, epic tales, creation stories, jokes, riddles, and wise sayings are expressed by means of language.

Paucara A. (2002) Defines identity as a remarkable trait that is associated with the principles of belonging and social cohesion in which the language is an element that plays a decisive role. Therefore the mother tongue is a part of one's identity and to reject it would go against our own identities. Through languages we express our history, culture, thoughts, and feelings, however nowadays, it seems that the identity of Aymara language is not preserved at all, since the speakers feel that Aymara language is not useful to communicate within the urban society. The speakers are perceived to have some prejudices regarding their mother tongue, (humiliation and rejection when they speak Aymara in public), they try to avoid using their language of origin in order to prevent the rejection or disdain from the rest of society.



### 2.8. LINGUISTIC PREJUDICE

Jones (1997) states that prejudices are usually defined as negative predispositions or evaluations that are rarely positive.

According to Andersen Margaret (2005) prejudice is the evaluation of a social group and individuals within that group, based on conceptions about the social group. Moreover she states that prejudice based on race or ethnicity is called ethnic prejudice which is expressed as a negative judgment or prejudgment from one group against another group.

Tusón (2010) claims that linguistic prejudice is a manifestation of racism towards languages and speakers. He also adds that it is a rationality deviation that is originated by ignorance or malevolence of people different to others. Thus, the author explains more about Linguistic prejudices which describes as a negative appreciation, a characteristic that some speakers have been abandoned their own language.

Consequently, we can define linguistic prejudice as judgmental, denigrating attitudes towards the language or language variety spoken by others. Moreover these attitudes are reflected in opinions based on discriminated manifestations from different language or speakers to others that sometimes can affect speakers' identity leading to the displacement of their culture.

#### 2.9. LANGUAGE SHIFT AND LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE

### 2.9.1 LANGUAGE SHIFT

Mesthrie, R.(2001) claims that language shift arises "when members of an ethnolinguistic group start using the language of another for domains and functions hitherto the preserve of their own language (L1),the process of shift is under way". Likewise he affirms that language shift can take place over three generations, the first is unilingual or dominant in L1; the second is variably bilingual (L1/L2) the third dominant or unilingual in L2.



"Language shift ... Occurs when small weak languages, or the languages of marginalized groups, come into contact with large powerful languages used and favoured by the majority or dominant group". (Spolsky ,1998:56).

Regarding Aymara language, Paucara (2002) states that this language cannot be displaced at all by Spanish language, despite the fact that some native languages were displaced by this powerful language. He also says "Aymara language has withstood not only the subjugation of Western culture but it remained and remains in force from Inca's time. Thus it is very uncertain to think about an extinction of this language and culture".

### 2.9.2 LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE

David Crystal (2008) defines language maintenance as "the extent to which people continue to use a language once they are part of a community in which another language has a dominant position". For instance, immigrant groups may maintain their language, out of a sense of language loyalty, despite the dominance of the language of their host country.

According to Williams (1991), cited in Baker Colins, it is important to take into account three approaches for language maintenance: the first is *evolutionary approach* in which the author mentions about language survival: strong languages will survive and the weak language has to adapt to the environment or can die. He also adds that languages must survive alone without the help of a language planning. The second approach is by means of *conservation* related to language maintenance, in which he states that to preserve a language it is necessary to do a language planning in order to maintain and to care for the minority language. The last third approach is the *preservative* it is focused on the preservation of language and not to develop the language. An example is to preserve the language through religion; it in case of language is closely linked to religion.



In addition, Crystal 2000, proposes six factors that may help reverse the shift towards another language. He claims that the threatened language will progress and possibly recover if its speakers (1) increase their prestige within the dominant community; (2) increase their wealth; (3) increase their legitimate power to the eyes of the dominant community; (4) have a strong presence in the educational system; (5) can write down their language; (6) can make use of electronic technology.

Hagége 2002 states that there are six factors for the maintenance of languages. These are the following:

- 1. Awareness of identity
- 2. The separate life, particularly habitat, isolation and rural communities
- 3. The family and religion cohesion
- 4. Writing
- 5. Unilingualism
- 6. The mixture of languages or linguistic hybrids

Language shift is a process by which a first language or mother tongue of one community is replaced by a more prestigious and powerful one. As a consequence of this phenomenon the language can lead to death. Concerning Aymara this language has not gone through this stage of shift yet, but according to the encyclopedia of the world's endangered languages, it was classified as a vulnerable language in risk of disappearing, where it is noticed that the vast majority of parents prefer to teach and to speak to their children in Spanish and not in their mother tongue. Consequently for maintaining Aymara, it is necessary to safeguard it, in order to preserve the identity too, because it represents as a human heritage of our ancestors. The native speakers must take into account self-identification towards Aymara. As for writing it must be standardized in order to establish a linguistics normalization which must be encoded in writings, books, dictionaries and grammars for guaranteeing its use in education (teaching and learning).



Conklin and Lourie 1983 state a list of the factors that can lead to language shift and language maintenance.

Chart N° 3: Factors that can lead language shift and maintenance

FACTORS ENCOURAGING LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE	FACTORS LEADING TO LANGUAGE LOSS	
	D DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS	
1. A great number of speakers who live	1. A small number of speakers well	
closely together.	dispersed.	
2. Recent and /or continuous immigration	2. Long and stable residence.	
<b>3.</b> Physical proximity to the country and	3. Remote country	
access to travel to it.	<b>4.</b> Low rate of return to the country and /	
<b>4.</b> Preference to return to own country	or little intention of returning.	
and many actually return.	5. Home language community decline of	
<b>5.</b> Intact community of country language.	vitality	
<b>6.</b> employment stability	<b>6.</b> Employment change, particularly from	
<b>7.</b> Job availability in the host country.	rural to urban areas.	
8. low social and economic mobility in	7. Employment requires the majority	
employment	language.	
<b>9.</b> Low educational level restricting social	8. High social and economic mobility.	
and economic mobility, cultured	9. High levels of study leading social and	
community leaders loyal to their	economic mobility. Potential leaders of	
language.	community alienated from their	
10. Ethnic group identity rather than	community for their education.	
identity with the majority language	10. Ethnic identity denied for getting	
community via nativism, racism and	social and economic mobility, this is	
ethnic discrimination.	forced by nativism, racism and ethnic	
	discrimination.	



### FACTORS ENCOURAGING LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE

### FACTORS LEADING TO LANGUAGE LOSS

### **B. CULTURAL FACTORS**

- **1.** Mother tongue institutions (e.g. schools, organizations and community).
- **2.** Cultural and religious ceremonies in the native tongue.
- **3.** Ethnic identity strongly linked to the native tongue.
- **4.** Nationalist desires as language group.
- **5.** Mother tongue national language of the country.
- **6.** Emotional bond with the mother tongue which gives self-identity and ethnicity.
- **7.** Importance of family ties and community cohesion.
- **8.** Importance of education to reinforce ethnic consciousness or controlled by the language.
- **9.** Low importance of education if it is in the majority language.
- **10.** Different culture to the culture of the majority language. Nativism, racism and ethnic discrimination.

- **1.** Institutions, mass media, and leisure activities lack of native language.
- **2.** Cultural and religious activities in the majority language.
- **3.** Ethnic identity defined by other different factors than language.
- **4.** Few nationalist desires.
- **5.** The mother tongue is not the only national language, or it can spreads out several nations.
- **6.** Self-identity comes from other different factors than shared country language.
- **7.** Low importance of family and community ties, high importance on individual achievement.
- **8.** Importance of education if the teaching is in the native language of the community.
- **9.** Acceptance of education in the majority language.
- **10.** Culture and religion like the majority language.



# FACTORS ENCOURAGING LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE

### FACTORS LEADING TO LANGUAGE LOSS

### C. LINGUISTIC FACTORS

- 1. Standardized and written mother tongue
- **2.** Use of an alphabet that makes printing the texts and the literacy relatively easy.
- **3.** Mother tongue with international status.
- **4.** Literacy of mother tongue used by community and with the country.
- **5.** Flexibility in the development of the country language (e.g. limited use of new terms of the majority language).

- **1.** Mother tongue is not standardized and /or written
- **2.** Use of a writing system that is expensive to reproduce and relatively difficult to learn.
- **3.** Mother tongue of little or no international significance.
- **4.** Illiteracy in the country language.
- **5.** No tolerance of new terms of the majority language, or too much tolerance of borrowings leading to the mixture of languages and eventual loss of language.

Source: Own translation from Conklin and Lourie 1983

### 2.10. LANGUAGE DEATH

The "Dictionary of Languages and Linguistics" (2002) defines language death as the extinction or decline of a language which arises in situations where languages come into contact with each other. The causes and processes can be different but the most common is a gradual process, where language becomes obsolete "it is used by fewer and fewer speakers in more and more restricted situations, until it is finally only used as an "intimate code" in certain formulas and idioms (e.g. greetings, proverbs, songs, jokes) as the expression of social or regional membership in a group. A possible residue of a dying language is also to be found in ritualized (e.g. religious) contexts. All forms of radical or sudden language death are evoked by catastrophes of different kinds, ranging from the destruction and abandonment of a culture, massive political oppression and intimidation to the physical elimination of whole populations of speakers.



When a language dies, it is not because a community has forgotten how to speak, but because another language has gradually ousted the old one as the dominant language, for political and social reasons, typically, a younger generation will learn an old language from their parents as a mother tongue, but will be exposed from a young age to another more fashionable and socially useful language at school. (Aitchson, 2004: 235-236).

For Suzanne Romaine (2010) the approximate cause to language death is through language shift. Moreover she states that shift and death do not occur because of linguistic reasons, thus the author clarifies that this phenomenon occurs as response to social, cultural, economic, and military pressure on a community.

"...a language is dead is like saying that a person is dead. It could be no other way

– for languages have no existence without people. A language dies when nobody

speaks it anymore." (Crystal 2002:1)

This situation has been experienced by some languages in many parts of the world, generally in indigenous languages due to lack of a great social prestige and grammar writings. Mily Crevels and Pieter Muysken in their book "Lenguas de Bolivia" argue about some indigenous languages (Puquina, Uchumataqu - Uru and Chholo) that were extinct in some regions of Bolivia. The reasons can be various as many scholars affirm, one of the main causes to provoke this phenomenon was the economic aspect, the lack of resources and jobs, which force entire ethnic groups to migrate and gradually to lose their cultural and linguistic traits. The second cause that motivates language extinction is disdain to mother tongue. For instance, if we go back in time we can see that several indigenous languages ceased to be spoken; most of them disappeared due to contempt of it. The indigenous peoples thought that if they had continued using their native languages, the rest of society would have discriminated them. Fortunately, Aymara is not considered yet a dead language but the reports of the world's endangered languages encyclopedia (Routledge) considers Aymara as a vulnerable language in danger of disappearing, due to the lack of the intergenerational



transmission. Children do not learn the mother tongue of their parents therefore it is more likely that the language will disappear once the remaining adult speakers will pass away.

# 2.11. LANGUAGE VITALITY AND ENDANGERMENT ACCORDING TO UNESCO

#### 2.11.1. LANGUAGE ENDANGERMENT

UNESCO 2002 (expert group on endangered languages) states that a language is endangered when it is in risk of extinction and without adequate documentation, a language that is extinct will never be revived. Besides the speakers cease to use it in an increasingly reduced number of communicative domains and it is not transmitted to the next generation. It may be result of external forces such as military, economic, religious, cultural or educational subjugation, or it may be caused by internal forces such as a community's negative attitude towards its own language. Internal pressures often have their source in external ones, and both halt the intergenerational transmission of linguistic and cultural traditions. Many indigenous peoples, associating their disadvantaged social position with their culture, have come to believe that their languages are not worth retaining. They abandon their languages and cultures in hopes of overcoming discrimination, to secure a livelihood, and enhance social mobility, or to assimilate to the global marketplace.

According to (Bernard 1992, Hale 1998) the extinction of each language results in the irrecoverable loss of unique cultural, historical and ecological knowledge. Each language is a unique expression of human experience of the world. Thus the knowledge of a single language may be the key to answering fundamental questions of the future. Every time a language dies we have less evidence for understanding patterns in the structure and function of human language, human prehistory and the maintenance of the world's diverse ecosystems. Above all, speakers of these languages may experience the loss of their language as a loss of their original ethnic and cultural identity.



### 2.11.2 LANGUAGE VITALITY

According to UNESCO Ad Hoc Expert Group on Endangered Languages (2003) developed and established the following nine criteria to be considered for language vitality:

- 1. Intergenerational language transmission
- 2. Absolute number of speakers
- 3. Community member's attitude towards their own language
- 4. Proportion of speakers within the total population
- 5. Shifts in domains of language use
- 6. Availability of materials for language education and literacy
- 7. Response to new domains and media
- 8. Governmental and institutional language attitudes and policies, including official Status and use. All these factors can be used each other; none of these should be used alone.

#### 2.11.2.1 Factor1. Intergenerational Language Transmission

The most commonly used factor in evaluating the vitality of a language is whether or not it is being transmitted from one generation to the next (Fishman 1991). Endangered languages can be ranked on a continuum from stability to extinction. Six degrees of endangerment may be distinguished with regards to intergenerational language transmission:



Chart N° 4: Intergenerational Language Transmission

DEGREES OF ENDANGERMENT	INTERGENERATIONAL LANGUAGE TRANSMISSION
Safe	Language is spoken by all generations; Intergenerational transmission is uninterrupted.
Vulnerable	Most children speak the language, but It may be restricted to certain domain (e.g. home)
Definitely Endangered	Children no longer learn the language as mother tongue in the home
Severely Endangered	Language is spoken by grandparents and older generations; while the parent generations may understand it, they not speak it to children or among themselves.
Critically Endangered	The youngest speakers are grandparents and older, and they speak the language partially and infrequently.
Extinct	There are no speakers.

Source: Unesco Program safeguarding on endangered languages 2003(Sic)

According to this chart Aymara would be classified in a vulnerable degree, it is due to the majority of the speakers use their mother tongue more often in family domain restricting to others domains as education, workplace, friendship and society.

### 2.11.2.2 Factor 2: Absolute Number of Speakers

The experts of UNESCO state that it is impossible to provide a valid interpretation of absolute numbers, but a small speech community is always at risk. A small population is much more vulnerable to decimation (e.g. by disease, warfare or natural disaster) than a larger one. A small language group may also merge with a neighboring group, losing its own language and culture. From a general point of view



we can say that there are two possibilities or aspects for determining the absolute number of Aymara speakers: the first one occurs when some communities of rural settings has a good economical and geographical position there is not a serious risk that can affects to the language. The second one, the Aymara language is in risk of disappearing when exists a reduced number of speakers. For instance, currently Aymara young people migrate from countryside to the urban places they cease to use their mother tongue because they feel that their mother tongue is useful only for speaking with their family and they have not desire to speak it among the rest of society. Consequently their mother get abandoned by their speakers, who stop using it in favor of more widely known language as Spanish. Therefore their speech communities diminishing their Aymara speakers.

### 2.11.2.3 Factor 3: Proportion of Speakers within the Total Population

UNESCO explains that the number of speakers in relation to the total population of a group is a significant indicator of language vitality, so the group can be an ethnic, religious, regional, or national group with which the speaker community identifies.

The following scale shows degrees of endangerment related to the proportion of speakers

Chart N° 5: Proportion of Speakers within the Total Population

DEGREE OF ENDANGERMENT	GRADE	PROPORTION OF SPEAKERS WITHIN
Safe	5	All speak the language
Unsafe	4	Nearly all speak the language
Definitively endangered	3	A majority speak the language
Severely endangered	2	A minority speak the language
Critically endangered	1	Very few speak the language
Extinct	0	None speak the language

Source: Unesco Program safeguarding on endangered languages 2003 (Sic)



When a language is severely endangered it is because of a minority speaks it, regarding Aymara, this indigenous language might be endangered, because the vast majority of its speakers prefer to use Spanish language as a medium of communication.

### 2.11.2.4 Factor 4: Trends in Existing Language Domains.

**Chart N° 6: Trends in Existing Language Domains.** 

DEGREE OF ENDANGERMENT	GRADE	DOMAINS AND FUNCTIONS
Universal use	5	The language is used in all domains and for all Functions
Multilingual parity	4	Two or more languages may be used in most social domains and for most functions
Dwindling domains	3	The language is used in the home and for many functions, but the dominant language begins to penetrate even home domains.
Limited or formal Domains	2	The language is used in limited social domains and for several functions.
Highly limited domains	1	The language is only used in a very restricted domains and for a very few functions.
Extinct	0	The language is not used in any domain and for any function.

Source: Unesco Program safeguarding on endangered languages 2003 (Sic)

According to the chart above we can classified the Aymara in dwindling degree, it is due to the majority of their speakers use their mother tongue in home and not for the rest of domains as education work and so forth, however they also use the Spanish as means of communication within family.



### 2.11.2.5 Factor 5: Response to New Domains and Media

**Chart N° 7: Response to New Domains and Media** 

DEGREE OF ENDANGERMENT	GRADE	NEW DOMAINS AND MEDIA ACCEPTED BY THE ENDANGERED LANGUAGE
Dynamic	5	The language is used in all new domains.
Robust/active	4	The language is used in most new domains.
Receptive	3	The language is used in many domains.
Coping	2	The language is only used in a few new domains.
Minimal	1	The language is only used in a few new domains.
Inactive	0	The language is not used in any new domains.

Source: Unesco Program safeguarding on endangered languages 2003 (Sic)

UNESCO states that the type and use of new domains can vary according to the local context. For instance, an endangered language can be spread in one new domain, broadcast media, including radio and television, but only for an half-hour a week. Though, the availability of these media gives the language a potentially high ranking, the extreme time limitation results in limited exposure to the language, which would rank only a 2 or 3. For this reason there will be different levels of achievement in different media.

The use of Aymara language in new domains and media is minimal, because the mainstream media (television, radio, and print media) have been always broadcasted in the dominant language, Spanish.

### 2.11.2.6 Factor 6: Materials for Language Education and Literacy

Many scholars state that education in the language is essential for language vitality. There are language communities that maintain strong oral traditions, and some do



not wish their language to be written. In other communities, literacy in their language is a source of pride. In general, however, literacy is directly linked to social and economic development.

Chart N° 8: Materials for Language Education and Literacy

GRADE	ACCESIBILITY OF WRITTEN MATERIALS
5	There is an established orthography, literacy tradition with grammars, dictionaries, texts, literature, and everyday media. Writing in the language is used in administration and education.
4	Written materials exist, and at school, children are developing literacy in the language. Writing in the language is not used in administration.
3	Written materials exist and children may be exposed to the written form at school. Literacy is not promoted through print media.
2	Written materials exist, but they may only be useful for some members of the community; and for others, they may have a symbolic significance. Literacy education in the language is not a part of the school curriculum.
1	A practical orthography is known to the community and some material is being written.
0	No orthography available to the community.

Source: Unesco Program safeguarding on endangered languages 2003 (Sic)

As it can be seen in the chart above we can classify to Aymara in the first degree, since some written materials as vocabulary and grammar books are not established totally for educational programs. As a consequence, sometimes second language learning and teaching L2 can be influenced by the dominant language to the extent of accepting borrowings where native terms do not exist.

# 2.11.2.7 Factor 7: Governmental and Institutional Language and Policies, Including Official Status and Use

Governments and institutions have explicit policies and implicit attitudes towards the dominant and subordinate languages.



Chart  $N^{\circ}$  9: Governmental and Institutional Language Attitudes and Policies, Including Official Status and Use

DEGREE OF SUPPORT	GRADE	OFFICIAL ATTITUDES TOWARDS LANGUAGES	
<b>Equal support</b>	5	All languages are protected	
Differentiated Support	4	Minority languages are protected primarily as the language of the private domains. The use of the language is prestigious	
Passive Assimilation	3	No explicit policy exists for minority languages; the dominant language prevails in the public domain.	
Active Assimilation	2	Government encourages assimilation of the dominant language. There is no protection for minority anguages.	
Forced Assimilation	1	The dominant language is the sole official language while non-dominant languages are neither recognized nor protected.	
Prohibition	0	Minority languages are prohibited.	

