

Universidad de Puerto Rico
Recinto de Rio Piedras
Facultad de Humanidades
Programa Graduado de Lingüística

Perceptions and Attitudes towards Bilingualism and Codeswitching in Puerto Rico:

The Effect of Age and Codeswitching Practices

Natasha Colón Hernández
842-15-1560

Monografía final de grado

Fecha de aprobación: 17 de mayo de 2024

Comité de monografía final:

Dra. Rosa Guzzardo Tamargo (directora)

Dr. Don E. Walicek (lector)

Dr. Patrick-André Mather (lector)

Abstract

The practice of alternating from one language to another within one conversation or stretch of discourse, known as codeswitching, has been a topic of debate for years with some people embracing it and others feeling strong distaste towards the practice. This study considers the controversy in the context of Puerto Rico, a United States colony, where bilingualism and codeswitching are related to culture, identity, and, in some cases, political ideology. This study describes and analyzes the perceptions, attitudes, and experiences of adult Puerto Ricans regarding bilingualism and codeswitching in Puerto Rico. It answers the questions: How is CS perceived in Puerto Rico? Do these perceptions vary depending on the participants' age and CS practices? The research method was mixed with quantitative and qualitative data from a Likert-style questionnaire, followed by an interview with a reduced sample of participants. The data were submitted to chi-square analyses and statistical differences were found based on the age and CS practices of participants.

Keywords: codeswitching, bilingualism, language attitudes, identity, Puerto Rico

Resumen

La práctica de alternar lenguas en una conversación o en un discurso, llamada alternancia de códigos o *codeswitching*, ha sido tema de debate por años y existen personas que sienten un fuerte desagrado hacia esta práctica y otras que la adoptan sin reservas. Este estudio trae la controversia al contexto de Puerto Rico, una colonia estadounidense, para la cual el bilingüismo y la alternancia de códigos están relacionados a la cultura, la identidad y, en algunos casos, la ideología política. Este estudio describe y analiza las percepciones, actitudes y experiencias de adultos puertorriqueños sobre el bilingüismo y la alternancia de códigos en Puerto Rico. Contesta las preguntas: ¿Cómo se percibe la alternancia de códigos en Puerto Rico? ¿Varían estas percepciones según la edad y el uso de la alternancia de códigos? El método de investigación fue mixto con datos cuantitativos y cualitativos obtenidos por medio de un cuestionario con una escala Likert y entrevistas con una muestra reducida de los participantes totales. Los datos fueron analizados con pruebas de chi-cuadrado y se encontraron diferencias significativas por las variables de edad y el uso de la alternancia de códigos.

Palabras clave: alternancia de códigos, bilingüismo, actitudes lingüísticas, identidad, Puerto Rico

Perceptions and Attitudes towards Bilingualism and Codeswitching in Puerto Rico:

The Effect of Age and Codeswitching Practices

1. Introduction

1.1. Bilingualism in Puerto Rico

Puerto Rico is an archipelago and an unincorporated United States' territory. As such, Puerto Ricans have U.S. citizenship and are under the rule of the U.S. Congress (Garrett, 2022). However, Puerto Ricans are not allowed to vote in congressional elections; they vote instead for representatives of the local government, whose authority over "matters of internal governance" was recognized by Congress in 1950 (Garrett, 2022). Although Spanish is the native language of Puerto Rico, the aforementioned political context of the archipelago has resulted in the acquisition of English as a second language, to varying degrees of proficiency. According to the United States Census Bureau (2022), an estimate of 4.7% of the Puerto Rican population speaks only English at home and 95% speaks Spanish at home. However, an estimated 20% of the Puerto Ricans who speak Spanish at home can also speak English very well (United States Census Bureau, 2022). The remaining 75% of Puerto Ricans report that they speak English less than "very well." Based on these data alone, it is unclear what the exact level of English proficiency is in the archipelago because the 75% who speak English less than "very well" could not speak English at all or could speak English but evaluate their own English skills as insufficient. Nonetheless, it is undeniable that a Spanish-English bilingual community exists in Puerto Rico.

The bilingual community¹ in Puerto Rico has been bolstered by different factors, such as English instruction in Puerto Rican schools, migration, and entertainment/internet content consumption. English is a mandatory course in all schools in Puerto Rico. The quality and effectiveness of the English classes in public schools has been brought into question (Angrist et al., 2008; Pousada, 2000) and can vary from one municipality to the next. Nevertheless, these classes serve to guarantee that, at least during school hours, Puerto Ricans are exposed to English from an early age. Migration patterns are another contributing factor to the propagation of the English language in the archipelago. Puerto Ricans have migrated to the United States in increasing numbers throughout the decades, establishing themselves most frequently in New York and recently in Florida; however, populations are sizeable in other states as well. Many of them eventually return, either temporarily or permanently (Duany, 2017). These return migrants bring with them the language practices they acquired during their time away from Puerto Rico. Finally, the entertainment industry and online communities play a significant role in the acquisition of English in the archipelago. Like in many other countries, Puerto Ricans are exposed to English-language music, movies, and television. In 1998, Fayer et al. published data collected through questionnaires about the functions of English in Puerto Rico; a couple of years later, Pousada (2000) published the results of interviews with Puerto Rican bilinguals regarding the factors involved in creating competent bilinguals. Participants from both studies reported consuming English-language media, such as radio, cable television, magazines, and newspapers. While browsing online content, Puerto Ricans are also exposed to English. One of the interviewees in Pérez Casas's (2008) doctoral dissertation mentions that while his generation was the "MTV generation"—further highlighting the role of the entertainment industry in

¹ The term community in this text refers to speech community: a group of people who share language practices, as well as values and attitudes regarding language use, varieties, and practices. See Morgan (2014).

bilingualism—younger generations are much more influenced by YouTube and Google. The impression is that online spaces are mostly an English domain: "...there are a lot of sites in Spanish, but the majority are in English and young people who have access to those sites know English and will know more English..." (Pérez Casas, 2008). As the use of technology and the internet has increased over the years, so has exposure to English.

These factors have created an environment where Spanish and English are in constant contact. As stated before, this contact has resulted in the emergence of a Spanish-English bilingual community, although the level of bilingual proficiency may vary within Puerto Rico and some municipalities have higher percentages of English-speaking adults than others (Pousada, 2010). It has also brought about interesting linguistic phenomena, such as lexical borrowing and codeswitching. Lexical borrowing in the archipelago is evidenced by the work of researchers such as Cortés et al. (2005) and Bullock et al. (2016), which are studies that have documented and examined the use of loanwords in fast food restaurants and media outlets, respectively. Evidence of early codeswitching practices in Puerto Rico has been put forth by researchers like Pousada (2000) and Pérez Casas (2008), whose study sample of Puerto Rican bilinguals in Puerto Rico reported the use of codeswitching. More recent research demonstrates the continued codeswitching practices in the archipelago (Acosta-Santiago, 2020; Guzzardo Tamargo et al., 2019; Guzzardo Tamargo & Vélez Avilés, 2017; Morales Lugo, 2019).