Source: Unesco Program safeguarding on endangered languages 2003 (Sic)

The 34 indigenous languages of Plurinational State possess an equal support, that is to say, all of these are protected by law and the government encourages the maintenance of all languages by implementing explicit policies. However, in spite of the existence of these policies in favor of minority languages such as Aymara, the dominant language always prevails in the public domain.

### 2.11.2.8 Factor 8: Community Members' Attitudes towards own Language

Experts analyzed the attitudes towards languages and they explain that members of a speech community are not usually neutral towards their own language. They may see it as essential to their community and identity and promote it; they may use it without promoting it; they may be ashamed of it and, therefore, not promote it; or they may see it as a nuisance and actively avoid using it. When members" attitudes towards their language are very positive, the language may be seen as a key symbol



of group identity. If members view their language as a hindrance to economic mobility and integration into the mainstream society, they may develop negative attitudes towards their language.

Chart N° 10: Community Members' Attitudes towards their own Language

GRADE	COMMUNITY MEMBERS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS LANGUAGE
5	All members value their language and wish to see it promoted
4	Most members support language maintenance.
3	Many members support language maintenance; others are indifferent or may even support language loss.
2	Some members support language maintenance; others are indifferent or may even support language loss.
1	Only a few members support language maintenance; others are indifferent or may even support language loss.
0	No one cares if the language is lost; all prefer to use a dominant language.

Source: Unesco Program safeguarding on endangered languages 2003(Sic)

Concerning Aymara, the speakers attitudes can be positive due to the maintenance or negative due to displacement. In the majority of the cases, the adult generation tends to maintain their language but it is not the same with the younger generations that are more vulnerable to lose of their mother tongue.

### 2.11.2.9 Factor 9: Amount and Quality of Documentation

As a guide for assessing the urgency for documenting a language, the type and quality of existing language materials must be identified. Of central importance are written texts, including transcribed, translated, and audiovisual recordings of natural speech. Such information is important in helping members of the language community formulate specific tasks, and enables linguists to design research projects together with members of the language community.



Chart N° 11: Amount and Quality of Documentation

NATURE OF DOCUMENTATION	GRADE	LANGUAGE DOCUMENTATION
Superlative	5	There are comprehensive grammars and dictionaries, extensive texts; constant flow of language materials.  Abundant annotated high quality audio and video recordings exist.
Good	4	There are one good grammar, dictionaries, texts, literature, and occasionally updated everyday media; adequate and high-quality audio and video recordings writings.
Fair	3	There may be an adequate or sufficient amount of grammars, dictionaries, and texts, but no everyday media; audio and video recordings may exist in varying quality or degree of annotation.
Fragmentary	2	There are some grammatical sketches, word-lists, and texts useful for limited linguistic research but with inadequate coverage. Audio and video recordings may exist in varying quality, with or without any annotation.
Inadequate	1	Only a few grammatical sketches, short word- lists, and fragmentary texts. Audio and video recordings do not exist, are of unusable quality, or are completely unannotated.
Undocumented	0	No material exists.

Source: Unesco Program safeguarding on endangered languages (Sic)

Regarding the chart above, we can classify Amount and Quality of Documentation of Aymara in fragmentary degree since it does not have several written materials as vocabulary, grammar books, dictionnaires established for educational programs.



These were some of the theories closely related to language disloyalty that were presented that besides these serve as a theoretical basis for a better understanding. Now in this section, the theories of the Aymara language will be presented from a historical background taking into account the colonial and republican period and current situation. Furthermore, the number of the speakers, in places where it is spoken and some advances which recognizes Aymara as an official language.

### 2.12. AYMARA LANGUAGE

Aymara language is one of the indigenous languages most spoken in Andean Highlands with over two million speakers. The vast majority live in Bolivia around Lake Titicaca, likewise it is spoken in the countries of Peru and Chile. Aymara also functioned and still functions as a lingua franca, but nowadays it has been the object of standardization and bilingual educational programs.

### 2.12.1. Historical View from Colonial Period

Galvan, Javier (2011) states that during the 1500 and 1600s Spaniards financed a large amount of resources to study, write, and publish comprehensive studies of Quechua and Aymara languages. These writings were then used as an indoctrination tool useful to spread the Catholic faith. Consequently, these books also had a religious pedagogical purpose. The most salient writer of this period who dealt with the Aymara Language was Ludovico Bertonio (1552-1625), a Jesuit missionary working in Peru and Bolivia. He wrote and published books with rich cultural and linguistic content, as follows: *Vocabulario de lengua aymara*, and *el arte grammatical muy copioso de la lengua aymara* Subsequently, he wrote a religious book in both Spanish and Aymara titled *Libro de vida y muerte de nuestro señor Jesucristo*.

Thus, when the Catholic church and the missionaries arrived, they used the Aymara language to indoctrinate and to spread the Catholic faith, because for them it was hard to diffuse the catholic religion in Spanish language and for the indigenous it was difficult to learn the Spanish language, as a consequence it force to the missionaries to



learn the native languages and develop some written materials in native languages as grammatical books and dictionaries in Aymara.

"The Aymara or Quechua literature produced by the missionaries had no other purpose than to promote the teaching and propagation of religion in the indigenous world" (Layme, 1993, p.132).

### 2.12.2 Republican Period

Choque Roberto and Quisbert Maria Cristina (2007) state that in the republic period the Aymara language still persisted in the indigenous communities since speaking Spanish was not established completely, however in 1905 the government enacted a law for schools, imposing the use of the Spanish language with the purpose to remove the use of indigenous language in the educational system. Therefore, the Bolivian government attempted to eradicate indigenous languages in favor of Spanish and to establish it as a monolingual whole. The schools were thus conducted only in Spanish and when the speakers talked in their mother tongue, they would get shamed because it was a mark of uneducated and low-class.

In 1905 Ismael Montes enacted an educational reform with the aim of abrogating the indigenous languages by implementing a monoliguistic system adopting only the Spanish language. (Quisbert Quispe y Choque Canqui 2003). Consequently education had been spread out to indigenous communities in Spanish language in order to prepare and nationalize the Aymara native speakers in detriment of their own language and culture. As a result, the Aymara and Quechua speakers had no right to strengthen their language, but rather they were forced to forget it.

In 1931 Elizardo Perez and Avelino Siñani founded the school "Ayllu" in Warisata with the main purpose to revalue the Aymara language and culture in the educational system, they gave preference to the Aymara language as L1 and the Spanish as L2, with the purpose to provide the indigenous people with a tool of juridical defense against abuses of creole elite. Thus some writers was appeared such as Juan de Dios



Yapita a scholar of linguistics who created a unique alphabet for Spanish and Aymara languages with the objective of strengthening indigenous languages and then enabling them to learn the Spanish language as a second language.

Consequently, the assessment of Aymara language of the Andean highlands in Bolivia was so different in both Colonial and Republican period. The first stage was with the Spaniards domination, Aymara language was used as indoctrination tool but in Republican time this indigenous language was considered low-prestige language, there was an attempt to abolish it because it was considered dialect which lacked a stable grammar and written books.

### 2.12.3 Current Situation of the Aymara Language

Molina and Albó 2006: 114-116 claim that Aymara language is the second ancestral language in Bolivia in terms of geographical distribution and number of speakers since it is spoken in 15 provinces of La Paz which are the following: (Murillo, Omasuyus, Pacajes, Camacho, Muñecas, Larecaja, Franz Tamayo, Ingavi, Loayza, Inquisivi, Los Andes, Aroma, Manco Capac, G.Villarroel, J.M. Pando). Moreover, in Oruro city, 12 provinces speak Aymara (El Cercado, Carangas, Sajama, Litoral, Ladislao Cabrera, Atahuallpa, Mejillones, Saucarí, T.Barrón, Sud Carangas, Nor Carangas y San Pedro de Totora) in Potosi in the province of Daniel Campos, in Cochabamba city in the provinces of Ayopaya and Tapacarí and Santa Cruz by migrant people.

According to Apaza (2010), the Aymara language shares a bilingualism relation with Spanish language which possesses more prestige, moreover this relationship is manifested unevenly, causing an asymmetrical bilingualism, which leads to a diglossic situation, to face this problem some movements have been developing for the preservation, strengthening, and stability of the Aymara language.



### 2.12.4 Number of Aymara Speakers according to the Census

Chart N° 12: Number of Aymara Speakers according to the Census

	CENSUS 1976	CENSUS 1992	CENSUS 2001	CENSUS 2012
Speak Spanish	78.8%	87.4%	82.6%	69.40%
Speak Aymara	28.8%	23.0%	18.5%	10.60%

Source: Adapted from INE (Instituto Nacional de Estadistica)

According to Census data from 1976 to 2012 which has registered the number of the Aymara speakers in all of Bolivia. The census of 1976 reports that 28.8% are Aymara speakers, in 1992 this percentage of speakers decreased to 23.0%. On the other hand the census of 2001 reports that 18.5% Aymara speakers and finally in the census of 2012 the Aymara population decreased to 10.60%. As we can observe from the Census of 1976 to 2012 the percentage of the Aymara speakers has decreased by 5% up until 2001 but in the last census it shows that the percentage of the Aymara speakers diminished incredibly, this means that at present the rate that the number of Aymara speakers is reducing is due to their preference to speak Spanish.

### 2.12.5 Advances in the Recognition of the Aymara Language

According to the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, dated on September 13, 2007, concerning to the rights of indigenous peoples, in article 13 states that indigenous peoples can revitalize, use, develop and transmit to future generations their histories, languages, oral traditions and so forth.

### 2.12.5.1 Constitutional Field

The Political Constitution of the State dated on February 7, 2009 in the 5<sup>th</sup> article officially, recognizes the Aymara language as an official language, besides establishing the Plurinational and departmental governments must use at least two



official languages, the Aymara language and Spanish in western regions taking into account its use, needs and preferences of the population.

### 2.12.5.2 Educational Field

Milly Crevels and Pieter Muysken (2009) State that the use of the Aymara language as a vehicle of instruction is the result of a long struggle of the Aymara communities that dates back to the early twentieth century and it was built up with some indigenous movements.

Law N° 70 enacted on December 20, 2010 (Avelino Siñani - Elizardo Perez), in the1<sup>st</sup> article, 6th paragraph mentions that education is intracultural, intercultural and plurilingual throughout the education system. And in the 7th Article, it states that education should begin in students' mother tongue. It is legally reinforced the obligation to teach in the mother tongue in the regions where the native language is Aymara. In the same article in the 4<sup>th</sup> paragraph, it mentions that linguistic policies will be implemented to maintain all languages in danger of extinction, the proposal of this law is to guarantee and protect the indigenous languages such as Aymara language.

The Aymara language requires an effective process of linguistic normalization in order to ensure its full recovery and to guarantee its everyday and official use. Thus at present, Bilingual intercultural education in urban and rural areas has been developed, placing priority on education in the mother tongue for all private and public schools in order to value the indigenous culture.



### **CHAPTER III**

#### **METHODOLOGY**

This chapter presents the overall design of this study, including the methodology used to collect data, participants, data-collection tools, and the techniques that were used to accomplish the study's objectives and to prove the hypothesis stated in chapter one.

### 3. RESEARCH DESIGN

The methodology of this study consisted of mixed (qualitative and quantitative) data collection methods. The quantitative methods aim to measure the information gathered numerically and the qualitative methods are based on phenomenology. The main objective of this phenomenological method is to understand the social meanings and experiences produced by the subject.

#### 3.1 TYPE OF STUDY

The type of study to be applied in this research was a descriptive investigation. This type of study allows to researcher to describe the more relevant characteristics of people, or any phenomenon. The present study aimed to describe the factors that lead to language disloyalty.

### 3.2 POPULATION

Tamayo, states "The population is the whole phenomenon to study, where population units have common characteristics" (Tamayo 2000 pg.114). The population for this study consists of 793 students whose mother tongue is the Aymara language, and who also speak Spanish. The study population includes both men and women who are enrolled in the department of Law as of the 2013 academic year, and who are from 20 to 50 years old.



#### 3.3 SAMPLE

Hernandez (2003) defines a study "sample" in the following terms: the sample is in essence a sub group of the population. In other words, the sample population for this study should share characteristics with the larger population from which it was extracted in order to ensure that it is representative. In this investigation, the sample selected for the study involves 88 students from two third year courses.

The criteria to get the sample involves the following variables:

- **Age:** from 20 to 50

- **Gender**: male and female

- Tertiary education: Law students of Universidad Pública de El Alto

- **Origin :** they were born in Provinces of La Paz – Bolivia

- **Language:** bilingual speakers Aymara L1 and Spanish L2

#### 3.3.1 SAMPLE DESIGN

The sample design is probability sampling, it refers a sample in which every unit of the population has a chance of being selected. The elements that we have taken into account for determining the probability sampling are the followings: level of confidence, margin of sampling error.

This is the formula for determining the sample size:

N: Population = 793

 $\sigma$ : Level of confidence = 95.5% (2  $\sigma$ )

E: margin of error = 10%

p.q: ratio of respected features = p = 50 and q=50

$$N = \frac{2 \sigma^2 \cdot p \cdot q \cdot N}{E^2 \cdot (N-1) + 2 \sigma^2 \cdot p \cdot q} = \frac{2^2 \cdot 50 \cdot 50 \cdot 793}{10^2 \cdot (793 - 1) + 2^2 \cdot 50 \cdot 50} = \frac{4 \cdot 50 \cdot 50 \cdot 297}{100 \cdot 792 + 4 \cdot 50 \cdot 50}$$

$$N = \frac{7930000}{89200} = 88$$

The sample for this research is 88 people.



### 3.4 TECHNIQUES

According to Tintaya (2008), both techniques and instruments of field research are procedures that must be valid or validated, and defined through a previous implementation of a pilot study. The techniques used in this project are the interview and test application.

### 3.4.1 The Interview

According to Tamayo 2000 is the direct link between the researcher and his/her object of the study through which the researcher collects the oral testimony of individuals or groups.

#### 3.4.2 Test Administration

Tintaya (2008) claims that test administration is another important research technique used to determine and to register the information related to perceptions, attitudes, and personality characteristics.

### 3.5 DATA COLLECTION TOOLS

The data collection tool used in this research is the questionnaire which comprises 38 questions. This instrument was applied in order to collect information about informants 'attitudinal predispositions towards their mother tongue.

Ortiz (2000) states that the questionnaire is one of the tools used for data collection, and the content of its questions are related to the hypothesis.

### 3.5.1 Questionnaire Design

The questionnaire was adapted with the goal of collecting information about informants' attitudinal predispositions towards the Aymara language. This questionnaire design comprises four sections which are explained in detail below:



The first section consists of questions identifying students' personal information (age, sex, place of residence, place of birth, parents' native languages). Specifically, this section gathers key demographic information about students. The second section is related to the mastery of the four Language Skills or competencies held by participants (reading, writing, speaking and understanding) as well as Language Domains in a speaking, reading and writing level, using the likert measurements scale. This scale consists of the whole of items presented as affirmative statements designed to measure the subject's reactions in three, five or seven categories. In the third section, is related with some questions of Language Assessment where it shows a number of possible ways to respond, allowing students to select one according to their views. (Hernandez 2006).

Finally, the fourth section is comprised of closed questions with the answers "**YES** or **NO**" in which the interviewee must choose one.

### 3.5.2 Interview Design

The interview questions designed for this research project consist of two sections: The first section deals with questions identifying the students' personal information (age, sex, place of residence, place of birth, ages of residence in La Paz, profession and occupation). The second section is related to the questions taking into account the following dimensions: Language Skills, Language Domains and Language Assessment. Regarding the number of the questions, 49 questions are stated with a recording which lasted from 15 to 20 minutes for each informant.

#### 3.6 IMPLEMENTATION OF PILOT STUDY

### 3.6.1 Pilot Study

Pilot study consists of applying the techniques and the data collection tools to a small sample population, and the gathered results are used to calculate the initial reliability of the study and to determine the validity of the instrument.



### 3.6.2 Pilot Work and Questionnaire Design

Pilot study was implemented as a previous research to a small group of participants before the main study in order to pretest the questionnaire so as eliminate inadequacies or ambiguity of this instrument. The piloting group comprised 15 students all of these from the Law Department at Universidad Pública de El Alto, both female and male gender. Concerning the questions of the questionnaire, some of these were identified as appropriated to carry out the investigation and another ones were identified to be deleted. Thus, modifications of the questionnaire were based on the first findings of pilot study and the changes deconstructed are the followings:

### a) Changes to Pilot Study

The first draft of the first questionnaire was entitled "Cuestionario sobre la Deslealtad Linguística" and it comprised ten sections including: A) Demographic information, B) Language skills C) Language Domains in tight-knit groups D) Language Domains in non tight-knit groups E) Language Domains in a reading level F) Language Domains in a writing level G) Language Assessment H) Questions about prejudices I) Closed questions J) Open questions. With a total of 46 items.

Subsequently revising the previous questionnaires, some inconsistences, contradictions and ambiguities were identified. In this way we proceed to make some minor changes to the questionnaire which was based on the findings of the first pilot study for then to implement new questions and deconstruct it.

The changes that were made to the questionnaire are the following:

The first title presented in the pilot questionnaire was determined as "Cuestionario sobre la Deslealtad Linguística", that was modified to "Cuestionario Sociolinguistico" in order to cover the purpose of the investigation, which may adversely affect the quality and validity of the findings.



Concerning the other sections of the questionnaire from (A) to (G) all these were considered for the final questionnaire, (H) and (I) were reduced and combined into one section, and the last section (J), open questions were discarded.

Members of the pilot group had some comprehension problems regarding section (H) and (J) the items of this last one (open questions) were discarded since it took them along time to think and it caused them boredom effects and also to make easy the filling of the questionnaire.

### Reliability of the Questionnaire

Reliability of the questionnaire was established after getting the pilot findings where 31 items of the questionnaire were analyzed by SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Sciences) software version 18.0 for determining the reliability of coefficient (alpha) which range from 0 to 1, when the instrument is not valid represents 0, 7 or minus but it is higher as 0,8 or more it is considered acceptable reliability. Concerning the items of the questionnaire were calculated as "Alpha = 08210". It means that the instrument was acceptable for carrying out this investigation. (See Appendix: Pilot Study)

### b) Final Questionnaire Design

The final questionnaire is divided into three sections. The first section comprises personal information such as: age, gender, place of birth, place of residence, profession, languages that the informants speak, parents' level of education, parents' mother tongue, parents' profession. The focus of the second section is closely related to the sociolinguistic study, divided into 8 sections more specifically in 3 dimensions (Language Skills, Language Domains and Language Assessment), moreover this section is related to some complementary questions.

### **Dimension 1 : Language Skills**

In this section, 4 questions are designed following the principles of Likert Scale where the interviewee should choose an appropriate answer to the questions ¿Entiende



Aymara?, ¿Sabe hablar Aymara?, ¿Sabe leer en Aymara?, ¿Puede escribir en Aymara?

The optional items are the followings:

- a) Nada
- b) Un poco
- c) Bastante
- d) Perfectamente

### **Dimension 2 : Language Domains**

This section takes into account the speaking, reading and writing mastery as questions, which are focused in language use in different domains. For instance the following questions: ¿En qué lengua habla Ud. en casa?,¿En qué lengua lee usted los letreros? , ¿En qué lengua escribe los emails? The items as the optional answers are the following:

- a) Siempre en Aymara
- b) Generalmente en Aymara
- c) Más en Aymara que en Castellano
- d) Indistintamente
- e) Más en Castellano que en Aymara
- f) Generalmente en Castellano
- g) Siempre en Castellano

### **Dimension 3: Language Assessment**

This section shows us the Aymara speakers values respect their mother tongue use within society and how much they appreciate their L1, in this way, we make some questions as follows: ¿Usted cree que en la actualidad el Aymara a nivel social se usa....?. The items as the optional answers are:

- a) Menos
- b) Igual
- c) Más



Moreover in this section is presented by some questions about language prejudices as the following question: ¿Tiene usted prejuicios al hablar Aymara en el aula con sus compañeros de estudio? .With a number of possible ways to respond as these answers:

- a) Nada
- b) Un poco
- c) Bastante
- d) Mucho

Moreover, this part comprised some questions that belong to closed category with the answers "YES or NO" in which the interviewee must choose one.