1.2. Codeswitching

Codeswitching, a term coined and first defined by Uriel Weinrich (1953), describes the linguistic phenomenon where a bilingual or multilingual speaker changes from one language to another when producing speech or writing. As speakers move from one environment to another (e.g., from work to home), they may change the language they use to communicate more

effectively or fit in better in that new environment. That is situational codeswitching (Cheng & Butler, 1989); it occurs in multilingual societies and is commonly practiced by speakers whose native language is not the dominant language in their country of residence (Timm, 1975). Speakers may also switch languages within the same discourse or conversation when their interlocutor or intended audience is also bilingual, which is referred to as conversational codeswitching (Gumperz, 1977). The latter is the form of codeswitching (CS) that is the focus of the present study.

The simplest type of CS takes the form of single-word insertion, also known as lexical codeswitching. It is the use of a word from a language that is different from the main language being spoken. Example 1 illustrates this CS type.

(1) *Me encantó el performance de esa muchacha.*²

‘I loved that girl’s performance.’

Lexical codeswitching (lexCS) is different from lexical borrowing (known as loanwords)—although, it is argued that borrowing is the result of lexCS and is, therefore, not a separate phenomenon (Myers-Scotton, 1993). Loanwords incur phonological, and sometimes graphical, adaptations to fit in the new language system; for example, the word *sándwich* in Spanish is an English loanword. Because they are highly integrated into the language, loanwords are not considered CS (Poplack, 1980). Another criterion that has been used to distinguish borrowing from CS is frequency of use (Myers-Scotton 1993), with particular instances of lexCS having a lower frequency than loanwords.

² Throughout this text, Spanish words and phrases are italicized.

Codeswitching is also categorized as inter-sentential and intra-sentential depending on where it takes place in the utterance (Poplack, 1980; Muysken, 2000). A speaker can switch languages between sentences or clause boundaries, meaning they may be speaking in one language and then say a sentence in another language. Poplack (1980) labels this inter-sentential codeswitching (interCS). This type of CS is found in example 2.

(2) *Estoy muy cansada*. I'm going to take a nap.

'I'm very tired. I'm going to take a nap.'

When a speaker changes languages within sentence or clause boundaries, it is referred to as intra-sentential codeswitching (intraCS). IntraCS could mean the insertion of a word or entire phrases (be it noun, verb, adjectival, adverbial or prepositional phrases). This is presented in example 3.

(3) I can't today, *pero podemos salir mañana* after work.

'I can't today, but we can go out tomorrow after work.'

Codeswitching has been an object of steady linguistic research since the late twentieth century (Benson, 2001). Theoretical research on CS has focused on developing linguistic models that aim to describe the production process, the structural forms, and the rules and constraints of codeswitched speech (Lederberg & Morales, 1984; Poplack, 1980, 1981; Sankoff, 1998; Timm, 1975). Additionally, researchers with interests in theory have investigated bilingual CS competence (Lederberg & Morales, 1984; Toribio, 2001) to determine how bilinguals acquire the CS principles and constraints that guide their codeswitched production, while also allowing them to make acceptability judgements regarding the codeswitched speech of other bilinguals. On the other hand, sociolinguistic research has been conducted to discern the extralinguistic factors that affect CS, including, but not limited to, age, gender, overt and covert prestige, membership in

certain communities, the desire to indicate certain nuances—intimacy, humor, politeness—in speech, the sociopragmatic functions of CS, and language attitudes associated with different types of CS (Gardner-Chloros, 2009; Montes-Alcalá, 2016).

1.3. Attitudinal Research on Codeswitching

Language attitudes are the perceptions and opinions of a speech community regarding any language variety, and they are of interest as a research topic because they influence language behavior (Garret, 2010). Negative attitudes towards one language variety may stigmatize it and sway speakers to repress it in favor of another more prestigious one. This can mean that speakers change their own language and speech patterns, consciously and unconsciously; they may also try to force others to change what language they speak and how they speak it, either through social rejection of their peers or through systemic policies implemented by the government. An example of this situation is Ireland, where English became the majority language after the English monarchs attacked and nearly eradicated the use of the Irish language through their post-conquest policies and hostile discourse (O’Neill, 2021). Awareness of evolving linguistic attitudes can therefore aid in describing and predicting linguistic trends and changes within a speech community.

Historically, general attitudes towards CS have been negative (Bentahila, 1983; Chana & Romaine, 1984); the recurrent discourse shared by language researchers and speakers alike was that CS is a sign of language deficiency and that languages should be kept separate, i.e., speakers should use one language at a time, to maintain language integrity and “purity” (Sánchez, 1987). However, with more study, researchers have, for the most part, adopted a more neutral, if not positive, view regarding CS. CS is now accepted as a natural phenomenon and is even lauded as a sophisticated and strategic language practice that denotes high levels of language proficiency

(Ching & Butler, 1989; Dewaeli & Li, 2013; Poplack, 1980; Woolard, 1998). However, among speakers, CS remains a controversial phenomenon and both inter- and intra-speaker attitudes are varied and complex.

Dewaele and Wei (2014) researched attitudes towards CS among monolingual and bilingual language users from across the world through an online survey. The largest group of participants came from the United States and Britain. They evaluated individual differences in attitudes based on the following variables: personality, age, gender, linguistic background, and CS practices. Dewaele and Wei (2014) managed to find correlations between all these variables and language attitudes toward CS. Most relevant for the present discussion are the correlations between linguistic background and CS practices and positive attitudes towards CS. A high frequency of CS use correlated with more positive attitudes toward CS. This was particularly the case with speakers who used CS in a personal context (with family and friends). CS use in the work environment, however, had a lower correlation to positive CS attitudes. Linguistic background was also important when accounting for variation in language attitudes, especially in terms of age of acquisition and migration patterns: early bilinguals and multilinguals had more positive attitudes than late bilinguals, as did people who lived in a foreign-language country for more than one year versus those who did not. Dewaele and Wei's (2014) study contributes knowledge regarding the individual variation in language attitudes, highlighting the effect of linguistic background and current CS practices.

Guzzardo et al. (2018) carried out an attitudinal study with university students between the ages of 18 and 30. They used a matched guised test to examine the participants' perceptions of different types of CS (lexCS, interCS, and intraCS). After having participants listen to recordings of the same speakers using only Spanish, only English, and the three different types

of CS, the researchers administered a survey where the participant had to answer whether they agreed or disagreed with certain attributes ascribed to the speakers in the different recordings. The attributes were related to personality (conceit, kindness, geekiness, and youth), socioeconomic status (cultured, high socioeconomic status, low socioeconomic status, private school, from the city, and from the countryside), and ethnicity/identity (bilingual, pro-statehood, white, Nuyorican, and true Puerto Rican). While the participants of this study seemed to disagree overall with the negative attitudes and stereotypes regarding CS in Puerto Rico, when examined closely, the results show that participants are more likely to associate English and CS with conceitedness, geekiness, high socioeconomic class, private schooling, the metropolitan area, whiteness, and the pro-statehood political party (Guzzardo Tamargo et al., 2018).

Acosta-Santiago (2020) researched Puerto Rican attitudes toward CS and compared it to the attitudes displayed by the Miami Cuban population, the latter being the control group. In the work of Acosta-Santiago (2020), participants answered surveys about the perceived usage (whether they would say them themselves) and appropriateness (whether they were appropriate or not) of codeswitched utterances. There was a correlation between the perceived usage of CS and the appropriateness for both the Puerto Rican and the Miami Cuban groups, meaning that people who use CS are more likely to have positive attitudes toward it. However, although the perceived usage average was the same for both groups, Puerto Ricans' average appropriateness score was lower than Miami Cubans' appropriateness score. This indicates that, overall, Puerto Ricans' attitudes toward CS may be less positive than Miami Cubans' attitudes toward CS. Acosta-Santiago (2020) also found correlations between age and CS perceived usage and appropriateness scores. These results showed that the younger generation (age 18-30) both used

CS more and had more positive attitudes toward CS than the other age groups (31-43, 44-56, and 57+).

The participants in Acosta-Santiago (2020) also answered direct questions about CS. The results showed conflicting opinions among Puerto Ricans regarding CS in the archipelago. When asked if they thought combining Spanish and English in speech was improper, 43% said no, 32% said it was improper, and the remaining 25% said they were unsure (p. 42). These responses were accompanied by comments from the participants. Some of the positive comments stated that CS was representative of the Puerto Rican culture and that CS aids communicating different meanings more than using just one language. Negative comments included remarks such as the following: “languages have to be respected” (p. 47) and “combining languages denotes not having your own identity and not being cultured in the language” (p. 47), which shows that CS is still perceived by some people as language corruption, language deficiency, and even lack of identity and culture. Some comments also demonstrated intra-speaker variation: depending on the context, CS could be proper or improper. For example, some comments suggested that CS would be improper in formal situations (p. 45).

Regarding identity, Mazak (2012) conducted an ethnographic study of the relationship between language and identity in rural Puerto Rico. The participants of this study were observed over a period of four months, and the data collected consisted of field notes, analytic memos, interviews, and audio recordings. In a group exchange between the researcher and Pedro and Migdaly—two 8th graders—Migdaly told Pedro, who was practicing English, that if he wanted to speak English, he should find himself a gringo. Mazak (2012) argues that this statement carries an implicit belief that Puerto Ricans should not speak English with other Puerto Ricans and if, like Pedro, a Puerto Rican speaks English they are betraying their Puerto Rican identity. Another

participant in the study is Lico, a physical education teacher and a return immigrant who is proficient in English. Lico spoke English in a public setting where everyone was using Spanish. This was seen by the other adults as showing off. Mazak (2012) explains that “being perceived as flaunting English abilities in the face of one’s Puerto Rican peers was not acceptable, as it was perceived as claiming more authority, knowledge, and expertise—more power—than one’s peers.”

The idea the Puerto Ricans should speak Spanish is not exclusive to Puerto Rican monolinguals or to those with low English proficiency like Migdaly (Mazak, 2012). In a more recent study, Morales Lugo (2019) observed students from two high schools—one private and one public—and their bilingual speech practices. Morales Lugo observed that some of the participants who used English frequently believed there was a limit to the acceptable use of English. If you exceed that limit by speaking English “all the time,” you are perceived as someone “cocky” or “snobby” who puts aside their Puerto Rican identity in favor of the American or “gringo” identity.

2. The Present Study

The present study aims to describe current CS practices and attitudes among Puerto Rican adults 18 years old and older with varying degrees of bilingual proficiency and to compare those practices and attitudes based on the participants’ membership to different subgroups. The participants will be post stratified into subgroups according to their age, linguistic background (level and age of English acquisition), and CS practices (whether or not they use CS, and how frequently it occurs). These three factors are the independent variables that will be used to compare individual attitudes towards CS. The research questions are the following.

1. How common are bilingualism and CS in Puerto Rico? Are bilingualism and CS more or less common at present than in previous years?
2. Do Puerto Ricans have positive or negative perceptions and attitudes towards CS? What positive or negative perceptions and attitudes do Puerto Ricans have toward CS?
3. Do CS practices and attitudes differ across generations? If so, how?
4. Do CS practices affect a speaker's perceptions and attitudes toward CS? If so, how?

Based on the findings of previous studies, the following predictions are offered for each of the research questions.

1. Bilingualism and CS use are more common and more accepted at present than in previous years.
2. Although most participants have positive attitudes toward CS, some negative perceptions of CS, such as purist language ideals, may still be present.
3. CS practices and attitudes will vary across age subgroups and younger participants will codeswitch more frequently and will be more accepting of CS overall.
4. CS practices will affect CS attitudes, specifically, bilingual speakers who frequently use CS will have more positive CS attitudes overall.

This study contributes to sociolinguistic attitudinal research by providing data on language attitude variation among speakers from different age groups and their respective linguistic practices. They all belong to an under-researched community such as the Puerto Rican monolingual and bilingual community. Because it includes participants from multiple regions, the study also provides data from participants outside of the metropolitan area, which is the most frequently researched demographic in Puerto Rico.

3. Methodology

The research protocol for this study was reviewed and approved by the University of Puerto Rico's Institutional Review Board (*Comité Institucional para la Protección de los Seres Humanos en la Investigación*, CIPSHI). The authorization number is 2324-116.

3.1. Participants

The inclusion requirements for participating in this study, as stated on the recruitment flyers, were the following: the participant must have reported being at least 18 years old and have identified as being from Puerto Rico. Participants were considered to “be from Puerto Rico” if they had spent most (75% or more) of their life in Puerto Rico. Participants were post stratified according to three main independent variables: age, bilingual proficiency (low, medium, high), and CS practice (no CS, some CS, a lot of CS).