The general questions proposed for this questionnaire make a total of 38 just for the sociolinguistic study. The questions about demographic information of the interviewer are not taken into account.

### 3.6.3 Preliminary Interviews

The first draft of interview questions was administered to 4 students exclusively of Aymara descent both female and male gender of the Law department. The real names of the respondents were kept anonymous and numbers were used to identify each interviewee. The body of the questionnaire comprise two parts: the first one was all about personal information of students such as: age, gender, province of birth, in which places the interviewee had lived before, how long was the interviewee lived in La Paz and finally the interviewee profession. The second section is about questions related to the sociolinguistic study of Aymara, divided into three dimension such as Language skills, Language Domains and Language Assessment.

### a) Procedure

First, students were selected according the following criterias: Age: from 20 to 50 Gender: male and female, Tertiary education: Law students of Universidad Pública de El Alto, Origin, Place of birth: Provinces of La Paz – Bolivia, Language: bilingual speakers Aymara L1 and Spanish L2. Subsequently, they were asked if they can



cooperate replying some questions about the use of their mother tongue, someone accepted but others not, it was very difficult to interview them and to gather information about their use of Aymara language. Having carried out a phase of pilot work with the interviews, the difficulties and problems were identified, as the time, the vast majority of students were unwilling in that moment, some of these got nervous because the questions made them to think a lot, the other inconvenient perceived was the interview questions where students do not complete totally and the recording just reached to eight minutes. However later new strategies were applied to interview for students. Thus, the interview was realized in times where students did not have classes. On the other hand, the questions were redefined and added some questions due to the first information gathered was not valid for the study.

### b) Final Interview

Final interview was administered to eleven informants all of them of Aymara descent, who were interviewed in the form of conversation with open questions all related to interest for the study. The time of the interviews varied from 15 to 20 minutes for each interview. The interviews were conducted in Spanish and recorded as well. Concerning the questions of the interview, ten questions more were included than the first, this with the purpose to gather much more information required for the study.



### **CHAPTER IV**

#### DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

In this chapter, the analysis of the data gathered through the sociolinguistic questionnaire and interviews is presented. As noted in chapter III, the questionnaires consist of four sections: the first is made up of questions identifying the student's personal information. The second one is related to the proficiency of the four language skills or competencies held by participants (reading, writing, speaking and understanding) and Language Domains, using Likert measurement scale. In third section is related to Language Assessment where questions offer a number of possible ways to respond and finally the fourth section comprises closed questions with the answers of (Yes or No), in which the interviewee must choose one. The study was conducted with students enrolled in the third year of the School of Laws at Universidad Pública de El Alto (UPEA). Following these steps, First classroom of participants was selected, taking as sample the evening class where the majority of students were found with Aymara descent. Then the questionnaire was administered to all students and finally the instructions were given to everyone in order to obtain the significant results, after the administration of 88 surveys, it passed to the next stage, the data analysis process for then doing the interpretation of the results via quantitative way and finally presenting the results.

### RESULTS OF THE FIRST PART OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The results of the first part of the sociolinguistic questionnaire are the following: the study was conducted with 88 students as a sample. Regarding the age, participants' ages range between 20 - 50 years old; and about gender a total of 54 respondents are male and other group of 34 that represent the female gender, All these participants are from Aymara native origin, they were born in provinces of the department of La Paz, besides being students of the Law department, they have other professions such as public employees, auditors, manufacturing, teachers, drivers, independent businessmen, secretaries, computer technician, bricklayers, musicians and



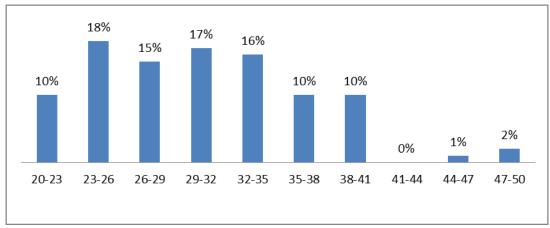
so forth. 100% of the respodents speak both Aymara and Spanish languages. Regarding their parents, the level of education is not so significantly, the majority of their parents just attended primary school and the language that they have as a mother tongue is Aymara.

Chart N° 13: Participants' Age

AGE	N°	PERCENTAGE
20-23	9	10%
23-26	16	18%
26-29	13	15%
29-32	15	17%
32-35	14	16%
35-38	9	10%
38-41	9	10%
41-44	0	0%
44-47	1	1%
47-50	2	2%
	88	100%

Source: Own elaboration

Graph N° 1: Participants' Age



Source: Own elaboration

Figure 1 shows the age of participants. The responses gathered from the questionnaire confirm that students in the third year of Law department belong to different age groups, from young adults to adults. We can observe an almost equal distribution



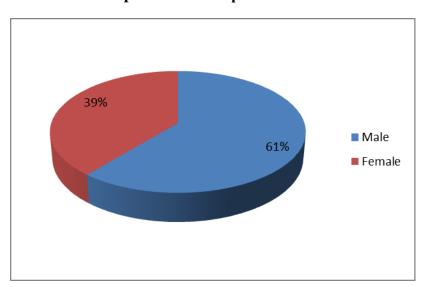
among the respondents in terms of age which ranges between 20 and 41: 18% come from the 23-26 age group, 17% from the 29-32 age group, 16% from the 32-35 age group and 15% from the 26-29 age group. The 20-23, the 35-38 and the 38-41 age groups represent 10% of the respondents respectively. Finally there is a very small minority of 3% aged between 44 and 50.

Chart N° 14: Participants' Gender

GENDER	N°	PERCENTAGE
Male	54	61%
Female	34	39%
	88	100%

Source: Own elaboration

Graph N° 2: Participants' Gender



**Source: Own elaboration** 

Figure 2 reveals the existence of an unequal distribution among the respondents in terms of gender: almost two thirds 61% of the respondents correspond to males, while 39% correspond to females. As the questionnaires confirm, that there are more men than women who are studying at the Law department.



### PLACE OF BIRTH OF PARTICIPANTS

All participants were born in the provinces of La Paz, outside the city. This study only focuses on Aymara native speakers who come without exception from rural areas. They migrated with the purpose of studying at University and many of them are in search of a better life. These informants come from these provinces: Los Andes, Omasuyus, Camacho, Aroma, Pacajes, Ingavi, José Manuel Pando, and Muñecas.

### RESULTS OF SECOND PART OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

In this section the results of sociolinguistic analysis will be presented concerning these dimensions: Language skills, Language domains and Language Assessment.

#### **DIMENSION 1: LANGUAGE SKILLS**

### INDICATOR: Participants' lack of language skills in Aymara language.

Skill or ability analysis of the questionnaire includes questions about four language skills held by participants (reading, writing, speaking and understanding), taking into account the items to be measured throught the Likert scale that are expressed as the following: perfectly, enough, a little and nothing. Each of these items has a value, the equivalence of these is written in a correlative way. The value of the first item is 4, the second one is 3, the third one is 2 and finally the fourth one is 1. If participants are loyal to their mother tongue mark gets to 16 points adding the four skills, if the respondents present a negative attitude or are disloyal to their mother tongue the mark gets to 1. Participants marked their own response, according to their attitude. Moreover we will get a percentage of each dimension from the results, taking into account the items presented above.

The first language skill presented is comprehension. It is meant to measure the participant's degree of understanding, to then getting a percentage from the results and to show how many participants understand Aymara language.



The first question established is the following:

¿Entiende Aymara? (With the four optional items presented in order to participants choose one)

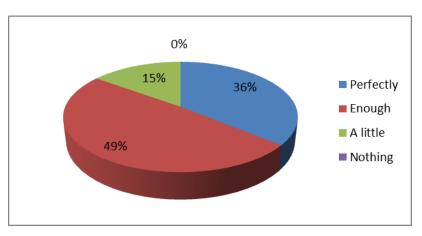
- Perfectamente
- Bastante
- Un poco
- Nada

Chart N° 15: Dimension 1: Language Skills: Do you understand Aymara language?

	N°	PERCENTAGE
Perfectly	32	36%
Enough	43	49%
A Little	13	15%
Nothing	0	0%
	88	100%

Source: Own elaboration

Graph N° 3: Do you understand Aymara language?



Source: Own elaboration

Figure 3 shows that 36% of the respondents have a perfect understanding, while 49% of participants have enough understanding and another 15% of them have little understanding. The group of people understanding nothing has no correspondents. As we can observe, the majority of speakers have a good ability of understanding their



mother tongue, revealing that students understand very well all the words and phrases expressed in Aymara language. This means that the respondents developed good skills in terms of understanding, having lived in an Aymara community for a long time.

The second language skill is speaking; in this section the questions aim to getting knowledge about the informants speaking ability of the Aymara language within society. Thus, it covers the perfect use of language, taking into account correct pronunciation and knowledge of some idiomatic expressions. The percentages of results gathered from the questionnaire are presented in the following chart and graphic.

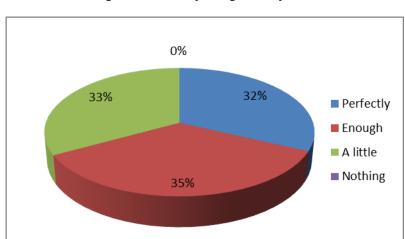
The question established for this skill is:

¿Sabe hablar Aymara?

Chart N° 16: Dimension 1: Language Skills: Do you speak Aymara?

	N°	PERCENTAGE
Perfectly	28	32%
Enough	31	35%
A little	29	33%
Nothing	0	0%
	88	100%





Graph N° 4 : Do you speak Aymara?

Figure 4 reveals that 32% of participants speak perfectly Aymara. The rest is distributed as follows: 35% for the category enough, 33% speaks a little and, as equivalent to the results shown in Figure 3, 0% who does not have a speaking ability.

According to the results, there is almost an even distribution among the responses. Adding up the two groups of perfect and enough to a total 67%, a good ability in oral use of Aymara language can be concluded for over sixty percent of the informants. This can be explained by practice of and exposition to Aymara language within their homes as well as the community.



The question established for this skill is:

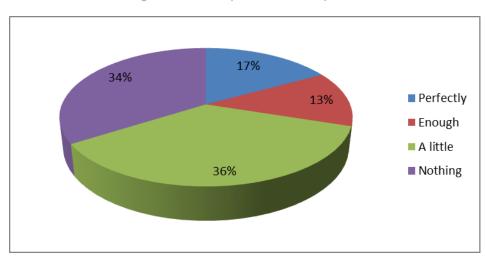
¿Sabe leer en Aymara?

Chart N° 17: Dimension 1: Language Skills: Do you read in Aymara?

	N°	PERCENTAGE
Perfectly	15	17%
Enough	11	13%
A little	32	36%
Nothing	30	34%
	88	100%

Source: Own elaboration

Graph N° 5: Do you read in Aymara?



Source: Own elaboration

According to figure 5 we can observe that 17% of the informants read perfectly, 13% read enough, 36% read a little and 34% of students do not have any reading skill. Observing the results, it is surprising that one third knows to read Aymara language only a little. This might be due to the circumstance that literacy materials do not exist



in this language. Furthermore, since there is still no agreement on standardization of Aymara, the majority of Aymara speakers are unaware of its lexical rules.

The question established for this skill is:

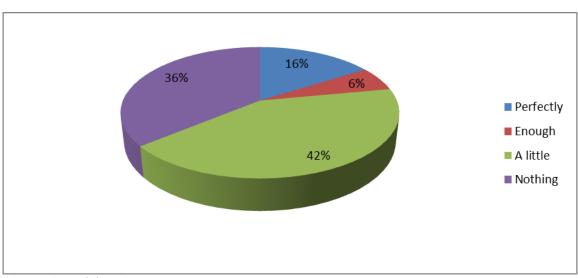
### ¿Puede escribir en Aymara?

Chart N° 18: Dimension 1: Language Skills: Can you write in Aymara?

	N°	PERCENTAGE
Perfectly	14	16%
Enough	5	6%
A little	37	42%
Nothing	32	36%
	88	100%

Source: Own elaboration

**Graph N° 6 : Can you write in Aymara?** 



Source: Own elaboration

Figure 6 shows the responses given regarding the use of writing in Aymara language. Of the respondents, 16% can write perfectly, while 6% write enough, 42% can write a little and finally 36% do not write in this language. These results reveal that most of the students write very little or almost nothing in Aymara and just a minority has a perfectly or fairly developed writing. It is due to the lack of normalization and



establishment of grammar books, resulting in unawareness of grammatical and lexical rules within the society.

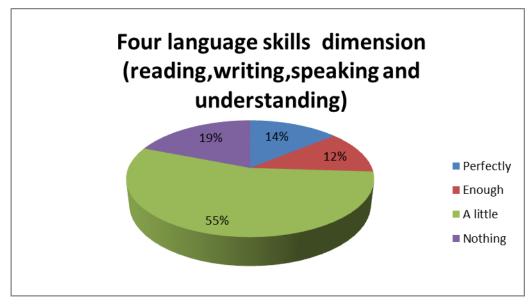
### GENERAL VIEW OF FOUR LANGUAGE SKILLS

The following graphic shows the general results applying the Likert measurement scale, where participants' responses were coded numerically on a scale from 1 to 4. Number 4 refers to the response "perfectly"; the item "enough" is equivalent number 3; number 2 refers to the category "a little" and finally the number 1 refers to the response "nothing".

Chart N° 19: Four Language Skills: (Reading, Writing, Speaking and Understanding)

	<b>N</b> °	PERCENTAGE
Perfectly	12	14%
Enough	11	12%
A little	48	55%
Nothing	17	19%
	88	100%





Graph  $N^{\circ}$  7: Four Language Skills

Figure 7 shows the results of the use of four language skills (writing, reading, speaking and understanding) for a general view of language skills dimension. On this competence level, 14% of the students count themselves to a perfect skill in (reading, writing, speaking and understanding), 12% have a good competence and 55% have a little. Finally, 19% of participants do not have any competence.

As we can observe, only a minority presents a low percentage regarding to the mastery of four skills, perhaps indicating, that participants are losing their ability proficiency due to interaction with the Spanish language.



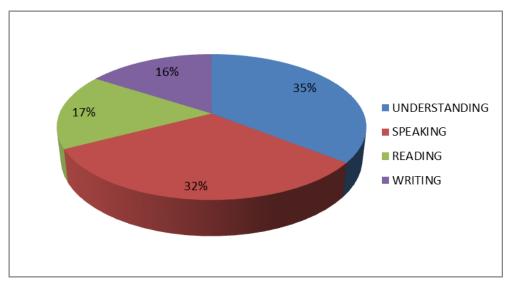
### LANGUAGE SKILLS LEVEL WITH FOCUS ON PROFICIENCY

Chart N° 20: Proficiency Level of Four Language Skills

	N°	PERCENTAGE
Understand	31	35%
Speaking	28	32%
Reading	15	17%
Writing	14	16%
	88	100%

Source: Own elaboration

Graph N° 8 Proficiency level of four language skills



Source: Own elaboration

Displaying the proficiency of the four language skills, Figure 8 shows a very good understanding of Aymara language for 35% over 100%. 32% of participants speak their mother tongue; while 17% of the informants can read Aymara and 16% have a writing ability. As we can observe, a general third of participants understand their language, meaning that the greater part does not show too much appreciation towards Aymara. This third of the whole is an insignificant response as the results should point to 100%; the other results are common to this.



### **DIMENSION 2 a: LANGUAGE DOMAINS IN TIGHT- KNIT GROUPS**

## INDICATOR: Participant does not speak Aymara compared with Spanish in social relationships of tight-knit groups

In this section of the questionnaire, this dimension includes some questions related to the use and proficiency of Aymara in comparison with Spanish language in different domains such as family, friends, University classmates and places out of home as: farmer's markets. Thus, this analysis is concerning the social relation of tight-knit groups. The first question established to this dimension is the following:

### ¿En qué lengua habla usted en casa?

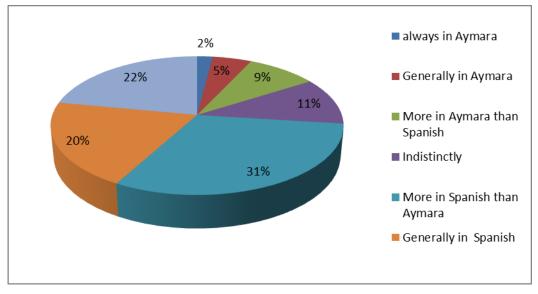
- Siempre en Aymara
- Generalmente en Aymara
- Más en Aymara que en Castellano
- Indistintamente
- Más en castellano que en Aymara
- Generalmente en Castellano
- Siempre en Castellano

**Chart N° 21 Dimension 2 a: Language Domains in Tight-Knit Groups:** 

### What language do you speak at home?

	N°	PERCENTAGE
Always in Aymara	2	2%
Generally in Aymara	4	5%
More in Aymara than Spanish	8	9%
Indistinctly	10	11%
More in Spanish than Aymara	27	31%
<b>Generally in Spanish</b>	18	20%
Always in Spanish	19	22%
	88	100%





Graph N° 9: What language do you speak at home?

Figure 9 shows that 2% of participants always use their native language to communicate in their homes, while 5% generally speak in Aymara. Furthermore, 9% use Aymara more often than Spanish language and 11% use both to indistinct parts. Another 31% of participants make more usage of Spanish than Aymara; 20% generally speak in Spanish and lastly 22% communicate just in Spanish. For the majority, a preference of the Spanish language is observed, which also implies an adherence for it and Aymara is rejected language as a communicative medium by the majority.

The question presented for this domain is:

### ¿En qué lengua habla usted con los amigos?

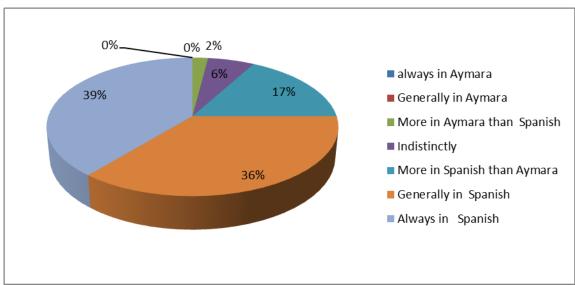
- Siempre en Aymara
- Generalmente en Aymara
- Más en Aymara que en Castellano
- Indistintamente
- Más en castellano que en Aymara
- Generalmente en Castellano
- Siempre en Castellano



Chart N° 22: Dimension 2 a: Language Domains in Tight-Knit Groups: What language do you speak with your friends?

	N°	PERCENTAGE
Always in Aymara	0	0%
Generally in Aymara	0	0%
More in Aymara than	2	2%
Spanish		
Indistinctly	5	6%
More in Spanish than	15	17%
Aymara		
Generally in Spanish	32	36%
Always in Spanish	34	39%
	88	100%

Graph N° 10 What language do you speak with your friends?



Source: Own elaboration

Figure 10 none of the informants 0% speak exclusively or even generally in Aymara when addressing to their friends. Only 2% prefer Aymara over Spanish 6% speak indistinctly. 17% of participants tend to talk to their friend more in Spanish than in Aymara, 36% generally make use of Spanish. Lastly, 39% of the informants speak exclusively Spanish. The results show, that the respondents mostly abandon their origins language in favor of Spanish.



The question established is the following:

¿En qué lengua habla usted con los compañeros de la Universidad?