A total of 24 people filled out of the questionnaire, and 22 participants were included in the final analysis. Two of the participants left many questions unanswered, so their results were not included in the quantitative analysis. The ages of the 22 participants ranged from 20-56 years. Ten of the participants (45%) were in their 20s, and eight participants (36%) were in their 30s. The remaining four participants were in their 40s (9%) and 50s (9%). A total of 13 of the participants (59%) were women, eight participants (36%) were men, and one (5%) was non-binary. Regarding formal education, 77% of the participants had obtained college degrees. Two of the participants were currently living in the United States although they are originally from Puerto Rico. The other 20 participants were from different parts of Puerto Rico. However, over half of the participants from the northern region, and the San Juan capital was the most frequent answer (27% of participants).

Gender	Frequency	Percentage
Men	8	36%
Women	13	59%
Non-binary	1	5%
Age		
20-29	10	45%
30-39	8	36%
40-49	2	9%
50-59	2	9%
Highest Education Level Achieved		
High school	3	14%
Some college	2	9%
Bachelor's	4	18%
Master's	10	45%
Doctorate	3	14%
Place of residence		
San Juan	6	27%
Las Piedras	3	14%
Hatillo	2	9%
Toa Alta	2	9%
United States	2	9%
Aibonito	1	5%
Carolina	1	5%
Luquillo	1	5%
Ponce	1	5%
San Sebastián	1	5%
Toa Baja	1	5%
Yabucoa	1	5%

Table 1. Participants' demographic information

The participant sample for the study was largely bilingual. 82% of the participants self-identified as 'bilingual', 5% self-identified as 'somewhat bilingual,' and 14% did not identify as bilingual. 77% of the participants reported high English language proficiency, 14% reported medium proficiency, and 9% reported low proficiency. These percentages are consistent with the bilingual self-identification results. All bilingual participants were Spanish dominant, although some were much closer to balanced bilingualism than others. 73% of participants reported using

CS in their daily life; 18% reported only some CS in their daily life, and 9% reported not using CS in their daily life.

Bilingualism self-identification	Frequency	Percentage
Bilingual	18	82%
Somewhat bilingual	1	5%
Non-bilingual	3	14%
English language proficiency		
Low (0-0.50)	2	9%
Medium (0.51-0.70)	3	14%
High (0.71-1)	17	77%
Codeswitching practice		
CS	16	73%
Some CS	4	18%
No CS	2	9%

Table 2. Participants' language profile (questionnaire)

A subset of the participants (five total) completed the additional task—an interview—which is described in section 3.2. Two participants were men and three were women. Their ages ranged from 20 to 34. Two of them were self-identified bilinguals with high English proficiency and who reported CS regularly; one was a self-identified bilingual with high English proficiency, who reported CS only sometimes; one was a self-identified bilingual with medium proficiency who reported CS; and the last participant was not bilingual and, therefore, had low English proficiency and did not CS.

Bilingualism self-identification	Frequency	Percentage
Bilingual	4	80%
Non-bilingual	1	20%
English language proficiency		
Low (0-0.50)	1	20%
Medium (0.51-0.70)	1	20%
High (0.71-1)	3	60%
Codeswitching practice		

CS	3	60%
Some CS	1	20%
No CS	1	20%

Table 2.1 Participants' language profile (interview)

3.2. Materials and Procedure

An online questionnaire was administered (in Spanish) to compile information regarding demographic data, linguistic background and language profile, language practices, and CS perceptions and attitudes. CS was referred to as Spanglish in the questionnaire because the latter is a colloquial term that was expected to be more familiar to participants than CS. The questionnaire was preceded by the informed consent form, which the participants read before choosing to continue with the questionnaire. They also created their own participant code using their initials. The questionnaire included 44 questions related to their linguistic background (see Appendix I), which were based on the Bilingual Language Profile (BLP, Birdsong et al., 2012). The researcher found it necessary to make the following adjustments: (1) adapt the wording of the questionnaire to everyday language in Puerto Rico and (2) adjust the amount and type of questions based on the study's objectives. The rest of the questionnaire (see Appendix II) was meant to obtain information regarding the participants CS practices and opinions, as well as the opinions of those around them. Two open-ended questions prompting the participants to define what being bilingual and what Spanglish was to them. In addition, two close-ended questions prompted participants to report if they considered themselves bilingual and if they used Spanglish in their daily life. These questions were followed by the Likert scale section of the questionnaire. This section consisted of 39 Likert scale-style items for all the participants and 26 additional Likert scale-style items only for the participants who reported using CS in their daily life. The participants evaluated each item as Strongly Disagree (1), Disagree (2), Agree (3), or

Strongly Agree (4). After each Likert item, a text box was included so the participants could expand on their responses, if they so desired. The questionnaire took approximately an hour to complete.

At the end of the questionnaire, the participants were asked if they were interested in being interviewed about the research topic. If they answered affirmatively, they would be prompted to leave their email as contact information. A total of five participants were interviewed, one in person and four via Google Meet. The interviews were audio recorded using an iPad. The researcher was previously acquainted with one of the participants, but the other four were previously strangers. Nonetheless, the interview was carried out as naturally as possible. During the interview, they were asked about their CS habits and the CS habits of people around them as well as their opinions regarding this phenomenon. The interview lasted approximately 30 minutes on average. The question guide for the interview can be found in Appendix III.

3.3. Data Analysis

Regarding the questionnaire, the responses to each Likert scale item were regrouped into two based on which side of the scale they fell: Agree or Disagree. The percentage of Disagree and Agree responses to each item was used to determine the prevailing perceptions and attitudes of the entire sample. Next, the participants were post stratified based on age. Because most participants were in their 20s and 30s, the participants were put in two age subgroups: 20-29 Group and 30+ Group; ten participants were placed in the first age subgroup, and 12 participants, in the second. The percentage of agreement versus disagreement in each subgroup was calculated and contrasted to find any possible differences between each subgroup. The data of the subgroups was imported into SPSS and analyzed using chi-square tests to see if any statistically

significant differences regarding perceptions and attitudes arose based on age (see crosstabs and chi-square results in Appendix IV).

There were three subgroups regarding CS practice or lack thereof: CS Group, Some CS Group, and No CS Group. 16 participants stated that they use CS regularly in their daily life; four people stated that they use CS sometimes; and two people stated that they do not use CS at all. Because the three subgroups were disproportionate, the last two subgroups were merged into one subgroup. Once again, the percentage of agreement versus disagreement in each subgroup was calculated and contrasted to find any possible differences between each subgroup, and chi-square tests were also performed with SPSS to determine if any of the differences in perceptions and attitudes based on CS practice were statistically significant. With respect to the information obtained from the interviews, the participants' comments are integrated as a deeper discussion of the questionnaire's results.