- Siempre en Aymara
- Generalmente en Aymara
- Más en Aymara que en Castellano
- Indistintamente
- Más en castellano que en Aymara
- Generalmente en Castellano
- Siempre en Castellano

Chart  $N^{\circ}$  23: Dimension 2 a: Language Domains in Tight-Knit Groups: What language do you speak with your University classmates?

	N°	PERCENTAGE
Always in Aymara	0	0%
Generally in Aymara	0	0%
More in Aymara than Spanish	0	0%
Indistinctly	6	7%
More in Spanish than Aymara	10	11%
Generally in Spanish	37	42%
Always in Spanish	35	40%
	88	100%



0% 0% 7% 11% 

always in Aymara

Generally in Aymara than Spanish

Indistinctly

More in Spanish than Aymara

Generally in Spanish

Always in Spanish

Graph N° 11: What language do you speak with your University classmates?

Figure 11 states 0% percentage for the categories "always Aymara and generally Aymara", as well as for more Aymara than Spanish in terms of communication with classmates at the university, 7% of the informants speak both languages indistinctly, 11% of participants speak more Spanish than Aymara and 42% speak generally Spanish. Finally, 40% of participants always speak in Spanish. As we can observe this language is used by the majority since it serves as a link language among students. This is supported by the obvious relegation of mother tongue by participants. A possible explanation could be a lack of appreciation of their culture and language. Consequently, the minority of Aymara speakers possibly feel inferiority or discrimination by the rest of society, for being an Aymara descent.

The questions established is the following:

### ¿En qué lengua habla usted en las ferias?

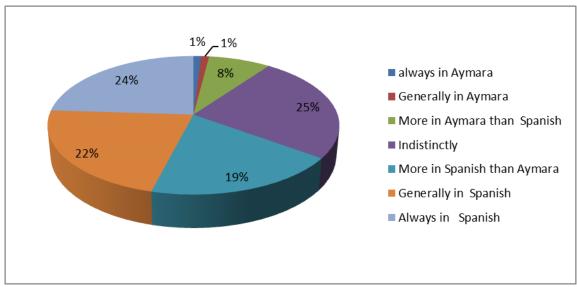
- Siempre en Aymara
- Generalmente en Aymara
- Más en Aymara que en Castellano
- Indistintamente
- Más en castellano que en Aymara
- Generalmente en Castellano
- Siempre en Castellano



Chart N° 24 : Dimension 2a: Language Domains in Tight-Knit Groups: What language do you speak at farmer's markets?

	N°	PERCENTAGE
Always in Aymara	1	1%
Generally in Aymara	1	1%
More in Aymara than Spanish	7	8%
Indistinctly	22	25%
More in Spanish than Aymara	17	19%
Generally in Spanish	19	22%
Always in Spanish	21	24%
	88	100%

Graph N° 12: What language do you speak at farmer's markets?



Source: Own elaboration

Figure 12 shows that 1% of the informants always speaks Aymara at farmer's markets, 1% generally speaks Aymara, 8% speak more Aymara than Spanish, and some 25% use both languages indistinctly, 19% communicate in Spanish rather than in Aymara and 22% generally speak in Spanish. In addition, 24% make exclusive use of Spanish. As the percentages show, just 10% of the informants speak Aymara language



at farmer's markets. At the first sight, we can observe that their mother tongue is not used for purchases at farmer's markets. Although Spanish is the most commonly used language, 25% of the respondents speak both languages (Aymara and Spanish) at farmer's markets, using their mother tongue according to their convenience.

Chart N° 25 : General View of Language Domains in Tight-Knit Groups

DOMAIN	LANGUAGE			
	AYMARA SPANISH INDISTINCLY			
Home	16%	73%	11%	
Friends	2%	92%	6%	
University	0%	93%	7%	
Farmer's markets	10%	65%	25%	

Source: Own elaboration

Chart 13 shows that Spanish is the predominant language in all domains above. 60% of participants prefer to speak this language. As we can observe that 73% of participants speak Spanish in their home domain, while the percentage is even higher in the friends domain, being 92% Percentages reach a peak with 93% for the University domain, but descend to 65% at the farmer's markets domain. In comparison, the percentages for Aymara usage are significantly smaller, resulting in 16% in the home domain, little 2% for the friends domain and 0% in the University domain, where nobody appears to speak Aymara. That is to say, at the University Spanish is the chosen medium for communication purposes. 10% of the informants refer themselves to Aymara speaker at the farmer's markets domain. Mixed use of both languages is shown for 11%, 6%, 7% and 25% respectively. The high values for Spanish language in all domains are a noticeable evidence for the proposal of a disloyal attitude towards Aymara.



### **DIMENSION 2b: LANGUAGE DOMAINS IN NON TIGHT-KNIT GROUPS**

## INDICATOR: Participant does not speak Aymara compared with Spanish in social relationships of non-tight-knit groups

This dimension of the questionnaire includes some aspects related to use of Aymara language in social relationships of non-tight-knit groups such as: Outside the University and Strangers.

The question established is the following:

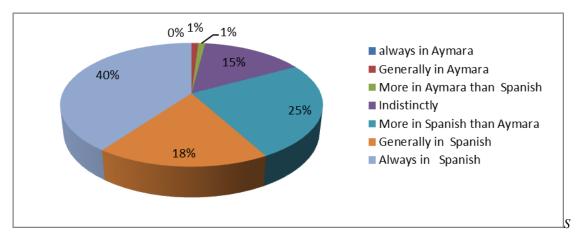
¿En qué lengua habla usted en relaciones externas a la Universidad?

- Siempre en Aymara
- Generalmente en Aymara
- Más en Aymara que en Castellano
- Indistintamente
- Más en castellano que en Aymara
- Generalmente en Castellano
- Siempre en Castellano

Chart  $N^{\circ}$  26: Dimension 2b: Language Domains in Tight-Knit Groups: What language do you speak outside the University?

	N°	PERCENTAGE
Always in Aymara	0	0%
Generally in Aymara	1	1%
More in Aymara than Spanish	1	1%
Indistinctly	13	15%
More in Spanish than Aymara	22	25%
Generally in Spanish	16	18%
Always in Spanish	35	40%
	88	100%





Graph N° 13: What language do you speak outside the University?

Figure 13 shows that 1% of the informants, speaks Aymara outside the university and 0% speaks "generally Aymara", 1% speaks more Aymara than Spanish, 15% of participants speak both languages to equal parts and 25% speak more Spanish than Aymara. Some 18% of the respondents generally speak Spanish and 40% speak Spanish only. As indicated by a total of 82% above, the majority of participants prefer to communicate in Spanish, which determines a high value to this language. In contrast, only a minority of 18% speaks Aymara language. Concluding the questionnaires reveal, in truth, an unfavorable attitude towards Aymara language is presented by the informants.

The question established in this section is:

¿En qué lengua habla usted en la calle con desconocidos?

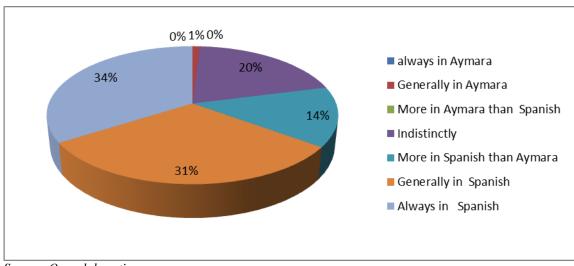
- Siempre en Aymara
- Generalmente en Aymara
- Más en Aymara que en Castellano
- Indistintamente
- Más en castellano que en Aymara
- Generalmente en Castellano
- Siempre en Castellano



Chart N° 27 : Dimension 2b: Language Domains in Non Tight-Knit Groups: What language do you speak with strangers?

	N°	PERCENTAGE
Always in Aymara	0	0%
Generally in Aymara	1	1%
More in Aymara than Spanish	0	0%
Indistinctly	20	20%
More in Spanish than Aymara	22	14%
Generally in Spanish	16	31%
Always in Spanish	35	34%
	88	100%

Graph N° 14: What language do you speak with strangers?



Source: Own elaboration

Figure 14 shows that 0% of the respondents make exclusive use of Aymara, 1% speaks generally Aymara, and another 0% speak more Aymara than Spanish, 20% of participants speak in both languages indistinctly, 14% prefer Spanish over Aymara, and 31% speak generally Spanish. Finally, 34% of the informants speak just Spanish.



The results show an uneven distribution, indicating that most of participants speak Spanish language instead of their mother tongue with strangers.

### **DIMENSION 2 c: LANGUAGE DOMAINS IN A READING LEVEL**

### INDICATOR: Participant does not read in Aymara compared with Spanish

This dimension includes some questions related to the reading proficiency in the Aymara language.

The question established is the following:

¿En qué lengua lee Ud. alguna cosa?

- Siempre en Aymara
- Generalmente en Aymara
- Más en Aymara que en Castellano
- Indistintamente
- Más en castellano que en Aymara
- Generalmente en Castellano
- Siempre en Castellano

Chart  $N^{\circ}$  28 : Dimension 2c: Language Domains in a Reading Level: What language do you use to read some written materials?

	N°	PERCENTAGE
Always in Aymara	0	0%
Generally in Aymara	0	0%
More in Aymara than	1	1%
Spanish		
Indistinctly	7	8%
More in Spanish than	16	18%
Aymara		
Generally in Spanish	26	30%
Always in Spanish	38	43%
	88	100%



18%

always in Aymara

Generally in Aymara than Spanish

Indistinctly

More in Spanish than Aymara

Generally in Spanish

Always in Spanish

Graph N° 15: What language do you use to read some written materials?

Figure 15 shows that 0% values are presented for participants who read some written materials "always in Aymara", as well as "generally in Aymara", 1% reads more in Aymara than Spanish, and 8% of participants show no difference, while 18% read more in Spanish than in Aymara. 30% read generally in Spanish and 43% of participants read always in Spanish. As we can observe, most of the respondents prefer to read unspecific texts in Spanish, which is different with Aymara language.

The question presented is the following:

¿En qué lengua lee Ud. "los letreros"?

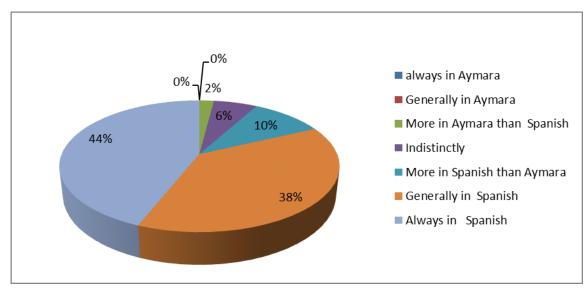
- Siempre en Aymara
- Generalmente en Aymara
- Más en Aymara que en Castellano
- Indistintamente
- Más en castellano que en Aymara
- Generalmente en Castellano
- Siempre en Castellano



Chart N° 29 Dimension 2c: Language Domains in a Reading Level: What language do you use to read public signs?

	N°	PERCENTAGE
Always in Aymara	0	0%
Generally in Aymara	0	0%
More in Aymara than Spanish	2	2%
Indistinctly	5	6%
More in Spanish than Aymara	9	10%
Generally in Spanish	33	38%
Always in Spanish	39	44%
	88	100%

Graph N° 16: What language do you use to read public signs?



Source: Own elaboration

According to Figure 16, we can observe that 0% for the choices "always in Aymara" and "generally in Aymara", 2% read "more in Aymara than Spanish", 6% do not make a difference between both languages and 10% read signs rather Spanish than Aymara. While 38% read signs generally in Spanish, 44% of the respondents read signs in



Spanish only. Noticeably, most of participants 92% prefer to read signs in Spanish language and just a little group of 8% prefer to read in Aymara language. Not surprisingly, due to the fact that signs written in Aymara a mostly inexistent and people are in the habit of reading the signs in Spanish.

The question established for this dimension is the following:

### ¿En qué lengua lee Ud. los anuncios publicitarios?

- Siempre en Aymara
- Generalmente en Aymara
- Más en Aymara que en Castellano
- Indistintamente
- Más en castellano que en Aymara
- Generalmente en Castellano
- Siempre en Castellano

Chart  $N^{\circ}$  30 : Dimension 2c: Language Domains in a Reading Level: What language do you read advertisements?

	N°	PERCENTAGE
Always in Aymara	0	0%
Generally in Aymara	0	0%
More in Aymara than Spanish	2	2%
Indistinctly	4	5%
More in Spanish than Aymara	11	13%
Generally in Spanish	31	35%
Always in Spanish	40	45%
	88	100%



0% \_ 0% \_ 2%

5%

13%

■ always in Aymara

■ Generally in Aymara

■ More in Aymara than Spanish

■ Indistinctly

■ More in Spanish than Aymara

■ Generally in Spanish

■ Always in Spanish

Graph N° 17: What language do you use to read advertisements?

Figure 17 reveals that 0% of participants always read advertisements written in Aymara, and also 0% generally in Aymara. 2% read rather Aymara than Spanish, 7% indicate equal usage, another 13% of all informants prefer Spanish over Aymara. Finally, a group of 35% read advertisements generally in Spanish and some 45% exclusively in Spanish. As suggested by the data, the majority of the informants read the advertisements in Spanish

The question established is the following:

### ¿En qué lengua lee Ud. los correos electrónicos?

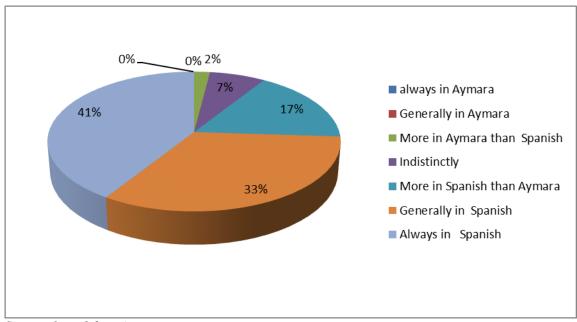
- Siempre en Aymara
- Generalmente en Aymara
- Más en Aymara que en Castellano
- Indistintamente
- Más en castellano que en Aymara
- Generalmente en Castellano
- Siempre en Castellano



Chart N° 31: Dimension 2c: Language Domains in a Reading Level: What language do you use to read emails?

	N°	PERCENTAGE
Always in Aymara	0	0%
Generally in Aymara	0	0%
More in Aymara than	2	2%
Spanish		
Indistinctly	6	7%
More in Spanish than	15	17%
Aymara		
Generally in Spanish	29	33%
Always in Spanish	36	41%
	88	100%

Graph N° 18: What language do you use to read emails?



Source: Own elaboration

As displayed in Figure 18 shows that 0% of participants read emails exclusively in Aymara, as well as for the option "generally Aymara". Just 2% of the informants read more in Aymara than in Spanish, 7% chose "indistinctly" and 17% favor Spanish over Aymara. More than a third 33% of the respondents read email generally in Spanish and



finally 41% of participants read in Spanish only. The above percentages confirm that most of the students read email generally in Spanish and not in Aymara.

The question presented is the following:

### ¿En qué lengua lee Ud. los periódicos?

- Siempre en Aymara
- Generalmente en Aymara
- Más en Aymara que en Castellano
- Indistintamente
- Más en castellano que en Aymara
- Generalmente en Castellano
- Siempre en Castellano

Chart N° 32: Dimension 2c: Language Domains in a Reading Level: What language do you use to read the newspapers?

	N°	PERCENTAGE
Always in Aymara	0	0%
Generally in Aymara	1	1%
More in Aymara than Spanish	2	0%
Indistinctly	6	7%
More in Spanish than Aymara	15	14%
<b>Generally in Spanish</b>	29	35%
Always in Spanish	36	43%
	88	100%



1%
0%
7%
14%

■ always in Aymara
■ Generally in Aymara than Spanish
■ Indistinctly
■ More in Spanish than Aymara
■ Generally in Spanish
■ Always in Spanish

Graph N° 19: What language do you use to read the newspapers?

Figure 19 shows that 0% for the choices "always in Aymara" and "more Aymara than Spanish" and 1% for "generally in Aymara" in regard of newspaper reading, 7% of the respondents show indistinct behavior, while 14% of the informants read rather in Spanish than Aymara, 35% read the newspapers generally in Spanish and finally 43% read the newspaper in Spanish only. These results confirm a major preference for the Spanish language in terms of reading the newspapers. This could be determined as a factor for the general increase of Spanish language.

The question established is the following:

### ¿En qué lengua lee Ud. las revistas y boletines?

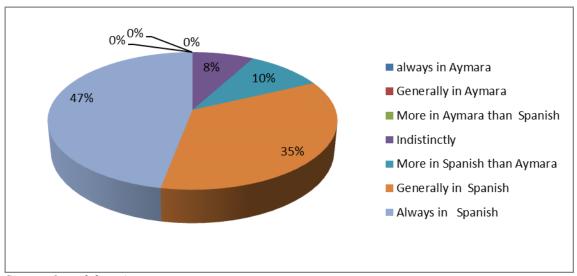
- Siempre en Aymara
- Generalmente en Aymara
- Más en Aymara que en Castellano
- Indistintamente
- Más en castellano que en Aymara
- Generalmente en Castellano
- Siempre en Castellano



Chart N° 33: Dimension 2c: Language Domains in a Reading Level: What language do you use to read magazines and newsletters?

	N°	PERCENTAGE
Always in Aymara	0	0%
Generally in Aymara	0	0%
More in Aymara than Spanish	0	0%
Indistinctly	7	8%
More in Spanish than Aymara	9	10%
Generally in Spanish	31	35%
Always in Spanish	41	47%
	88	100%

Graph  $N^{\circ}$  20: What language do you use to read magazines and newsletters?



Source: Own elaboration

Figure 20, shows that 0% read magazines and newsletters in the categories: "always in Aymara" "generally Aymara" "more Aymara than Spanish, 8% of the informants read indistinctly both languages Aymara and Spanish, 10% read more in Spanish than Aymara, 35% of the informants read generally in Spanish and finally 47% of the respondents always read magazines and newsletters in Spanish. As we can observe most of the informants read magazines and newsletters written in Spanish, it is



because of exist abundant written material in Spanish and generally all magazines and newsletters are written in this language.

The question presented is the following:

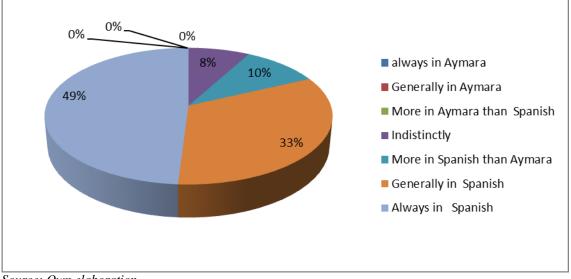
### ¿En qué lengua lee Ud. los libros?

- Siempre en Aymara
- Generalmente en Aymara
- Más en Aymara que en Castellano
- Indistintamente
- Más en castellano que en Aymara
- Generalmente en Castellano
- Siempre en Castellano

Chart  $N^{\circ}$  34: Dimension 2c: Language Domains in a Reading Level: What language do you use to read books?

	N°	PERCENTAGE
Always in Aymara	0	0%
Generally in Aymara	0	0%
More in Aymara than Spanish	0	0%
Indistinctly	7	8%
More in Spanish than Aymara	9	10%
Generally in Spanish	29	33%
Always in Spanish	43	49%
	88	100%





Graph N° 21: What language do you use to read books?

Figure 21 shows that 0% percentage for the categories: "always Aymara", "generally Aymara", "more Aymara than Spanish", in terms of reading books and 8% of participants read books indistinctly, while 10% read more in Spanish than Aymara, another 33% read generally in Spanish and finally 49% of participants Always read in Spanish. As we can observe in this graphic the great majority of the informants read books in Spanish, it is a significant result in favor of Spanish language and just a minority of participants read in Aymara language, it is due to lack of books written production in Aymara.

### **DIMENSION 2 d: LANGUAGE DOMAINS IN A WRITING LEVEL** INDICATOR: Participant does not write in Aymara compared to the Spanish

In this section the questions are related with writing proficiency of Aymara.