4. Results and Discussion

First, participants were asked to define "Spanglish," the term used in place of CS in the questionnaire. Participants described it as mixing words from Spanish and English, mixing both languages, and alternating between both languages. Most of the responses defining Spanglish were neutral, such as "using both languages simultaneously," "using words from both languages," and "just codeswitching." However, a few included negative and positive sentiments. Participant FRP used the Puerto Rican word "*disparate*" to describe the phenomenon, which can mean that it is gibberish or incorrect use of language. Another participant stated that it is "laziness and/or ignorance when communicating." On the more positive side of the spectrum, one participant stated that it is the "lovechild" of Spanish and English, and that although "everyone wants to hate it, it is part of our day-to-day."

Among the 20 participants who said yes to using CS at least sometimes in their daily life, the most prevailing form of CS was lexCS, which was phrased as “I frequently use English words while speaking Spanish or vice versa.” The participants provided examples. Participant JMH mentioned using loanwords or Anglicisms. Participant ACR mentioned using career field related terminology in English; ACR stated: “my profession has words that would lose their original meaning if translated.” Participant ICR also mentioned that there are certain words or expressions that are difficult to translate. ICR also added that he uses lexCS when switching to more serious or severe topics, such as politics, academics, and law.

	Agree	Disagree
I frequently use English words while speaking Spanish or vice versa.	100%	0%
I frequently change languages between sentences.	85%	15%
I frequently change languages within the same sentence.	85%	15%

Table 3. Types of CS

When it came to interCS and intraCS, some of the explanations about Anglicisms were repeated, so it is difficult to tell if the difference between the three types of CS was clear for all participants. One of the explanations provided by participant ACR attributed these types of CS to the need for fluidity. She stated, “you don’t want to stop the communication, and you’re speaking too fast to stop and translate something in your mind.” Participant ANMC stated that sometimes she wants to express herself using “the first word she can find.” This also alludes to the fluidity aspect. ICR once again brought to attention the topic of conversation as a deciding factor. He states that his CS happens more often when discussing an English-speaking celebrity or event.

He provides a plausible explanation for this: “I probably regurgitate the content in the language I first consumed it.”

Most participants do not perceive Puerto Rico as a bilingual country (59% disagreement). Participants explained that although there is a bilingual community in Puerto Rico, it is not widespread enough to make that generalization. They do, however, perceive the use of English and CS to be common in PR. CS is perceived to be more common than just English, with an 86% of agreement for CS in comparison to the 54% of agreement for English. Participant AMPM stated that bilingualism may be found in specific places, but the main language used is Spanish. Participant ANMC explained her reason for disagreeing: “the use of Anglicisms does not necessarily make a country bilingual.” Participant ICR observes that most people acquire English out of necessity, not interest; so, if it is not necessary, they will not acquire it. FRP agrees that the prevalence of English hinges partially on necessity: “Depends on the job you have. A carpenter does not need English, a hotelier does.”

It is important to note that the participants who practiced CS were more likely to view Puerto Rico as a bilingual country. In fact, 56% of participants in the CS Group agreed with the premise. This contrasts with the Some/No CS Group whose members all (100%) disagreed. This difference proved to be statistically significant, $\chi^2(1, n = 22) = 5.712, p = .017$.

Participants	PR is a bilingual country.		The use of English is common PR.		CS is common in PR.	
	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree
ALL	41%	59%	54%	45%	86%	14%
20-29	50%	50%	50%	50%	90%	10%
30+	33%	58%	58%	42%	83%	17%
CS	56%	44%	56%	44%	81%	19%
Some/no CS	0%	100%	50%	50%	100%	0%

Table 4. Language practices in PR.

English and CS are perceived to be more commonly used amongst younger people, particularly teenagers and individuals 20-40 (82% and 91% agreement, respectively). People aged 30+ were more likely to see CS as common among adults 40+ years old (50% split between agreement and disagreement), but people aged 20-29 perceived CS to be uncommon among adults 40+ years old (90% disagreement). This difference proved to be statistically significant, $\chi^2(1, n = 22) = 4.023, p = .045$. Participants agreed that this phenomenon is more common in younger generations. FRP stated that it is more common among the generations born after the 1970s. RVJ stated that it seems to be more common among millennials than Gen X. YRA also agrees that it is more common among younger people; however, they made the concession that because of migration patterns some older people are good at English and use CS.

Participants	CS is common among teenagers.		CS is common among younger adults (20-40).		CS is common among older adults (40+).	
	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree
ALL	82%	18%	91%	9%	32%	68%
20-29	90%	10%	90%	10%	10%	90%
30+	75%	25%	92%	8%	50%	50%
CS	81%	19%	94%	6%	31%	69%
No/Some CS	83%	17%	83%	17%	33%	67%

Table 5. CS among different age subgroups.

Participants perceive CS to be used more frequently by people in the metropolitan area (91% agreement), although they disagree that its use is limited to that region (64% agreement that it is used in all regions). Even though they agree it appears to be more frequent in the metropolitan area, some participants clarify that they are not knowledgeable enough about other regions to make that judgement. Other participants like AMPM mention that tourist spots are also places where English, and therefore CS, would probably increase among locals who must interact with English-speaking tourists. Participant YRA also highlights that there are people in

rural areas outside of the metropolitan area who use English and CS because they were raised using the internet.

Participants	CS is used in the metro area.		CS is common in all parts of PR.	
	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree
ALL	91%	9%	64%	36%
20-29	100%	0%	90%	10%
30+	83%	17%	75%	25%
CS	94%	6%	69%	31%
Some/no CS	83%	17%	50%	50%

Table 5. Where is CS used?

CS is marginally attributed to people with a private education and high socioeconomic status with a 52% agreement. Participants who disagree recognize that people from “all walks of life,” as stated by participant RVJ, are bilingual and use CS. Even the participants who agreed did so conditionally by proceeding to explain that people from all socioeconomic backgrounds use CS. For example, participant FRP agreed with the premise, but he believes that it is more so contingent on their direct and indirect contact with the United States and the United States media than their financial background. This perspective is similar to participant YRA’s comment above regarding the correlation between the use of English and CS in rural areas and access to the internet. Coupled with the fact that for the 20-29 Group there was a 60% disagreement while in the 30+ Group there was a 64% agreement, this result could indicate that the perception of English and CS as a trait of upper-class Puerto Ricans is slowly phasing out among younger generations.

CS is used by Puerto Ricans who received a private education or who have a high socioeconomic status.		
Participants	Agree	Disagree

ALL	52%	48%
20-29	40%	60%
30+	64%	36%
CS	47%	53%
Some/no CS	67%	33%

Table 6. CS and socioeconomic status.