The first question established is the following:

### ¿Usted escribe alguna cosa?

- Siempre en Aymara
- Generalmente en Aymara
- Más en Aymara que en Castellano
- Indistintamente
- Más en castellano que en Aymara
- Generalmente en Castellano
- Siempre en Castellano

Chart  $N^{\circ}$  35: Dimension 2 c: Language Domains in a Reading Level: Which language do you use to write?

	N°	PERCENTAGE
Always in Aymara	0	0%
Generally in Aymara	0	0%
More in Aymara than Spanish	0	0%
Indistinctly	4	5%
More in Spanish than Aymara	14	16%
Generally in Spanish	30	34%
Always in Spanish	40	45%
	88	100%



always in Aymara
Generally in Aymara
More in Aymara than Spanish
Indistinctly
More in Spanish than Aymara
Generally in Spanish
Always in Spanish

Graph  $N^{\circ}$  22: Which language do you use to write?

Figure 22 shows that 0% of participants always write in Aymara, as well as 0% of participants write "generally in Aymara" and "more in Aymara than Spanish", while 5% of the informants write both languages, 16% of participants write more in Spanish than Aymara, and 34% of the informants write generally in Spanish and finally 45% of the respondents always write in Spanish. The responses gathered states that most of participants write their in Spanish language; it is because of that the majority of Aymara speakers do not have defined some lexical rulers about writing.

The question established is the following:

### ¿Usted escribe los correos electrónicos?

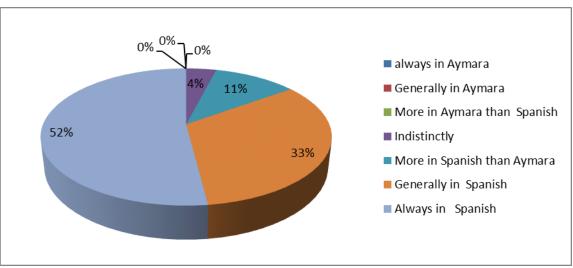
- Siempre en Aymara
- Generalmente en Aymara
- Más en Aymara que en Castellano
- Indistintamente
- Más en castellano que en Aymara
- Generalmente en Castellano
- Siempre en Castellano



Chart  $N^{\circ}$  36: Dimension 2 c: Language Domains in a Reading Level: Which language do you use to write emails?

	N°	PERCENTAGE
Always in Aymara	0	0%
Generally in Aymara	0	0%
More in Aymara than Spanish	0	0%
Indistinctly	3	3%
More in Spanish than Aymara	12	14%
Generally in Spanish	30	34%
Always in Spanish	43	49%
	88	100%

Graph  $N^{\circ}$  23: Which language do you use to write emails?



Source: Own elaboration

Figure 23 shows that 0% for these categories: "always in Aymara", "generally in Aymara", as well as for "more in Aymara than Spanish" and 3% of the informants write in both language Aymara and Spanish, other group of 14% write more in Spanish than Aymara, 34% write generally in Spanish and finally 49% of the informants always write emails in Spanish.



The question presented is the following:

### ¿Usted escribe artículos?

- Siempre en Aymara
- Generalmente en Aymara
- Más en Aymara que en Castellano
- Indistintamente
- Más en castellano que en Aymara
- Generalmente en Castellano
- Siempre en Castellano

Chart  $N^{\circ}$  37: Dimension 2 c: Language Domains in a Reading Level: What language do you use to write articles?

	N°	PERCENTAGE
Always in Aymara	0	0%
Generally in Aymara	0	0%
More in Aymara than Spanish	0	0%
Indistinctly	3	3%
More in Spanish than Aymara	10	13%
Generally in Spanish	29	33%
Always in Spanish	46	51%
	88	100%



13%

I always in Aymara

Generally in Aymara than Spanish

Indistinctly

More in Spanish than Aymara

Generally in Spanish

Always in Spanish

Graph N° 24: What language do you use to write articles?

Figure 24 shows that 0% of the informants always write articles in Aymara, 0% write generally in Aymara and also 0% write rather Aymara than Spanish, while 3% write in both languages Aymara- Spanish, moreover 13% of participants write articles more in Spanish than Aymara, 33% of the respondents write generally in Spanish and finally more than a half of 51% write always in Spanish.

The question established for this dimension is the following:

### ¿Usted escribe sus tareas de la Universidad?

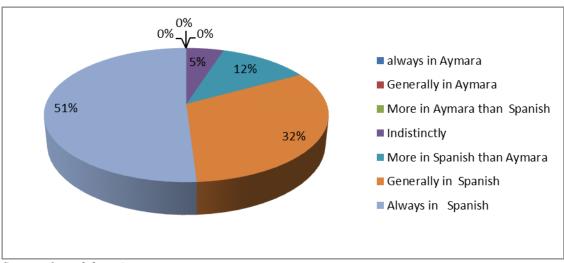
- Siempre en Aymara
- Generalmente en Aymara
- Más en Aymara que en Castellano
- Indistintamente
- Más en castellano que en Aymara
- Generalmente en Castellano
- Siempre en Castellano



Chart N° 38: Dimension 2 c: Language Domains in a Reading Level: What language do you use to write your homework?

	N°	PERCENTAGE
Always in Aymara	0	0%
Generally in Aymara	0	0%
More in Aymara than Spanish	0	0%
Indistinctly	4	5%
More in Spanish than Aymara	11	12%
Generally in Spanish	28	32%
Always in Spanish	45	51%
	88	100%

Graph N° 25: What language do you use to write your homework?



Source: Own elaboration

Figure 25 shows that 0% for the categories "always in Aymara", "generally in Aymara" and also "more in Aymara than Spanish" in terms of writing homework, 4% write in both languages indistinctly, 13% of the informants write books more in Spanish than Aymara and 32% write generally in Spanish and finally 51% always write in Spanish. The percentages reflect the great use of Spanish language.



### **DIMENSION 3: LANGUAGE ASSESSMENT**

INDICATOR: Participant do not shows the level of appreciation to their mother tongue

¿Usted cree que en la actualidad, el Aymara, a nivel social. ....se usa?

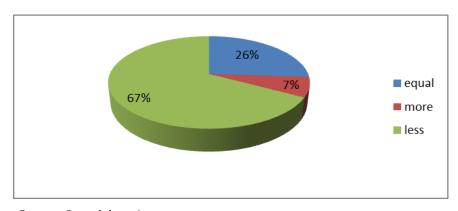
- Igual
- Más
- Menos

Chart N° 39: Dimension 3:Language Assessment: Currently do you think that Aymara is used by society in comparison with Spanish?

	N°	PERCENTAGE
Equal	23	26%
More	6	7%
Less	59	67%
	88	100%

Source: Own elaboration

Graph  $N^{\circ}$  26: Currently do you think that Aymara is used by society in comparison with Spanish?



Source: Own elaboration

Figure 26 shows that 26% of participants think Aymara language is spoken currently of an equal way in comparison with Spanish language, while 7% of the respondents think the Aymara is spoken rather than Spanish and the majority of the informants



67% think Aymara is spoken less than Spanish language. As we can observe most of the informants think that Aymara is spoken less in the urban setting at present, it is due to Spanish is the most spread out language in all domains.

### ¿Usted cree que en la actualidad, el Aymara, a nivel social. ... debería usarse?

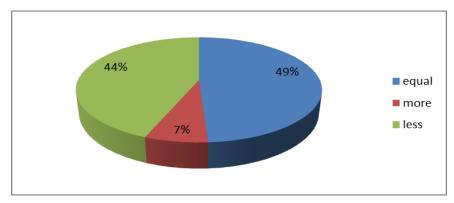
- Igual
- Mas
- Menos

Chart N° 40: Dimension 3: Language Assessment: Currently do you think that Aymara should be spoken by society in comparison with Spanish?

	N°	PERCENTAGE
Equal	43	49%
More	6	7%
Less	39	44%
	88	100%

Source: Own elaboration

Graph  $N^{\circ}$  27: Currently do you think that Aymara should be spoken by society in comparison with Spanish?



Source: Own elaboration

Figure 27 displays that 49% of participants think Aymara should be spoken equal to Spanish language and another group of 7% think Aymara should be spoken rather than



Spanish, finally 44% of the informants think Aymara should be spoken less than Spanish. As we can observe the results most of the informants think Aymara language should be spoken equal to Spanish language.

#### LINGUISTIC PREJUDICES TOWARDS AYMARA LANGUAGE

¿Tiene Usted prejuicios al hablar Aymara en el aula con sus compañeros de estudio?

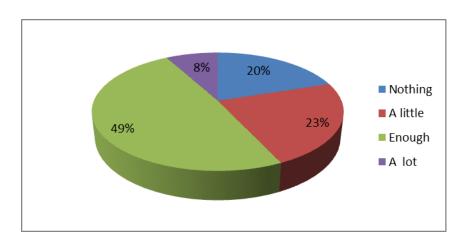
- Nada
- Un poco
- Bastante
- Mucho

Chart N° 41: Dimension 3: Linguistic Prejudices towards Aymara language: Do you have any prejudices when speaking Aymara in the classroom?

	N°	PERCENTAGE
Nothing	18	20%
A little	20	23%
Enough	43	49%
A lot	7	8%
	88	100%

Source: Own elaboration

Graph  $N^{\circ}$  28: Do you have any prejudices when speaking Aymara in the classroom?





Source: Own elaboration

Figure 28 shows the percentage of participants who have some prejudices when speaking Aymara in the classroom, 20% of the informants do not show any prejudice when speaking Aymara, 23% of the respondents have "a little", while 49% of the informants have "enough" and 8% "a lot". As we can observe the majority of the informants have prejudices when speaking Aymara with classmates inside the classroom.

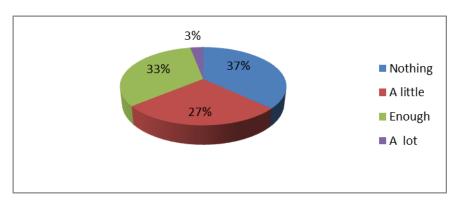
¿Tiene usted Prejuicios al hablar Aymara en la Universidad?

Chart N° 42: Dimension 3: Linguistic Prejudices towards Aymara language: Do you have any prejudices when speaking Aymara at the University?

	N°	PERCENTAGE
Nothing	32	37%
A little	24	27%
Enough	29	33%
A lot	3	3%
	88	100%

Source: Own elaboration

Graph  $N^{\circ}$  29: Do you have any prejudices when speaking Aymara at the University?



Source: Own elaboration



Figure 29 shows that 37% of the informants do not have any prejudice when speaking Aymara at the University; 27% of the respondents have "a little", and 33% of participants have "enough" and finally 3% of participants have "a lot".

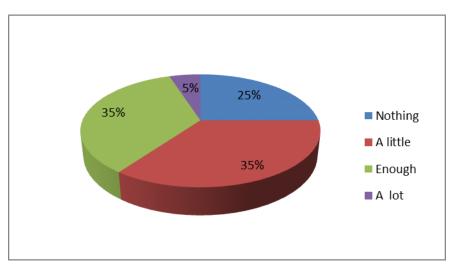
¿Tiene usted Prejuicios al hablar Aymara con sus amigos?

Chart N° 43: Dimension 3: Linguistic Prejudices towards Aymara language: Do you have any prejudices when speaking Aymara with your friends?

	N°	PERCENTAGE
Nothing	22	25%
A little	31	35%
Enough	31	35%
A lot	4	5%
	88	100%

Source: Own elaboration

Graph  $N^{\circ}$  30: Do you have any prejudices when speaking Aymara with your friends?



Source: Own elaboration

Figure 30 shows that 25% of the informants do not have any prejudice, 35% have "a little" while 35% have "enough" and finally 35% of participants have "a lot"



prejudices when speaking Aymara with their friends. This chart reveals that the majority of participants have prejudices when speaking with their friends.

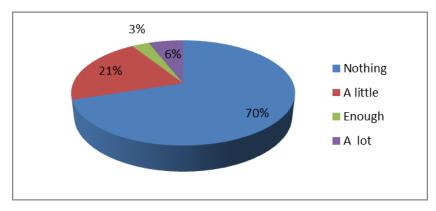
¿Tiene Usted Prejuicios al hablar Aymara con sus familiares?

Chart N° 44: Dimension 3: Linguistic Prejudices towards Aymara language: Do you have any prejudices when speaking Aymara with your family?

	N°	PERCENTAGE
Nothing	62	70%
A little	18	21%
Enough	3	3%
A lot	5	6%
	88	100%

Source: Own elaboration

Graph  $N^{\circ}$  31: Do you have any prejudices when speaking Aymara with your family?



Source: Own elaboration

Figure 31 shows that 70% of the informants do not have any prejudice when speaking Aymara inside home, while 21% of the informants have prejudices in "a little"; 3% have "enough" and finally 6% of the informants show "a lot". The percentages reveal



that most of the informants do not have prejudices for communicating in Aymara with their family.

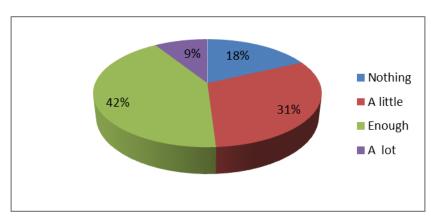
¿Tiene usted Prejuicios al hablar Aymara con Extraños?

Chart N° 45: Dimension 3: Linguistic Prejudices towards Aymara language: Do you have any prejudices when speaking Aymara with strangers?

	N°	PERCENTAGE
Nothing	62	18%
A little	18	31%
Enough	3	42%
A lot	5	9%
	88	100%

Source: Own elaboration

Graph  $N^{\circ}$  32: Do you have any prejudices when speaking Aymara with strangers?



Source: Own elaboration

Figure 32 shows that 18% of the informants do not have any prejudice when speaking Aymara with strangers; 31% have "a little"; 42% of participants have "enough" and finally 9% have "a lot", when speaking Aymara with strangers. As we can observe this graphic, most of the informants have prejudices when speaking Aymara with strangers.



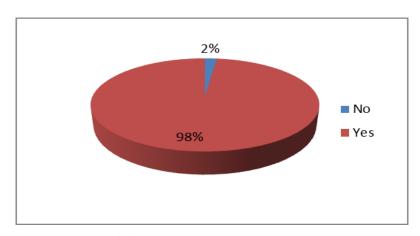
¿Puede comprender en la lengua Aymara Saludos rutinarios, Preguntas Frases sencillas, etc.?

Chart N° 46: Dimension 3: Language Assessment: Do you understand some daily greetings, questions and easy phrases in Aymara?

	N°	PERCENTAGE
No	2	2%
Yes	86	98%
	88	100%

Source: Own elaboration

Graph  $N^{\circ}$  33: Do you understand some daily greetings, questions and easy phrases in Aymara?



Source: Own elaboration

Figure 33 shows that 98% of the informants understand the greetings, questions and easy phrases stated in Aymara language while a minority of 2% of the informants do not understand the greetings, questions and easy phrases in Aymara. These results reveal that the majority of the respondents understand very well the greetings, questions and easy phrases stated in Aymara.

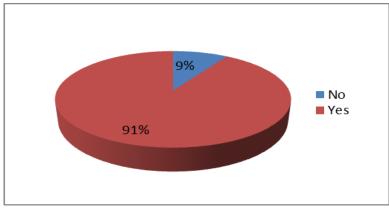
¿Puede responder a Preguntas simples y decir cosas sencillas en Aymara?



Chart N° 47 : Dimension 3: Language Assessment: Can you reply simple questions and say easy phrases in Aymara?

	N°	PERCENTAGE
No	8	9%
Yes	80	91%
	88	100%

Graph N° 34: Can you reply simple questions and say easy phrases in Aymara?



Source: Own elaboration

Figure 34 shows that 9% of the informants can not reply simple questions and say easy phrases in Aymara while 91% of participants can reply simple questions and say easy phrases in Aymara language. These results confirm that the majority of the informants can reply some simple questions in Aymara as also to say easy phrases in Aymara, it is due to, they have not forgotten completely their mother tongue.

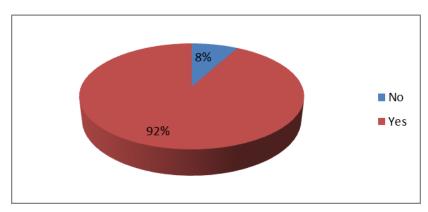
¿Se siente cómodo hablando la lengua Aymara?



Chart N° 48: Dimension 3: Language Assessment: Do you feel comfortable speaking Aymara?

	N°	PERCENTAGE
No	7	8%
Yes	81	92%
	88	100%

Graph N° 35: Do you feel comfortable speaking Aymara?



Source: Own elaboration

Figure 35 shows that 8% of the informants do not feel comfortable speaking Aymara and the vast majority of 92% of the informants feel comfortable speaking Aymara. These results determine that the informants can use their language in everywhere both rural and urban settings.

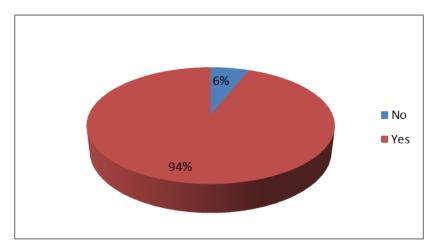
¿Se siente cómodo hablando el castellano?



Chart N° 49: Dimension 3: Language Assessment: Do you feel comfortable speaking Spanish?

	N°	PERCENTAGE
No	5	6%
Yes	83	94%
	88	100%

Graph N° 36: Do you feel comfortable speaking Spanish?



Source: Own elaboration

Figure 36 shows that 6% of the informants do not feel comfortable speaking Spanish and the rest of 94% of participants feel comfortable speaking Spanish. As we can observe this chart the vast majority of the respondents feel comfortable speaking Spanish.

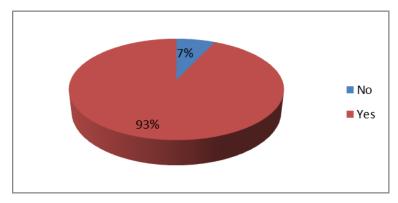
¿Se siente Cómodo hablando las dos lenguas? Aymara y castellano?



Chart N° 50: Dimension 3: Language Assessment: Do you feel comfortable speaking Aymara and Spanish?

	N°	PERCENTAGE
No	6	7%
Yes	82	93%
	88	100%

Graph N° 37: Do you feel comfortable speaking Aymara and Spanish?



Source: Own elaboration

Figure 37 shows that 7% of the informants do not feel comfortable speaking Aymara and Spanish and 93% of the respondents feel comfortable speaking Aymara and Spanish. The chart above reveals that most of the informants feel comfortable speaking both languages Aymara and Spanish and a minority that not feel comfortable using these languages.



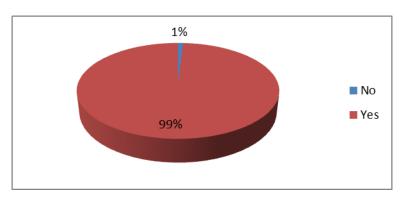
¿Usted cree que el Aprendizaje de la lengua Aymara es importante para poder comunicarnos en la sociedad.

Chart N° 51: Dimension 3: Language Assessment: Do you think learning Aymara is important to communicate within society?

	N°	PERCENTAGE
No	1	1%
Yes	87	99%
	88	100%

Source: Own elaboration

Graph  $N^{\circ}$  38: Do you think learning Aymara is important to communicate within society?



Source: Own elaboration

Figure 38 shows that 1% of the informants do not consider important learning Aymara for communicating within society and 99% of participants consider Aymara language important to communicate within society. As we can observe most of participants consider indispensable Aymara language.

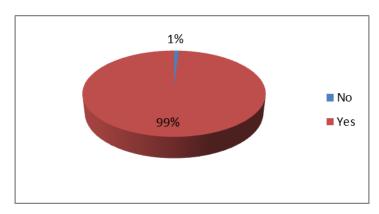
¿Usted cree que es indispensable el Aprendizaje de la lengua Aymara en la Educación? (Universidades, Colegios, Escuelas, Institutos, etc.)



Chart N° 52: Dimension 3: Language Assessment: Do you think learning Aymara is important in education (University, Schools and Institutions)?

	N°	PERCENTAGE
No	1	1%
Yes	87	99%
	88	100%

Graph  $N^{\circ}$  39: Do you think learning Aymara is important in education (University, Schools and Institutions)?



Source: Own elaboration

Figure 40 shows a minority of 1% of participants does not consider important learning Aymara in educational field and the vast majority of 99% that consider indispensable Aymara learning in educational field.



### QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF INTERVIEW STATEMENTS

In this section, we will present the analysis of the interviews that were conducted with 11 students of Universidad Pública de El Alto, these were extracted and selected randomly from 88 participants, that is to say, they represent 10 % of the sample. Since 88 people cannot be interviewed all, due to the information gathered from each interview comprises 49 answers and these would be difficult to transcribe. Likewise in qualitative research the sample size should be small, because this research seeks to understand and interpret the social meanings and experiences produced by the subject. As these authors Guest, G., Bunce, A., and Johnson (2006) in their book "How many interviews are Enough?" state that twelve interviews suffice for most researchers when they aim to discern themes concerning common views and experiences among relatively homogeneous people.

Thus, the interview comprised two sections: the first one was about personal information (demographic information) and the second one was related to the questions of this sociolinguistic study. A total of 49 questions were given to each interviewee. The questions were based on these three dimensions: language skills, language domains and language assessment. The interview recording had a ratio of 15 to 20 minutes for each informant, after that, the interviews were transcribed in order to provide a method of checking the accuracy of their responses.

### **DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF PARTICIPANTS**

Demographic information, all participants are of Aymara origin, they were born in rural areas, more specifically, in provinces of the department of La Paz. At present, they live in El Alto, furthermore participants affirm, they have moved there to live five or ten years ago for completing their tertiary studies. Regarding the age and gender, the interviewees were 11 students from the Law department. In relation to gender, 3 of them are female and the rest are 8 male. The average of the age is 25 years old, the youngest participant is 21 years old and the older participant is 39 years old, all the informants are enrolled in the Law Department.



### **SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY**

The questions asked in the interview are the following:

1. ¿Cuál es su lengua materna?

#### 1. WHAT IS YOUR MOTHER TONGUE?

This question was included to see the reaction of participants, moreover it served to know which language the participant claims to be their mother tongue Aymara or Spanish, knowing they come from Aymara descent, also to see the identity feeling, whether they consider themselves as Aymara speakers. So, most of participants stated that their mother tongue is Aymara.

2 ¿Qué lengua aprendió primero cuando empezó a hablar?

# 2. WHAT WAS THE FIRST LANGUAGE THAT YOU LEARNED WHEN YOU STARTED TO SPEAK?

This question was included in order to know what language was learned, when they began to speak, their first words, whether it was Aymara or Spanish. According to all interviewees, almost the majority of participants claimed, that their first language was Aymara, they were exposed to the place or context of living, as they are among the Aymara speakers. Only two people are the exception, they claimed that Spanish was the first language learned.

3. ¿Durante su niñez qué lengua hablaba con sus padres?

# 3. WHAT WAS THE LANGUAGE THAT YOU SPOKE WITH YOUR PARENTS DURING YOUR CHILDHOOD?

This question was asked to show what language they used to speak in their childhood, with their parents, because sometimes, the parents prefer to teach their children the most spread out language, in this case Spanish. However participants state that, during



their childhood they communicated by means of the Aymara language, just at home, with parents and generally with their grandparents. As one of the interviewe also said "Por eso como le digo hablaba Aymara, pero como ya me he venido aquí a la ciudad entonces poco a poco se me he ido ya olvidando, ósea me ido olvidando claro entiendo pero". As observed and analyzed all the interviews, we can state that family environment becomes a free space to speak the mother tongue when interacting with family members. Therefore speakers do not speak anymore their language of origin when they migrate to the city.

4. ¿Con quién hablaba Aymara cuando era un niño? familiares, amigos, vecinos etc.?

# 4. IN YOUR CHILDHOOD, WHO DID YOU SPEAK AYMARA WITH? FAMILY, FRIENDS, NEIGHBORS?

This question has the intention to inquire into, the domains of use for Aymara language, if it was used as a medium of communication in the infancy of participants. According to the interviews the majority of participants claimed the following; the family domain was an important place to use the Aymara more specifically with the parents, siblings, grandparents an all members of the family, even though there is a minority who stated, they spoke in Aymara with some friends and classmates. As we can observe the most common domain used to speak Aymara was the family, it is perhaps due to intergenerational communication that was between parents and children. For instance, when the home leader, in this case the father, demands a question in Aymara, he expects to be answered in the same language. However with friends, it is not very common to see a conversation in Aymara, it is perhaps due to some factors such as: educational, social, cultural that they are involved in when they attend to school.



5 ¿En la actualidad que lengua usa Ud. mayormente para comunicarse con sus familiares, (padres, Hermanos, abuelos)?

# 5. CURRENTLY, WHAT LANGUAGE DO YOU USE TO COMMUNICATE AT HOME WITH (PARENTS, SIBLINGS, GRANDPARENTS)?

This question was stated to see whether, nowadays the Aymara language is still used at home. According to the interviews with participants of Aymara descent we observed that, even in family domain, the Aymara language is not used to communicate, they prefer to speak Spanish. Besides not using the Aymara in the daily life, participants express that the Aymara can only be spoken in the countryside and not in the city. As they do, they speak Spanish language when they are in La Paz and when they are in the province, they prefer to speak in their mother tongue, in this case they use both languages to speak, but depending on the place where they are. As one participants said "El idioma castellano en la Ciudad y en el hogar practico sigue que es, el aymara con mi papa y con mi mamá" and other participant said the following "Eh en donde yo vivo siempre me he comunicado en el idioma Aymara, porque esa es mi lengua materna, la única idioma que me permite comunicarme. Bueno cuando estoy en la ciudad necesariamente tengo que aceptar lo que es el idioma castellano en este caso para comunicarme.". As we can observe the statements above, the informants only use their mother tongue for communicating, when they are with Aymara native speakers, that is to say, in the countryside, where they were born, with the family, including parents and grandparents and sometimes brothers. The analysis of these reports, confirms, that the replacement of the language from one setting to another is due to migration. It is one of the determining factors of the displacement process of the language, the fact is that, when some speakers migrate from rural to urban settings, the speakers make contact with Spanish language creating themselves conflict situations which, sometimes tend to change from a bilingual person into monolingual person in favor of a second language, in this case Spanish.



6. ¿En qué lengua se comunica Ud. con sus amigos? Y compañeros de trabajo?

# 6. WHAT LANGUAGE DO YOU USE TO COMMUNICATE WITH FRIENDS AND COWORKERS?

This question has the intention to inquire about the language used in the friendship domains. Most of participants argued that generally they talk with their friends and coworkers, in Spanish language. Even though, there are three informants who stated they speak in both languages, depending on the setting they are located. For instance, in the City the communicative interaction is by means of Spanish language and in the province is through Aymara. The interviews reflect that the majority of participants do not use Aymara for communicating in their job, what can be deduced is that the work setting is not conducive to the use of the Aymara language.

7. ¿Qué lengua usa mayormente cuando va a la feria?

# 7. WHAT IS THE LANGUAGE THAT YOU USE MORE FREQUENTLY, WHEN YOU GO TO FARMER'S MARKETS?

This question was stated to know what is the most language used by participants when they go to farmer's markets. The informants reported that they most often use Spanish in farmer's markets and only a minority speak Aymara. As the following example shows a statement taken from an interview ¿Qué lengua usa mayormente cuando va a la feria? "Eh..castellano pero dependiendo porque hay personas como le digo, hay personas como las vendedoras no! Señoras que son de pollera o que vienen con sus productos del campo, entonces me hablan en Aymara, pero también les entiendo también les habl..contesto en castellano." As we can observe the statement above, from one participant who prefer to speak Spanish to communicate at farmer's markets. Similarly, a great majority consider Spanish as the best medium of communication in farmer's markets.



8. ¿En qué lengua le gusta contar chistes, cuentos, hacer adivinanzas?

# 8. IN WHAT LANGUAGE DO YOU LIKE TO TELL JOKES, TALES, OR RIDDLES?

According to the reports, of the informants' interviews, half of participants prefer making, jokes, telling tales or riddles, in Spanish language and the another half prefer telling it in both languages Spanish and Aymara. Moreover, these participants clarify that, making jokes in Aymara is more amazing and funny than Spanish. As this statement express "Ambos en este caso, aymara es bueno, es bonito cuando hablamos en aymara creo que su cultura misma nos da una impresión más emocionante digamos asi, en referente al Castellano." some interviews reveal that some Aymara speakers like making jokes, in Aymara, because they do not want to be understood by Spanish speakers all that they want to said.

9 ¿En qué lengua encuentra Ud. más comodidad?

# 9. USING WHAT LANGUAGE (AYMARA AND SPANISH) DO YOU FEEL MORE COMFORTABLE?

According to the interviews, most of participants believe they feel comfortable in both languages. However they clarified that " it is depends, where the person is located" "in the city of La Paz, they feel comfortable speaking Spanish and in the countryside they are comfortable speaking Aymara". As observing, participants 'comfort can vary, according to place they are located. It leads to think they are not comfortable speaking Aymara in the city, as we can also perceive that the Aymara speakers assign the Aymara language a communicative value within the context in which they live.



10. ¿Para Ud. es importante hablar Aymara?

# 10. IS IT IMPORTANT TO SPEAK AYMARA FROM YOUR POINT OF VIEW?

This question was included in the interview in order to see in what way it is important to speak Aymara for all eleven participants. According to participants' opinions, there are three important reasons to speak Aymara. The first one is for maintaining the culture, the second one, getting a job in the government or other institution, "to speak a native language and other second language", and the last one is to make aware and to appreciate the mother tongue, due to some people feeling ashamed of their native origin.

11. ¿Ud. se considera un hablante Aymara?

#### 11. DO YOU IDENTIFY YOURSELF AS AN AYMARA SPEAKER?

This question introduces the topic of identity into the interview in order to see whether participants consider their language something they can identify with. This study reveals that the majority of the informants consider themselves as native speakers, although there are some people that contradict themselves replying this question with some doubts. As these following statements show: ¿Ud. Se considera un hablante Aymara? "Sí, pero entiendo claro pero no así como le digo trato de hablar ósea, pero hay confusiones y todo así, pero en partes si me considero." "Sí, pero no tanto como te digo ósea no sé muy bien Aymara hay hablan otros Aymara puro es bien pero yo hablo mezclado con castellano." "En algunas veces si pero no siempre". As these statements show clearly that some of them are not really sure whether they consider themselves as native speakers.



12. ¿Qué lengua va a enseñar a sus hijos?

#### 12. WHAT LANGUAGE WILL YOU TEACH YOUR CHILDREN?

This question was stated to see what appreciation participants place on Aymara. Moreover, if the language will be taught to the following generations. Most of participants will teach Spanish to their children even though only the minority expressed that they will teach Aymara to their children and another language like English.

13. ¿Es importante que los niños aprendan a hablar el Aymara?

# 13. IS IT IMPORTANT FOR CHILDREN TO LEARN THE AYMARA LANGUAGE?

The question above was included to determine the importance of the language learning in children. Most of participants interviewed considered that it is important to speak Aymara and other languages as "Spanish and English", they reported their importance to speak Aymara, for cultural factors, for the maintenance of culture, as they also clarified that if children do not learn their mother tongue, they would be denying their culture and origin.

14. ¿Según Ud. quienes deberían hablar Aymara?

# 14. ACCORDING TO YOUR PERCEPTIONS, WHO ARE THE PEOPLE THAT SHOULD SPEAK AYMARA?

The question has the intention to know whether there are specific people who should speak Aymara. Participants affirm that all of society must speak Aymara especially the government employees, professionals and all society including: children, young and adults.



15. ¿Según Ud. quienes deberían hablar castellano?

# 15. ACCORDING TO YOUR PERCEPTIONS WHO ARE THE PEOPLE THAT SHOULD SPEAK SPANISH?

The question has the intention to know whether there are specific people who should speak Spanish. Participants affirm that all society should speak the Spanish language both in the city and provinces because it is necessary for communicating, if people do not speak Spanish they will be not better themselves and people who speak Spanish have better jobs. Spanish language got a high status than Aymara, and Aymara native speakers prefer to speak Spanish.

16. ¿Dónde se debería hablar el Aymara?

### 16. WHERE SHOULD AYMARA BE SPOKEN?

The question presented was stated in order to see participants opinions about settings where Aymara language should be spoken. According to participants' statements, some interviewees mentioned that Aymara should be spoken in every part of the city of La Paz and the majority affirmed that Aymara language should be spoken only in rural areas or provinces of La Paz. As the following examples extracted from interviews show: "En toda la nación aymara sea Tawantinsuyu, Kollasuyu donde hay lugares que históricamente sabemos que hay o que se caracterizan aymaras, sea Perú, Bolivia también parte de Chile y Norte de Argentina.", "Más se habla en las provincias, en aquí porque aquí ya es un requisito principal ya el idioma Aymara.", "En las comunidades, por ejemplo yo eso mismo hago, digamos voy con mis hermanos así a mi pueblo cuando hay digamos así, algunas fiestas, eventos que se puede ir a la comunidad a visitar a los familiares que viven todavía entonces, en ese caso si podemos hablar el Aymara abiertamente o entendernos en las comunidades mayormente.". As we can observe the statements above, some of the informants think that Aymara language should be restricted in certain spaces outside the central city. Thus, they show more preference towards Spanish.



17. ¿Dónde se debería hablar el castellano?

#### 17. WHERE SHOULD SPANISH BE SPOKEN?

The question presented was stated in order to see the participants' opinions about settings where the Spanish language should be spoken. Participants state, the Spanish language should be spoken in all places such as: La Paz city and all States of Bolivia but there are some contradictories statements as this one: "Yo creo en la ciudad, en la ciudad mayormente si, en las provincias no, porque ellos están acostumbrados a hablar el Aymara y entienden poco el castellano y en aquí en la ciudad es diferente hablamos más el castellano y poco el Aymara, entonces en las comunidades o en los pueblos." As we can observe this statement above, a few participants think that Spanish language should be spoken only in the city; it means that the use of this language is restricted just to the city, and Aymara language to the provinces. With this statement perceiving that some speakers can use Aymara when they are among the Aymara speakers, and when they are placed in La Paz city, they hide their language identity not expressing their language.

18. ¿Dónde se habla el mejor el Aymara y por qué es mejor?

#### 18. WHERE IS AYMARA BEST SPOKEN AND WHY DO YOU THINK SO?

According to the panticipants' answers, most of the informants do not know, they are unaware which place speaks the best Aymara. One interviewer replied of this manner "Yo creo que el Aymara se habla mejor en el campo y da más facilidad de comunicación entre los aymaras", analyzing the participants answers we can determine that, there is not a place where Aymara is consider as the best, wherever Aymara is, it sounds different and listened can vary in all linguistic aspects, it is due to dialect variation of each region.



19. ¿Si un hablante Aymara le habla en Aymara que lengua usa Ud. para contestarle?

# 19. IF SOMEONE ASK YOU IN AYMARA, WHAT LANGUAGE DO YOU USE IN REPLY?

The question was included to see what language the native speaker uses in reply to any question demanded in Aymara. Most of participants replied to this question positively, they claimed that when a person talked to them in Aymara, they reply in Aymara too.

20. ¿Entiende las canciones en Aymara?

### 20. DO YOU UNDERSTAND SONGS IN AYMARA?

The question above was included in order to determine, whether the participants acquire some skills: as listening, understanding in their mother tongue. The interviews reveal that the majority of the interviewees understand the meaning of the songs in Aymara very well.

21. ¿Puede traducir Ud. de un idioma otro?

### 21. CAN YOU TRANSLATE FROM ONE LANGUAGE INTO ANOTHER?

This question was included to inquire into, whether participants has a bilingual ability for translating. According to the interviews, most of the informants reported that they acquired this translation skill and they can translate from Aymara into Spanish the informal language, although some participants claimed that is difficult to translate some Spanish technical terms, because these lack of equivalence in Aymara.



22. ¿Ud. realiza llamadas telefónicas en la lengua Aymara?

#### 22. DO YOU MAKE PHONE CALLS IN AYMARA LANGUAGE?

This question was included to know whether the participant themselves communicate in Aymara with society by means of cellphones. This study reveals that most of participants using their cellphones to communicate in Aymara language when they contact home. As the following statements show: "Si con mi papás me comunico siempre.", "Solo a mi familia, a amigos no", "Generalmente con mi papá y con mi mamá, ya que ellos hablan en Aymara", "Si muchas veces a los familiares.", "Cuando llamo a mis padres o familiares". As we can observe the use of Aymara is restricted to family domain. Thus it shows they do not show any prejudices to speak Aymara among their family.

23. ¿Ud. piensa en ambas lenguas?

### 23. DO YOU THINK IN BOTH LANGUAGES?

The majority of the students' affirmations reveal that they can think in both languages (Aymara and Spanish) and also clarified that they think in Aymara, when they are in contact with the Aymara native speakers, that is to say, in the province or the countryside, as well as they can think in Spanish when they are located in La Paz. These statements lead to state that the place and people determine the use of Aymara.

24. ¿Cuál de las dos lenguas (Aymara y Castellano) utiliza Ud. para transmitir sus problemas, tristezas?

# 24. WHICH OF THE TWO LANGUAGES (AYMARA AND SPANISH) DO YOU USE TO CONVEY EMOTIONS?

This question was included in order to know whether participants have a preference in the use of language to express their feelings. Participants stated that they can



express their feelings of sadness, depending on the setting they are located in and the receptor to whom is addressed in the conversation. for instance if they are located in the province they express their problems such as sadness in Aymara, obviously with Aymara speakers, on the contrary when participants are located in the city they give more importance to Spanish language as a way to express their feelings. As the following statements shows: "Cuando me encuentro en provincia así, yo transmito a través del idioma Aymara pero cuando yo estoy aquí en El Alto en castellano." "En Aymara o en castellano mucho depende en qué lugar me encuentro en aquí en español, mucho depende también de la persona que me está hablando." "Dependiendo del espacio entonces yo generalmente me comunico con Aymara hacia mis familiares pero hacia mis amigos aquí en la ciudad también por el castellano no."

25.¿ Conoce dichos, o refranes, en Aymara?

#### 25. DO YOU KNOW SOME SAYINGS AND PROVERBS IN AYMARA?

The intention of this question is to see whether the informant knows of some sayings, proverbs of their mother tongue. Evidently, most informants know about sayings and proverbs, they clarified that in daily living their parents, grandparents reminded them of these sayings. As one participant said: "Si conozco, por ejemplo los abuelos siempre decían no..por ejemplo a los niños recomendaban a través del.... Nayra qipa uñtasaw sarnakapham ósea es un principio de ver tanto adelante y atrás".

26. Utiliza usted el Aymara en la universidad, en que situaciones

# 26. DO YOU USE YOUR MOTHER TONGUE AT THE UNIVERSITY? WHAT SITUATIONS COULD YOU MENTION?

The intention of this question is to know, whether Aymara language is used as a medium of communication at the university and in what situations. Participants stated that they do not use the Aymara language in classes of the university, only



in their free time when talking with other people of Aymara descent. Thus we can note they decide to speak their mother tongue just with some people of Aymara origin. Moreover we can observe that the use of their native language is restricted only for Aymara speakers.

27. Cuando expone algún trabajo o da ejemplos de algún tema, usa el Aymara

# 27. WHEN YOU MAKE SOME PRESENTATIONS AT THE UNIVERSITY OR GIVE EXAMPLES OF SOME TOPICS. DO YOU USE THE AYMARA LANGUAGE?