The participants displayed some positive attitudes toward CS. 77% of participants agreed that it is okay for people to use CS in PR. The participants aged 20-29 were more likely to agree with that premise (90% agreement) than the participants aged 30+ (67% agreement). This tendency did not prove statistically significant, but the difference based on the CS variable (CS group agreed 100%, but the Some/No CS Group disagreed 83%) was statistically significant, $X^2(1, n = 22) = 17.255, p = <0.001$. 82% of participants agreed that CS is an acceptable way to communicate. These sentiments were more common among the 20-29 Group and the CS Group. This difference was statistically significant for both the age variable $X^2(1, n = 22) = 4.074, p = .044$, and the CS usage variable, $X^2(1, n = 22) = 5.615, p = .018$. Some of the participants stated that they do not mind CS if it is done with consideration of other people who might not be bilingual. Others add that the context is important; they are less accepting of CS in professional environments and other formal situations. They also do not think it should be used in writing. Some of the participants against CS, like participant FRP, indicated that “it sounds really ugly” and “we should aspire to speak correctly.”

Participants	I think it is okay for people to use CS in PR		CS is an acceptable way to communicate.		I think it is okay for people to use English in Puerto Rico.	
	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree
ALL	77%	23%	82%	18%	64%	36%
20-29	90%	10%	100%	0%	50%	50%
30+	67%	33%	58%	42%	75%	25%

CS	100%	0%	94%	6%	81%	19%
Some/no CS	17%	83%	50%	50%	17%	83%

Table 7. General acceptability of English and CS in PR

Participants	CS is not accepted in some situations		CS is appropriate in professional environments	
	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree
ALL	91%	9%	45%	55%
20-29	80%	20%	50%	50%
30+	100%	0%	42%	58%
CS	88%	13%	50%	50%
Some/no CS	100%	0%	33%	67%

Table 7.1 Appropriateness of CS

While also seen as acceptable, English had a lower percentage of acceptability than CS/Spanglish. The Some/No CS Group was the least accepting of English, and the 20-29 Group was split in half; meanwhile, the 30+ Group agreed that English was acceptable by an overwhelming majority of 81%. The difference between the two age groups was not statistically significant, but the difference between the groups with different CS practices was significant, $X^2(1, n = 22) = 7.865, p = .005$. Participants who previously expressed their acceptance of CS had a completely different perspective of the use of English (on its own). A few participants, such as YRA and FRP linked their rejection of English to their anti-colonialist beliefs. FRP states that the only English that is acceptable is “Yankee go home;” YRA explains why they hate when people use English in Puerto Rico: “Opposing English being spoken in our territory, which has been colonized by an English-speaking power, is anti-colonial resistance.” Another participant, RVJ—who finds the use of English acceptable—recognizes English as a colonizing language but points out that Spanish was also a colonizing language. He states: “If we prohibited the use of the language of an empire/colonizer, we'd all be speaking Arawak.”

Although overall participants agreed that using CS was acceptable, there was a tendency to believe that people should speak one language at a time. This is particularly true among the 30+ Group and the Some/No CS Group. While the result of all participants was 59% disagreement with the idea that languages should be used separately, the 30+ Group showed a 58% agreement, and the Some/No CS Group showed an 83% agreement. The 20-29 Group and the CS Group disagreed by 80% and 75%, respectively. This difference was statistically significant for the CS Group vs the Some/No CS group, $\chi^2 (1, n = 22) = 6.142, p = .013$. The difference among the two age groups was not statistically significant. Among the participants who disagree with separating the two languages, RVJ states that “codeswitching is natural,” and YRA labels the ideal of separating languages as purist and arrogant. Meanwhile, participant ECP believes that CS can become a “crutch” that hinders the improvement of vocabulary, and ANMC agrees that they should be used separately, but only “depending on the context.”

When it comes to CS being seen as a deficiency of skills in one of the languages, participants disagree by 91%. 100% of those who use CS disagree, whereas in the Some/No CS group 67% disagree and 33% agree. This difference is statistically significant, $\chi^2 (1, n = 22) = 5.867, p = .015$. Participants also disagree that people use CS to brag or show off by 73%. This shows that, although the majority rejects that perception of CS users, there is a tendency to view the use of CS by Puerto Rican bilinguals as a form of bragging. Participant YRA, who agrees that using CS can be a form of bragging, states that it tends to be “perceived and employed as a show of status and intellect.” Participant EPC also agrees with the premise; he believes people relate the use of English to modernity and progress. He states that it can be used by people “to separate themselves from the outdated Puerto Rican.” He further elaborates during the interview that he has known people who CS to fit in with certain groups or to separate or distinguish

themselves from other groups of people. He does not, however, specify what kinds of groups these people want to fit in with or what groups they want to separate themselves from.

Nonetheless, this idea implies that the use of English is associated with desirable traits, because if someone wants to fit in with a certain group, the group must be perceived to have something of value. These valued traits may be intellect and status, like YRA suggests, and prestige and power, like Mazak (2012) discusses in her study.

Participants	PRicans use CS to brag about knowing English.		PRicans who use CS struggle with one of the languages.		Spanish or English: people should speak one at a time.	
	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree
ALL	27%	73%	9%	91%	41%	59%
20-29	30%	70%	10%	90%	20%	80%
30+	25%	75%	8%	92%	58%	42%
CS	25%	75%	0%	100%	25%	75%
Some/no CS	33%	67%	33%	67%	83%	17%

Table 8. Negative attitudes toward CS

Participants agree that things have changed regarding the language practices of Puerto Ricans in recent years. 91% of participants agree that there are more and more bilinguals in Puerto Rico as time passes. JAEM who has lived in Chicago for the past five years mentioned that he returns home every year, and he is surprised every time by how many people speak English. YRA attributes it to cultural assimilation: “the process of Americanization and cultural assimilation is gradual but ensured.” ECP attributes it to improvements in the education level in Puerto Rico. Alongside bilingualism, 82% of participants agree that CS is more common now than before, and 77% agree that CS is accepted more now than before.

Participants	CS is more common now than before.		CS is more accepted now than before.		There are more PRican bilinguals as time passes.	
	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree

ALL	82%	18%	77%	23%	91%	9%
20-29	90%	10%	80%	20%	100%	0%
30+	75%	25%	75%	25%	83%	17%
CS	88%	13%	88%	13%	94%	6%
Some/no CS	67%	33%	50%	50%	83%	17%

Table 9. Perceived changes in linguistic behavior and attitudes.

Participants recognize that language use is not necessarily tied to cultural identity. They agree that Puerto Ricans who use English and CS are just as Puerto Rican as those who use Spanish. YRA says that “Puerto Ricanness is not measured in languages.” They add that there are different ways to be Puerto Rican, while mentioning various places where the Puerto Rican diaspora has settled. Participants also agree that using English and CS does not mean someone is more attached to U.S. culture than Puerto Rican culture.