The question above was stated to know whether inside the classroom Aymara is used to expose or explain some topics. According to participants' statements they do not use the Aymara, it is due to educative system does not allow use of their mother tongue and all the classes and expositions are carried out in Spanish.

28. ¿Cuándo escribe para algún trabajo de la universidad usa el Aymara?

# 28. DO YOU USE AYMARA LANGUAGE WHEN DOING HOMEWORK AT THE UNIVERSITY?

According to the responses of the interviews, the majority of participants claimed that Aymara language is not used to do homework at the university because it must be written and presented in Spanish.

29. ¿Cuando no está en clases usas el Aymara? (Por qué)

# 29. DO YOU USE YOUR MOTHER TONGUE OUTSIDE THE CLASSROOM? WHY?

The question has the intention to know whether participants use their mother tongue outside the university. According to participants' responses, Aymara is used in



determined spaces out the university and they also clarified that the use of Aymara is just addressed to friends with Aymara descent.

30. ¿Cuándo lee algún texto lo traduce al Aymara?

# 30. WHEN YOU READ SOME TEXT DO YOU TRANSLATE IT INTO AYMARA?

According to the responses, Most of participants argued that they translate some texts from Spanish into Aymara but they also clarified that is difficult translate some technical terms from Spanish into Aymara.

31. ¿Puede leer textos escritos en Aymara?

#### 31. CAN YOU READ BOOKS WRITTEN IN AYMARA?

This question was included to know, whether participants can read books written in Aymara. Most of the informants claimed an affirmative answer; they can read texts in Aymara but with some difficulties.

32. ¿Puede escribir o hacer redacciones de cartas o documentos en Aymara?

### 32. CAN YOU WRITE ESSAYS, LETTERS OR DOCUMENTS IN AYMARA?

This question was included to see if participants are able to draft some documents and letters in the Aymara language. A minority of the informants affirmed that they can write letters or documents in Aymara, however the rest of the informants stated that is difficult to draft documents.



33. Del 1 al 10 cómo calificaría usted su pronunciación en Aymara

# 33. HOW DO YOU RATE YOUR PRONUNCIATION IN AYMARA FROM 1 TO 10?

According to the analysis accomplished from the interviews about pronunciation with a scale from 1 to 10, most of participants got an average score of 6 in pronunciation skill. The score shows that they do not have a good phonological ability in their mother tongue.

34. Del 1 al 10 cómo calificaría usted su comprensión del Aymara

# 34. HOW DO YOU RATE YOUR UNDERSTANDING IN AYMARA FROM 1 TO 10?

According to the analysis accomplished of the interviews about understanding with a scale from 1 to 10, most of participants got an average score of 9 in understanding skill, it means, they understand very well all the terms spoken in Aymara.

35. Del 1 al 10 cómo calificaría usted su lectura en Aymara

#### 35. HOW DO YOU RATE YOUR READING IN AYMARA FROM 1 TO 10?

Analyzing participants' results got an average score of 7 over 10 concerning reading skill, that is to say, they can read some books in their mother tongue, even though Aymara language lacks reading materials.

36. Del 1 al 10 cómo calificaría usted su escritura en lengua Aymara

#### 36. HOW DO YOU RATE YOUR WRITING IN AYMARA FROM 1 TO 10?

According to the results of the interviews, participants got a score of 7 in writing skill out of 10. As observing they can write in Aymara language.



37. ¿Según usted se considera leal o desleal a la lengua Aymara?. ¿Por qué?

# 37. DO YOU CONSIDER YOURSELF LOYAL OR DISLOYAL TO AYMARA LANGUAGE? WHY?

According to participants 'answers, they are loyal to their mother tongue and they have a positive attitude towards Aymara but others said both as loyal as disloyal, these informants do not define their attitude towards Aymara language whether it is positive or negative. Analyzing these recordings we can state that participants show a greater approximation to negative attitude.

38. Según usted existe poca o mucha o ninguna producción de textos en Aymara para el nivel Universitario.

# 38. FROM YOUR POINT OF VIEW IS THERE LITTLE OR MUCH WRITTEN PRODUCTION OF AYMARA FOR TERTIARY EDUCATION?

According to participants' answers, they stated that the university has a lack of written books in the Aymara language to teach. These statements are clear; our society lacks written books in Aymara to teach at schools and universities, it is necessary to promote the spreading of books in Aymara language.

39. ¿Según su percepción personal, sus compañeros de curso de origen Aymara, sienten vergüenza por hablar Aymara sienten orgullo de hablar el Aymara?

# 39. IN YOUR OPINION, YOUR CLASSMATES FROM AYMARA DESCENT FEEL ASHAMED OF SPEAKING AYMARA OR THEY FEEL PRIDE OF SPEAKING IT?

According to the interviews, the majority of participants claimed that their classmates that come from rural settings feel ashamed of their indigenous status. Thus the young students when they attend university, they do not use their mother tongue, due to their exposure to cultural suffering. Since they refuse to be identified as native speakers,



they are under obligation to dress and behave like the rest of Spanish speakers, however, language is the one thing that they cannot hide, since it is very difficult to change the way a person talk, at a glance people recognize that they come from Aymara language. As one of the interviewer argued the following: "cuando yo he empezado la carrera de Derecho en 1 er año yo veía en mi curso como 9 cholitas al pasar el tiempo ha ido transcurriendo ya, no hay ahora, yo la única casi, ya tienen vergüenza ya se han cortado los pelos ,las uñas, ya se han pintado casi ya no te hablan en Aymara ¿Qué estás hablando? te dicen así entonces un poquito se avergüenzan sí." As we can observe the statement above, participants report about classmates´ attitude towards Aymara language. The Aymara speakers, feel ashamed of their condition or social status, it is due to fear of being discriminated against by the rest of society, for that reason they do not express their mother tongue.

40. ¿Según usted, el gobierno apoya al fortalecimiento del Aymara? Cómo?

# 40. IN YOUR OPINION, DOES THE GOVERNMENT SUPPORT THE STRENGTHENING OF THE AYMARA LANGUAGE? IF SO HOW?

Most of participants interviewed argued, that the current government is strengthening the Aymara language but they do not explain very well how. They claim, all government employees must be speak two languages one native and the another Spanish.

41. ¿En general que le gusta de la lengua Aymara?

### 41. IN GENERAL, WHAT DO YOU LIKE OF AYMARA LANGUAGE?

According to the reports participants stated that they like the phonological sounds of Aymara, which sounds different to Spanish, while the rest of participants like to tell the tales, stories and others.



42. ¿Ud. Cree que la lengua Aymara es inferior al castellano? ¿Por qué?

# 42. DO YOU THINK AYMARA LANGUAGE IS INFERIOR IN COMPARISON WITH SPANISH?

According to the reports, most of the interviews state that Aymara language is inferior in comparison with Spanish for the following reasons: some terms of Aymara are borrowed from Spanish, Aymara lacks technical terms, and finally the speakers do not speak it. On the other hand a minority of the informants claimed that Aymara is not an inferior language in comparison to Spanish, so because it is recognized by the State Constitution.

43. ¿Ud. como hablante nativo de la lengua Aymara como se siente cuando habla su lengua en medio de la gente de la ciudad?

# 43. WHAT IS YOUR REACTION WHEN DO YOU SPEAK YOUR MOTHER TONGUE WITH SOCIETY IN THE CITY?

According to the interviews, when participants speak Aymara in the city they feel humiliation, rejection and fear of being discriminated.

44. ¿Puede hablar la lengua Aymara libremente en la Ciudad de La Paz sin sentirse menospreciado?

# 44. CAN YOU SPEAK AYMARA LANGUAGE WITHOUT RESTRICTIONS IN THE CITY WITHOUT FEELING UNDERRATED?

Most of the informants claim that they can speak their mother tongue only with their family and sometimes with friends who are of Aymara descent but not with the rest of society because they discriminate against them and do not understand their language.

45. ¿Se siente inferior por hablar el Aymara?

#### 45. DO YOU FEEL DISCRIMINATED FOR SPEAKING AYMARA?



The majority of participants replied to this question according to their experience, when they express themselves, they feel discriminated against and sometimes embarrassed. However, the rest of participants say they do not feel discriminated on the contrary, they affirm that they feel proud.

46 ¿Qué expresiones ofenden su identidad por hablar en Aymara?

# 46. WHICH EXPRESSIONS OFFEND YOUR IDENTITY BY SPEAKING AYMARA?

According to the reports of the respondents the expressions manifested by society towards Aymara speakers are the following: peasant, Indian man, Chola, unprepared, uneducated.

47. ¿Ud. cree que la gente que vive en el área urbana (la ciudad) discriminan a la gente inmigrante del área rural (provincias, el campo) por su lengua Aymara? Como? Como se manifiesta esta discriminación?

# 47. DO THE PEOPLE OF URBAN SETTING DISCRIMINATE AGAINST THE PEOPLE OF RURAL SETTING FOR SPEAKING AYMARA? IF SO HOW? HOW IS DISCRIMINATION MANIFESTED?

The respondents claimed that people who live in the city discriminate against those from rural settings; this attitude is manifested in the workplaces where the Aymara speakers do not receive a job.



48. ¿Alguna vez le han criticado a Ud. por hablar el Aymara? Como se manifestó esa crítica?

# 48. HAVE YOU EVER BEEN CRITICIZED FOR SPEAKING AYMARA? HOW WAS CRITICISM MANIFESTED?

According to participants' replies the speakers were criticized for speaking their native language in the city and this criticism was manifested through insults such as: Indian man, black man and peasant.

49. ¿Siente vergüenza por ser de origen Aymara? ¿Por qué?

### 49. DO YOU FEEL SHAME FOR BEING OF AYMARA DECENT? WHY?

Most of the respondents argued they feel shame for being of Aymara origin because society despises them and as a result, speakers adopt this negative attitude as rejection to their language.



# CHAPTER V CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter presents the summary of the study, discussion of the findings, the final conclusion and recommendations for further studies. The following conclusions will be presented, according to statement of the problem and objectives.

#### **5.1 CONCLUSIONS**

After having analyzed the quantitative and qualitative analysis of this research, we got to the final conclusions. The main purpose of this study was to find out the factors that contribute to language disloyalty in UPEA Law students, whose mother tongue is Aymara. Based on the hypothesis and results of this research, we can conclude that, the factors leading to language disloyalty among Aymara native speakers in Law students are: sociocultural, attitudinal, sociolinguistic and linguistic prejudices concerning the Aymara Language.

# THE FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO LANGUAGE DISLOYALTY IN UPEA LAW STUDENTS ARE THE FOLLOWING:

#### 1) SOCIOCULTURAL FACTORS

#### **Migration from Countryside to the City**

The migration process from the countryside to the city creates a main sociocultural effect that is the restriction of the use of their mother tongue in the new migrated setting. Analyzing research' findings, we can affirm that, the Aymara speakers feel forced to adopt new attitudes and behaviors of the second language (Spanish) when they are a part of a new society for not being discriminated against by their new social context. This confirms a displacement of their mother tongue in everyday communication. Moreover participants reported that the use of the Aymara language can only be expressed in rural or countryside settings. Therefore, it is stated that the migration process of Aymara speakers promotes linguistic shift of their



mother tongue, since the diffusion of Spanish language modify the linguistic repertoire from bilingual (Aymara- Spanish) to monolingual (Spanish).

#### Use of Aymara with the purpose of Affinity and Solidarity

Most respondents stated that they use their mother tongue exclusively with the Aymara speakers, not so with the rest of society, this attitude is because they think they will be discriminated against or rejected by society if they only speak their native language.

#### **Ethnic Identification with Aymara Language**

As some authors point out "Language is a powerful symbol of national and ethnic identity". Other authors as Appel and Muysken (1996:29) state that it does not exist a relationship between language and identity, since in the world exist some ethnic peoples which speak different languages as also other ethnic peoples which speak a common language. Regarding this research, Most of the informants manifested their identification towards Aymara culture; however some of them not express their identification as Aymara speakers.

#### 2) ATTITUDINAL FACTORS

#### Sociolinguistic Attitudes towards Aymara Language

According to the results of the Sociolinguistic questionnaire and interviews, we can determine that the participants' attitudes of towards Aymara language seem negative of rejection. The speakers have been replacing their mother tongue by other more prestigious language, such as Spanish without noticing they are displacing their language and culture too. This is because the Aymara language is assigned as a language of low prestige, inferior compared to the Spanish language. Although at the present, the new Plurinational State of Bolivia, in Article 5 recognizes it as an official language.



#### **Ethnic Shamed**

This attitude is a dominant factor that not allows the transmission and spreading of the language. Regarding the analysis of the investigation, the informants of Law Department feel ashamed for speaking Aymara language. In fact most of the students do not want to talk Aymara anymore, because they consider the cause of their rejection. Moreover they think if they use their language, the rest of the society that not speak Aymara will discriminate them.

#### **Social Discrimination**

Participants stated that when they get to the urban setting, they are discriminated, rejected and humiliated only to speak their mother tongue and furthermore they received from the rest of society insults that damage their integrity by means of these words: campestre, campesina, chola, chango, indio and so forth.

#### 3) SOCIOLINGUISTIC FACTORS

#### **Language Displacement**

The geographical setting of a given language is a determinant influence for the maintenance or displacement of the language. In the case of the Aymara speakers, students of Law, when they coming in contact with the context of Spanish speakers, their mother tongue tends to be replaced. As the vast majority of the respondents stated, when they came for the first time, they started to speak the Spanish language and not Aymara; it is evident that they feel forced to replace their mother tongue in order to be part of the society.

#### **Diglossia**

Concerning this phenomenon Paucara (Pg. 98) states that the phenomenon of diglossia, related to Bolivian setting, more specifically with the indigenous languages where the official language is Spanish as (A) is represented as a superiority language and Aymara, language (B) which has been replaced to domestic, informal use and



closely linked to folklore, traditions, myths and rituals. Regarding the results from the questionnaires and interviews of this research, it is stated that the informants of UPEA, are involved in the phenomenon of diglossia, which is reflected in their use of their speech, where the Spanish language is used generally in almost all activities and their mother tongue is only used in the family domain. Thus it is evident that they prefer to speak Spanish instead of Aymara which is their mother tongue.

#### **Communicative Accommodation**

"The process by which speakers adapt their linguistic behavior in light of their interlocutors' behavior and their attitudes towards their interlocutors (may be conscious or unconscious process). Encompasses both convergence with and divergence from interlocutors norms." Meyerhoff M (2006)

Based on "Accommodation theory" Regarding the investigation carried out, it is stated that the communication of the informants with Aymara descent is identified as "convergent", that is to say, this group of speakers are forced to use the language who is addressed, in this case when they are in rural setting adapt their dialect or accent to Spanish language or language of the dominant group.

### Phenomenon of the Negative transfer

Phenomenon of the negative transfer refers to how indigenous people speak the Spanish language, influenced by their language (Aymara), they tend to inverse some vowels ("i" with "e" or "u" with "o") and vice - verse, when they speak Spanish. According to the research accomplished the informants, who are Aymara native speakers, present this phenomenon in their speech. So sometimes that is the reason that they are discriminated by the Spanish speakers.



#### **Bilingualism**

Concerning this investigation to UPEA participants, these students belong to functional bilingualism where they use their two languages (Aymara and Spanish) depending on the context, place or topic which they speak as well as the person with whom to communicate. For instance when they are in the city they use the dominant language Spanish, but when they are located in a country setting they use their mother tongue.

#### 4) LINGUISTIC PREJUDICES TOWARDS AYMARA LANGUAGE

According to the analysis of the questionnaire and interviews we can state that the majority of the students have prejudices towards Aymara and a minority who have a good command of the two languages (Spanish - Aymara ) do not show any prejudice to speak the Aymara language and moreover they identify themselves as native speakers, they also feel proud to be Aymara descend.

The Main factors that lead to Language Disloyalty in students enrolled in the third year of the School of Laws at Universidad Pública de El Alto (UPEA) are the following:

The main factors that lead to language disloyalty are sociocultural, attitudinal and linguistic prejudices all of these expressed in the use of their speech.

#### **Linguistic Prejudices cause Language Disloyalty**

According to the results gathered, linguistic prejudices expressed by Spanish speakers can cause to language disloyalty in Aymara speakers, since these can denigrate their identity. In this research we state some Linguistic Prejudices claimed by participants as follows:

- Aymara language is considered inferior or the lower category in comparison with Spanish.
- Aymara lacks some technical terms in comparison with Spanish.



- Aymara language lacks grammar rules.
- Aymara language is not a standardized language
- Aymara language is not spoken in a free manner.
- Aymara language must only be spoken in a country setting.
- Aymara language is spoken by indigenous people.
- Aymara speakers do not speak Spanish very well.
- Aymara speakers use some borrowings from Spanish.
- Aymara speakers do not feel pride for being Aymara native speakers.
- Aymara speakers are considered as lower class, backward, uneducated and ignorant.

## The sociocultural Factors contributing to the Maintenance and Displacement of the Aymara language

According to the interviews carried out, we identified that the sociocultural factors can contribute both maintenance and displacement of the language. For instance the factor of migration affects the maintenance of the language of an abrupt manner, where the speakers who have lived for long time using their mother tongue tends to change their linguistics repertory when they get to urban settings, adopting a prestigious language that is most used and spreading out.

#### The Domains in which the Students use more the Aymara

Based on results from questionnaires and interviews, we can state that the students of Law Department speak their mother tongue in the following domains:

LANGUAGE	DOMAINS					
LANGUAGE	<b>FAMILY</b>	FRIENDSHIP	<b>EDUCATION</b>	MARKET		
AYMARA	16%	2%	0%	10%		
SPANISH	72%	92%	93%	65%		
INDISTINCTLY	12%	6%	7%	25%		
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%		



LANGUAGE	DOMAINS		
	OUTSIDE THE UNIVERSITY	STRANGERS	
AYMARA	2%	1%	
SPANISH	83%	79%	
INDISTINCTLY	15%	20%	
TOTAL	100%	100%	

As observing the previous chart, the students of Law Department make more usage of Aymara language in family domain. Since this environment becomes a free space to speak the mother tongue under the interaction with family members.

Finally, we can conclude that students of Law department of UPEA University show a negative attitude of loyalty towards their mother tongue; it is due to the society discriminate them by their origin and speech because sometimes their Spanish pronunciation is not good, making pronunciation mistakes. Moreover this attitude is a marked feature in society, which is settled in expressions that have a pejorative connotation. This generally can lead to the construction of shame feeling about their origin. Therefore feeling shame is an influential factor that represses the use of the language. In summary, we can say on the one hand, discrimination and low prestige that assign to Aymara language is a serious obstacle for revitalization and maintenance of it.

According to the quantitative results, the following are portrayed by dimensions: Language Skills, the majority of the informants show a good skill in understanding and oral level which is not the same with writing and reading. Regarding Language Domains in social relationships of tight-knit and non tight knit groups such as: (friends, university, markets, strangers and society), the majority of the informants use Spanish as a medium of communication in all these domains except at home, they prefer to speak Aymara. Language Assessment in this dimension participants state their appreciation towards their mother tongue and they stated that Aymara should be



spoken equally with Spanish. Concerning **Prejudices**, they have some prejudices to speak Aymara in all domains except at home. Moreover they manifest some prejudices which are expressed as follows: that Aymara language is not a standardized language and it lacks of written materials, furthermore it is spoken by indigenous people generally in countryside, Aymara speakers do not speak Spanish very well that is the reason they are discriminated by the rest of society. Consequently prejudices restrict the use of the language the image of indigenous languages remains very pejorative and distorted.



#### RECOMMENDATIONS

In this section we will recommend some aspects that we consider important and beneficial for further research. Moreover we hope that the following suggestions and recommendations will be helpful for the students and society in order to develop programs, actions and research in favor of Aymara language. For purposes of better understanding, it is divided into four stages:

Developing programs of language planning in order to overcome the diglossic situation of Aymara language and Spanish to create a new collective consciousness in society based on respect and equality since the Plurinational State recognizes both Aymara and Spanish as official language.