Nonetheless, it is very clear that, to some extent, participants relate English use to an attachment to U.S. culture over Puerto Rican culture. They make a distinction between CS and English. When relating CS to U.S. culture over Puerto Rican culture, there is an 18% of agreement, whereas, for English there is a 32% agreement. There is also a difference between the CS subgroups. The Some/No CS Group agrees that people who use English are more attached to U.S. culture (67% agreement), whereas the CS Group disagrees with that statement (81% disagreement). This difference proved to be statistically significant, $\chi^2(1, n = 22) = 4.618, p = .032$.

	PRicans who use English are just as PRican as those who use Spanish.		PRicans who CS are just as PRican as those who use Spanish.		People who CS are more attached to U.S. culture than PRican culture.		People who use English are more attached U.S. culture.	
	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree
ALL	86%	14%	91%	9%	18%	82%	32%	68%

20-29	90%	10%	100%	0%	20%	80%	30%	70%
30+	83%	17%	83%	17%	17%	83%	33%	67%
CS	88%	13%	94%	6%	13%	88%	19%	81%
Some/no CS	83%	17%	83%	17%	33%	67%	67%	33%

Table 10. Language practices and identity

EPC, who disagrees with the premise, sees CS as a tool of convenience rather than an issue of identity. YRA states that you can be submerged in both without detracting from either one. On the other hand, ICR, a participant in agreement with the premise, explains that he does not believe Puerto Ricans should identify with U.S. culture or be overexposed to it because “the more you are exposed to it, the more you are exposed to the failures and atrocities of that culture and its history.” Another observation regarding the use of English in Puerto Rico comes from JAEM. JAEM is aware of complaints from some Puerto Ricans regarding English. He states that he has heard dissatisfaction regarding customer service in areas which are popular with tourists. He explains: “I have read about people who complain because they go to Old San Juan and a Puerto Rican waiter speaks to them in English from the get-go, and the Puerto Rican waiter intends to continue the entire conversation in English.” JAEM goes on to state that such a complaint is not a “linguistic complaint,” but rather that it pertains to ideals regarding Puerto Rican identity: “A Puerto Rican should speak Spanish. A Puerto Rican should not speak English because ‘the Puerto Rican identity is a Spanish-speaking identity.’ I disagree. A language is just a language.”

5. Conclusions

This study aimed to describe the current perceptions and attitudes of Puerto Ricans towards CS and to determine whether these have changed over the years, and whether there are differences in perceptions and attitudes correlated to the independent variables of age and CS practices. A questionnaire and an interview were conducted with 22 participants. This study is

important because it provides data from Puerto Rican adults across different ages groups who come from different parts of Puerto Rico when most of the previous studies of this kind focused primarily on participants under 30 from the metropolitan area. This helps to not only compare attitudes across generations, but also between groups of different linguistic practices and backgrounds.

The predictions of the study were confirmed as follows. Based on the data collected, bilingualism and CS use have become much more common in Puerto Rico than in previous years and the use of English and CS are viewed more positively. The participants of this study believe that this change can be attributed to factors such as education; the presence of English-speaking tourists; exposure to American culture directly or indirectly, through media and the internet; and financial necessity because certain types of employment require knowledge of English. Attitudes towards English and CS are generally positive. Participants find CS acceptable and for the most part harbor positive attitudes towards English and CS and so do the people around them. However, much like what was predicted, negative attitudes towards English and CS are still present. Those who disapprove consider CS to be a lazy incorrect use of language, and English is seen as the symbol of hegemonic power and cultural loss.

As predicted, there were differences between the results of the subgroups regarding the acceptability of CS and English and the negative attitudes. As predicted, there were some differences between age subgroups, but the variable that caused the most significant and most frequent impact was the CS variable (whether the participants used CS themselves or not). The data were analyzed using the chi-square tests, which proved that these differences—mainly those related to the CS variable—were statistically significant. However, it must be questioned whether these differences were concluded to be statistically significant because of the

disproportionate number of participants in each subgroup. 16 participants were in the CS Group and only 6 participants were in the Some/No CS Group. Meanwhile the age group variable, which did not result in many statistically significant differences, has a more proportionate number of participants in each group. This is not a reason to disregard the results, but rather a sign that this variation must be further explored.

Initially, it was surprising that most participants did not view codeswitching as a sign of deficient language skills because that is a belief that is commonly heard and sometimes echoed by bilingual speakers. However, in the case of this study, not only were most participants bilinguals who used CS, but they also had high levels of education. Most participants (77%) had a bachelor's degree or higher. It is likely that they had prior knowledge of the topic and understood the complexity of CS as a language skill. Another possibility is that, as pursuers of higher education, they pride themselves in their intellect—and consequently, their language skills. Thus, they reject the notion of their CS practices being a sign of any intellectual deficiency.

The results of this study indicate that perceptions and attitudes towards English and CS have gradually become more positive. Yet, the use of CS, and English particularly, continues to be a contentious topic. As mentioned above, this study could be improved by obtaining a more representative sample of the population. More participants would be necessary, but also a more proportionate distribution among subgroups pertaining to age, bilingual proficiency, and CS practices. For future studies, this direct approach to attitudinal research could be coupled with a more indirect approach, such as the matched guise test. Additionally, this approach could be complemented with audiovisual materials to serve as specific examples of CS and CS situations that could then serve as a topic of discussion with the participants. Lastly, the participants

showed a higher degree of acceptance towards CS than the use of English alone; it would be valuable to further highlight and explore prevailing anti-English sentiments in Puerto Rico and how they compare to the way that CS is perceived.

This study contributes new research and updated data to the field of sociolinguistics and to knowledge regarding language attitudes towards English and CS in Puerto Rico. As stated above, it provides a more varied sample than in previous studies. It explores individual differences in perceptions and attitudes using direct methods that require participants to reflect upon and communicate their observations and opinions explicitly. This provides insights into how aware the participants are of the topic of inquiry, their own thoughts and feelings regarding the topic, and the thoughts of others around them.

The study also leads to new research topics such as the pragmatic motivations behind some CS practices. In the results, participant EPC mentions that some people codeswitch to separate themselves from certain groups of people. This begs the question: do people use CS to align themselves with certain groups or communities and if so, how? What language or type of codeswitching is used to achieve that goal? What groups or communities are they trying to align themselves with and why?