Also, promoting actions to safeguard the Aymara language proposing that this language should be used constantly beginning from families, communities and so forth. These actions could be carried out organizing some workshops, conferences and seminars at schools, institutions, universities and whole society with the purpose of showing that Aymara language requires being revitalized since a great number of speakers are ceasing to use this language in all their social domains. Furthermore, it is necessary to encourage elderly people to transmit their language and ancestral knowledge directly to their grandchildren. Thus, younger generations would speak their mother tongue as they grow and they will teach their children as well, in order to maintain and prevent the disappearance of their historical, cultural and linguistic heritage.

Moreover, it is necessary to design some programs of planning and normalization of the Aymara language, in order to standardize this language, that is to say, to create written material as grammar and vocabulary books of this indigenous language and further promote it, as a second language in educational systems.

Finally, encouraging students of Linguistic Department to do research in Andean Sociolinguistic field more specifically with indigenous languages, since there are



several topics related to sociolinguistic phenomenon to develop. As well as making some projects of language documentation based on creation, writing, preservation and disseminations of records of some languages in order to enrich the linguistic and cultural knowledge.



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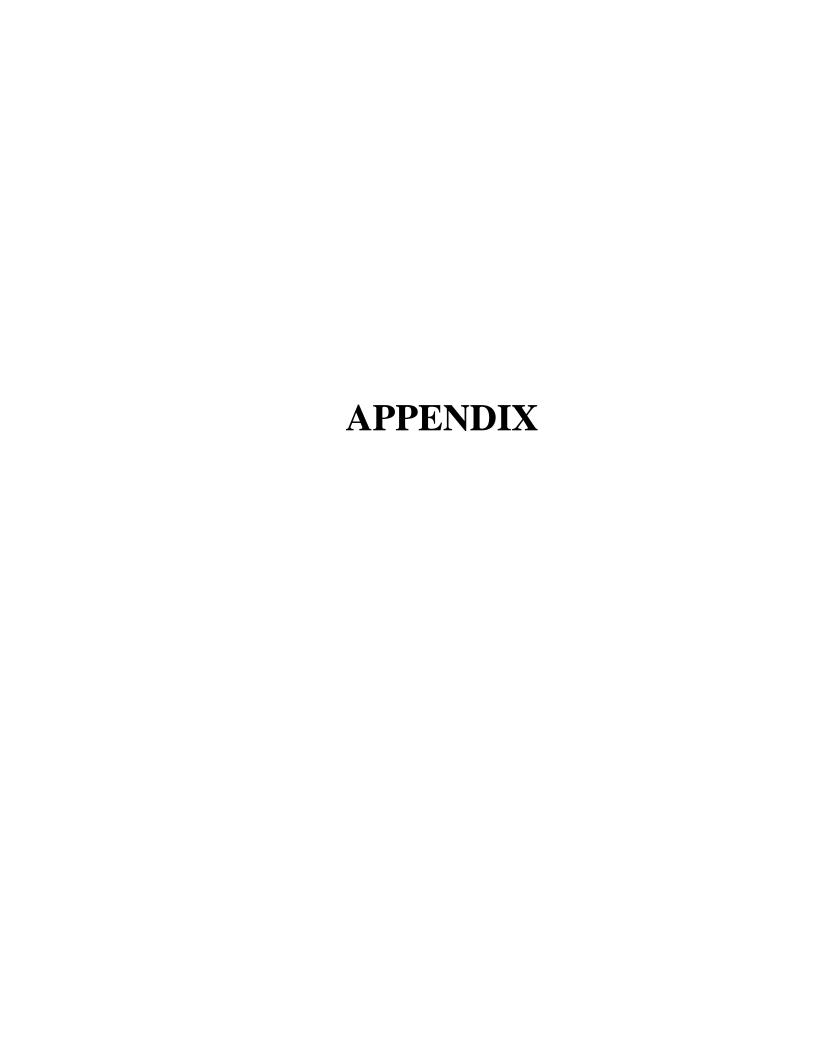
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## APPENDIX N° 1 PILOT STUDY

## Reliability of the questionnaire

## **Questions marks**

	SUUIS IIII NS		
		Νo	Variance
1	¿Entiende Aymara?	15	,743
2	¿Sabe hablar Aymara?	15	1,067
3	¿Sabe leer en Aymara?	15	1,067
4	¿Sabe escribir en Aymara?	15	1,124
5	¿En qué lengua habla usted en casa?	15	1,267
6	¿En qué lengua habla usted con los amigos?	15	,495
7	¿En qué lengua habla usted con los compañeros de la Universidad?	15	,257
8	¿En qué lengua habla usted en los mercados populares?	15	1,971
9	¿En qué lengua habla usted en relaciones externas a la Universidad?	15	1,314
10	¿En qué lengua habla usted en la calle con desconocidos?	15	,781
11	¿En qué lengua habla usted cuando está en grupo?	15	,695
12	¿En qué lengua lee Ud. alguna cosa?	15	,695
13	¿En qué lengua lee Ud. los letreros?	15	,457
14	¿En qué lengua lee Ud. los anuncios publicitarios?	15	,552
15	¿En qué lengua lee Ud. los correos electrónicos?	15	,838
16	¿En qué lengua lee Ud. los periódicos?	15	,495
17	¿ En qué lengua lee Ud. las revistas y boletines?	15	,381
18	¿En qué lengua lee Ud. los libros?	15	,495
19	¿Usted escribe alguna cosa?	15	,400
20	¿Usted escribe letreros?	15	,257
21	¿Usted escribe los trabajos de la Universidad?	15	,257
22	¿Usted escribe los correos electrónicos?	15	,400
23	¿Usted escribe artículos?	15	,267
24	¿Usted escribe revistas boletines?	15	,400
25	¿Usted escribe libros?	15	,400
26	¿Usted cree que en la actualidad, el Aymara, a nivel social, se usa?	15	,400
27	¿Usted cree que en la actualidad, el Aymara, a nivel social, debería usarse?	15	,410
28	¿Usted tiene prejuicios al usar el Aymara en el aula con sus compañeros de estudio ?	15	1,143
29	¿ Usted tiene prejuicios al usar el Aymara en la universidad?	15	,781
30	¿Usted tiene prejuicios al usar el Aymara con sus amigos?	15	,886
31	¿Usted tiene prejuicios al usar el Aymara con extraños?	15	,829
			21,524
	Suma	15	120,286

### APPENDIX N° 2

### **CUESTIONARIO SOCIOLINGUISTICO**

Estimado pa	ırticipante
-------------	-------------

El propósito de este cuestionario es conocer sus opiniones con respecto a la lengua Aymara, para lo cual rogamos que responda con honestidad, cada una de las respuestas.

		<b>2. Sexo:</b> a) Fe	menino b) Ma	sculino	
Lugar		•••••	,		
Lugar	de residencia	zona:			•••••
Ocupa	ción		• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	• • • • • • • • •	••••
		• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •			
Cuáles	s son las lenguas	s que usted habla			
Castell	lano b) Aym	ara c) Quechua	d) Otro		
Grado	de instrucción	de sus padres			
adre:	a) Primaria	b) Secundaria	c) Superior	d) N	inguno
		b) Secundaria			
Lengu	a materna de su	is padres	_		-
adwa.	a) Castellano	b) Aymara	c) Quech	nua	d) Otro
aure:		h) A	c) Quech	1119	d) Otro
	<ul><li>a) Castellano</li></ul>	o) Aymara	c) Queel	iua	u) Ou o

#### I. DIMENSION HABILIDADES LINGUISTICAS

	P1 ¿Entiende Aymara?	P2 ¿Sabe hablar Aymara?	P3 ¿Sabe leer en Aymara?	P4 ¿Sabe escribir en Aymara?
Nada				
Un poco				
Bastante				
Perfectamente				

Source: Adapted from Castello's questionnaire (2001) Lealtad y Actitudes Linguísticas hacia el Valenciano

### DIMENSION: AMBITOS DE USO DE LA LENGUA AYMARA EN PRIMER GRADO

	P5a	P5b	P5c	P5d
En qué lengua	En casa?	con los amigos	con los compañeros de	en los mercados
habla usted			la Universidad	populares
Siempre en				
Aymara				
Generalmente en				
Aymara				
Más en Aymara				
que en Castellano				
Indistintamente				
Más en castellano				
que en Aymara				
Generalmente en				
Castellano				
Siempre en				
Castellano				

Source: Adapted from Castello's questionnaire (2001) Lealtad y Actitudes Linguísticas hacia el Valenciano

### DIMENSION: AMBITOS DE USO DE LA LENGUA AYMARA EN SEGUNDO GRADO

En que lengua	P5e	P5f
habla usted	En relaciones externas a la	en la calle con
	Universidad	desconocidos
Siempre en Aymara		
Generalmente en Aymara		
Más en Aymara que en		
Castellano		
Indistintamente		
Más en castellano que en		
Aymara		
Generalmente en		
Castellano		
Siempre en Castellano		

Source: Adapted from Castello's questionnaire (2001) Lealtad y Actitudes Linguísticas hacia el Valenciano

#### DIMENSION: AMBITOS DE USO DE LA LENGUA AYMARA EN UN NIVEL DE LECTURA

Usted acostumbra	P6a	P6b	P6c	P6d	P6e	P6f	P6g
leer	"Algun	"Letreros"	"Anuncios	"Correos	"Period	"Revi	"libros"
	a cosa"		publicitarios	electrónicos"	icos"	stas"	
			"				
Siempre en							
Aymara							
Generalmente en							
Aymara							
Más en Aymara							
que en Castellano							
Indistintamente							
Más en castellano							
que en Aymara							
Generalmente en							
castellano							
Siempre en							
castellano							

Source: Adapted from Castello's questionnaire (2001) Lealtad y Actitudes Linguisticas hacia el Valenciano

#### DIMENSION: AMBITOS DE USO DE LA LENGUA AYMARA EN UN NIVEL DE ESCRITURA

Usted escribe	P7a	P7d	P7e	P7f
	"Alguna Cosa"	"Correos	"Artículos"	"Tareas de la
		electrónicos"		Universidad"
Siempre en				
Aymara				
Generalmente				
en Aymara				
Más en Aymara				
que en				
Castellano				
indistintamente				
Más en				
Castellano que				
en Aymara				
Generalmente				

en Castellano	<del></del>		
Siempre en Castellano			
	d from Castello's question	naire (2001) Lealta	ad y Actitudes Linguisticas hacia el
DIMENSION: VA			
Usted cree que en nivel social.	la actualidad, el Aymara, a	P8	P9
Menos		se usa	debería usarse
Igual			
Más			
Source: Adapted Valenciano	d from Castello's question	naire (2001) Lealt	ad y Actitudes Linguisticas hacia e
PREGUNTAS:			
1. ¿Usted ti	ene prejuicios de usar el A	Aymara en el aula	con sus compañeros de estudio?
a) Nada	b) un poco	c) bastante	d) muchísimo
2. ¿Usted tie	ene prejuicios de usar el Ay	ymara en la univer	sidad?
a) Nada	b) un poco	c) bastante	d) muchísimo
3. ¿Usted ti	iene prejuicios de usar el A	ymara con sus am	igos?
a) Nada	b) un poco	c) bastante	d) muchísimo
4. ¿Usted ti	iene prejuicios de usar el A	ymara con sus fan	niliares?
a) Nada	b) un poco	c) bastante	d) muchísimo
5. ¿Usted ti	iene prejuicios de usar el A	ymara con extraño	os?
a) Nada	b) un poco	c) bastante	d) muchísimo
PREGUNTAS ( 1. ¿Puede comp  a) SI	orender en AYMARA salı	udos rutinarios, pr	eguntas, frases sencillas?
,	onder a preguntas simples	,	cillas en Aymara?
3. ¿Se siente cón	nodo hablando la lengua A	Aymara?	
a) SI 4. : Se siente cón	o nodo hablando la castellan	o) NO o?	
a) SI		o) NO	
5. ¿Se siente cón	nodo hablando la dos lengu	ias (Aymara y Cas	tellano)?
a) SI	b	o) NO	

6. ¿Usted cree que el aprendizaje de la lengua Aymara es importante para poder comunicarnos con la sociedad?

a) SI b) NO
7. ¿Usted cree que es indispensable el aprendizaje de la lengua Aymara en la educación?

b) NO

a) SI

#### **APPENDIX N° 3**

#### **CUESTIONARIO SOCIOLINGUISTICO**

#### PARA LA ENTREVISTA

#### I. DATOS DEMOGRAFICOS

Edad:	2. Sexo:	a) Femenino	b) Masculino
¿En qué provincia na	ació?		
¿Dónde vive actualm	ente?		
¿En qué otros lugares	s ha vivido	?	
¿Hace cuánto tiempo	que vive a	quí en la ciudad	d del alto?
¿A qué se dedica Ud.	Aparte de	estudiar en la U	Jniversidad?

#### II. DATOS PARA EL ESTUDIO SOCIOLINGUISTICO

- 1. ¿Cuál es su lengua materna?
- 2. ¿Qué lengua aprendió primero cuando empezó a hablar?
- 3. ¿Durante su niñez que lengua hablaba con sus padres?
- 4. ¿Con quién hablaba Aymara cuando era un niño familiares, amigos, vecinos etc.?
- 5. ¿En la actualidad que lengua usa Ud. mayormente para comunicarse con sus familiares, (padres, hermanos, abuelos)?
- 6. ¿En qué lengua se comunica Ud. con sus amigos? Y compañeros de trabajo?
- 7. ¿Qué lengua usa mayormente cuando va a la feria?
- 8. ¿En qué lengua le gusta contar chistes, cuentos, hacer adivinanzas?
- 9. ¿En qué lengua encuentra Ud. más comodidad?
- 10. ¿Para Ud. es importante hablar Aymara?
- 11. ¿Ud. se considera un hablante Aymara?
- 12. ¿Qué lengua va a enseñar a sus hijos?
- 13. ¿Es importante que los niños aprendan a hablar el Aymara?
- 14. ¿Según Ud. quienes deberían hablar Aymara?
- 15. ¿Según Ud. quienes deberían hablar castellano?
- 16. ¿Dónde se debería hablar el Aymara?
- 17. ¿Dónde se debería hablar el castellano?
- 18. ¿Dónde se habla el mejor el Aymara y por qué es mejor?
- 19. ¿Si un hablante Aymara le habla en Aymara que lengua usa usted para contestarle?
- 20. ¿Entiende las canciones en Aymara?
- 21. ¿Puede traducir Ud. de un idioma otro?
- 22. ¿Ud. realiza llamadas telefónicas en la lengua Aymara?
- 23. ¿Ud. piensa en ambas lenguas?
- 24.¿Cuál de las dos lenguas (Aymara y Castellano) utiliza Ud. para transmitir sus problemas, tristezas?
- 25. ¿Conoce dichos, o refranes, en Aymara?

- 26. Utiliza usted el Aymara en la universidad, en que situaciones
- 27. Cuando expone algún trabajo o da ejemplos de algún tema, usa el Aymara
- 28. Cuando escribe para algún trabajo de la universidad usa el Aymara
- 29. Cuando no está en clases usa el Aymara, (porque)
- 30. Cuando lee algún texto lo traduce al Aymara
- 31. Puede leer textos escritos en Aymara
- 32. Puede escribir o hacer redacciones de cartas o documentos en Aymara
- 33. Del 1 al 10 cómo calificaría usted su pronunciación en Aymara
- 34. Del 1 al 10 cómo calificaría usted su comprensión del Aymara
- 35. Del 1 al 10 cómo calificaría usted su lectura en Aymara
- 36. Del 1 al 10 cómo calificaría usted su escritura en lengua Aymara
- 37. Según usted se considera leal o desleal a la lengua Aymara. (Porque)
- 38. Según usted existe poca o mucha o ninguna producción de textos en Aymara para el nivel universitario.
- 39. Según su percepción personal, sus compañeros de curso de origen Aymara, sienten vergüenza por hablar Aymara o sienten orgullo de hablar el Aymara
- 40. Según usted, el gobierno apoya al fortalecimiento del Aymara (como)
- 41. En general que le gusta de la lengua Aymara
- 42.¿Ud. Cree que la lengua Aymara es inferior al castellano? ¿Por qué?
- 43. ¿Ud. como hablante nativo de la lengua Aymara como se siente cuando habla su lengua en medio de la gente de la ciudad?
- 44. ¿Puede hablar la lengua Aymara libremente en la Ciudad de La Paz sin sentirse menospreciado?
- 45. ¿Se siente inferior por hablar el Aymara?
- 46 ¿Qué expresiones ofenden su identidad por hablar en Aymara?
- 47. ¿Ud. cree que la gente que vive en el área urbana (la ciudad) discriminan a la gente inmigrante del área rural (provincias, el campo) por su lengua Aymara? Cómo? Como se manifiesta esta discriminación?
- 48. ¿Alguna vez le han criticado a Ud. por hablar el Aymara? Como se manifestó esa crítica?
- 49. ¿Siente vergüenza por ser de origen Aymara? ¿Por qué?

### APPENDIX N° 4

### GENERAL VIEW OF LANGUAGE DOMAINS

### IN TIGHT-KNIT GROUPS

PLACE	LANGUAGE			
	AYMARA	SPANISH	INDISTINCTLY	TOTAL
HOME	14	64	10	88
FRIENDS	2	81	5	88
UNIVERSITY				
CLASSMATES	0	82	6	88
FARMER'S				
MARKETS	8	58	22	88

PLACE	LANGUAGE			
	AYMARA	SPANISH	INDISTINCTLY	TOTAL
HOME	16%	73%	11%	100%
FRIENDS	2%	92%	6%	100%
UNIVERSITY				
CLASSMATES	0%	93%	7%	100%
FARMER'S				
MARKETS	9%	66%	25%	100%

## IN NON TIGHT-KNIT GROUPS

PLACE				
	AYMARA	TOTAL		
OUTSIDE THE				
UNIVERSITY	2	73	13	88
STRANGERS	1	67	20	88

PLACE				
	AYMARA	TOTAL		
OUTSIDE THE				
UNIVERSITY	2%	83%	15%	100%
STRANGERS	1%	76%	23%	100%

### IN A READING LEVEL

WHAT LANGUAGE DO				
YOU USE TO READ?	AYMARA	SPANISH	INDISTINCTLY	TOTAL
SOME WRITTEN				
MATERIALS	1	80	7	88
PUBLIC SIGNS	2	81	5	88
ADVERTISEMENTS	2	82	4	88
EMAILS	2	80	6	88
NEWSPAPERS	3	79	6	88
MAGAZINES AND				
NEWSLETTERS	0	81	7	88
BOOKS	0	81	7	88

WHAT LANGUAGE DO	LANGUAGE			
YOU USE TO READ?	AYMARA	SPANISH	INDISTINCTLY	TOTAL
SOME WRITTEN				
MATERIALS	1%	91%	8%	100%
PUBLIC SIGNS	2%	92%	6%	100%
ADVERTISEMENTS	2%	93%	5%	100%
EMAILS	2%	91%	7%	100%
NEWSPAPERS	3%	90%	7%	100%
MAGAZINES AND				
NEWSLETTERS	0%	92%	8%	100%
BOOKS	0%	92%	8%	100%

## IN A WRITING LEVEL

WHICH LANGUAGE DO				
YOU USE TO WRITE?	AYMARA	SPANISH	INDISTINCTLY	TOTAL
SOMETHING	0	84	4	88
EMAILS	0	85	3	88
ARTICLES	0	85	3	88
HOMEWORK	0	84	4	88

WHICH LANGUAGE DO	LANGUAGE			
YOU USE TO WRITE?	AYMARA	SPANISH	INDISTINCTLY	TOTAL
SOMETHING	0%	95%	5%	100%
EMAILS	0%	97%	3%	100%
ARTICLES	0%	97%	3%	100%
HOMEWORK	0%	95%	5%	100%