References

- Acosta-Santiago, J. M. (2020). *Politics and its impact on code-switching in Puerto Rico*.
[MA final project, Florida International University]. FIU Digital Commons.
https://digitalcommons.fiu.edu/linguistics_ma/11
- Benson, E. J. (2001). The neglected early history of codeswitching research in the United States.
Language & Communication, 21(1), 23-36. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0271-5309\(00\)00012-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0271-5309(00)00012-4)
- Bentahila, A. (1983). *Language attitudes among Arabic-French bilinguals in Morocco*.
Multilingual Matters.
- Birdsong, D., Gertken, L.M., & Amengual, M. *Bilingual Language Profile: An Easy-to-Use Instrument to Assess Bilingualism*. COERLL, University of Texas at Austin.
<https://sites.la.utexas.edu/bilingual/>.
- Bullock, B. E., Serigos, J. & Toribio, A. J. (2016). The stratification of English-language lone-word and multi-word material in Puerto Rican Spanish-language press outlets: A computational approach. In, R. E. Guzzardo Tamargo, C. M. Mazak & M. C. Parafita Couto (Eds.), *Spanish-English Codeswitching in the Caribbean and US* (pp. 171-189). John Benjamins Publishing Company. <https://doi.org/10.1075/ihll.11.07bul>
- Chana, U. & Romaine, S. (1984). Evaluative reactions to Panjabi/English code-switching.
Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, 5(6), 447-473
- Cheng, L. & Butler, K. (1989). Code-switching: A natural phenomenon vs language 'deficiency'.

World Englishes 8(3), 293-309. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-971X.1989.tb00670.x>

Cortés, I., Ramírez, J., Rivera, M., Viada, M. & Fayer, J. (2005). Dame un hamburger plain con ketchup y papitas. *English Today*, 21(2), 35-42.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0266078405002051>

Dewaele, J. M., & Wei, L. (2014). Attitudes towards code-switching among adult mono- and multilingual language users. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 35(3), 235–251. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2013.859687>

Duany, J. (2017). *Puerto Rico: What Everyone Needs to Know*. Oxford University Press.

Gardner-Chloros, P. (2009). Sociolinguistic factors in code-switching. In B. Bullock & A. J. Toribio (Eds.), *Cambridge handbook of linguistic code-switching* (pp. 97-113). Cambridge University Press.

Garrett, P. (2010). *Attitudes to language*. Cambridge University Press.

Garrett, R. S. (2022). Political Status of Puerto Rico: Brief Background and Recent Developments for Congress. Congressional Research Service Report.
<https://sgp.fas.org/crs/row/R44721.pdf>

Gumperz, J. J. (1977). The Sociolinguistic Significance of Conversational Code-Switching. *RELC Journal*, 8(2), 1-34. <https://doi.org/10.1177/003368827700800201>

Guzzardo Tamargo, R. E., Loureiro-Rodríguez, V., Fidan Acar, E. & Vélez Avilés, J. (2018).

- Attitudes in progress: Puerto Rican youth's opinions on monolingual and code-switched language varieties. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 40(4), 304-321. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2018.1515951>
- Guzzardo Tamargo, R. E. & Vélez Avilés, J. (2017). La alternancia de códigos en Puerto Rico: Preferencias y actitudes. *Caribbean Studies*, 45(1-2), 43-76. <https://doi.org/10.1353/crb.2017.0003>
- Lederberg, A. R. & Morales, C. (1984). Code switching by bilinguals: Evidence against a third grammar. *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research*, 14(2), 113-136. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF01067625>
- Mazak, C. M. (2012). My cousin talks bad like you: Relationships between language and identity in a rural Puerto Rican community. *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education*, 11(1), 35-51. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15348458.2012.644119>
- Montes-Alcalá, C. (2016). iSwitch: Spanish-English Mixing in Computer-Mediated Communication. *Journal of Language Contact*, 9, 23-48. <https://doi.org/10.1163/19552629-00901002>
- Morales Lugo, K. (2019). Reimagining bilingualism in late modern Puerto Rico. In J. Won Lee & S. Dovchin (Eds.), *Translinguistics: Negotiating innovation and ordinariness* (pp. 130-145). Routledge.
- Morgan, M. H. (2014). What are speech communities? In *Speech Communities* (pp. 1-17). Cambridge University Press.

Muysken, P. (2000). *Bilingual speech, a typology of code-mixing*. Cambridge University Press.

Myers-Scotton, C. (1993). *Social motivations for code-switching*. Oxford University Press.

O'Neill, J. (2021). *Invoking Irish: A Cultural History of the Irish Language in Anglophone Discourse* (Order No. 30167681) [Doctoral thesis, Australian National University]. ProQuest Dissertations Publishing.

Pérez Casas, M. (2008). *Codeswitching and identity among island Puerto Rican bilinguals*. (Publication No. 3341614) [Doctoral dissertation, Georgetown University]. Digital Georgetown. <http://hdl.handle.net/10822/553245>

Poplack, S. (1980). Sometimes I'll start a sentence in Spanish y termino en español: Toward a typology of code-switching. *Linguistics*, 18(7/ 8), 581-618.

Poplack, S. (1981). Syntactic structure and social function of code-switching. In R. Duran (Ed.) *Latino Language and Communicative Behavior* (pp. 169-184). Ablex Publishing Corp.

Pousada, A. (2000). The competent bilingual. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 142, 103-118.

Pousada, A. (2010). English-speaking enclaves in Puerto Rico. Paper presented at the *College English Association annual conference*, Río Piedras, PR, March 19-20.

Sánchez, R. (1987). Bilingual training can be a barrier to academic achievement for students. *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, 33(39), 88.

Sankoff, D. (1998). A formal production-based explanation of code-switching. *Bilingualism*,

- Language and Cognition*, 1(1), 39–50. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S136672899800011X>
- Timm, L. A. (1975). Spanish-English code-switching: El porqué y how-not-to. *Romance Philology*, 28(4), 473-482.
- Toribio, A. J. (2001). On the emergence of bilingual code-switching competence. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition* 4(3), 203-231. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1366728901000414>
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2022). Language Spoken at Home. *American Community Survey, ACS 1-Year Estimates Subject Tables, Table S1601*. Retrieved April 5, 2024, from [https://data.census.gov/table/ACSST1Y2022.S1601?q=Language Spoken at Home&g=040XX00US72&y=2022](https://data.census.gov/table/ACSST1Y2022.S1601?q=Language%20Spoken%20at%20Home&g=040XX00US72&y=2022).
- Yim, O. & Clément, R. (2021). Acculturation and attitudes toward code-switching: A bidimensional framework. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 25(5), 1369-1388. <https://doi.org/10.1177/13670069211019466>
- Weinreich, U. (1953). *Languages in contact: Findings and problems*. Mouton de Gruyter.
- Woolard, K. A. (1998). Simultaneity and bivalency as strategies in bilingualism. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 8(1), 3-29.

Appendix I

Questionnaire on Demographic Data and Language Profile

Perfil lingüístico de hablantes bilingües: Español-inglés

I. Información demográfica

1. Edad
2. Género
3. Lugar de residencia actual: ciudad
4. Lugar de nacimiento
5. Nivel más alto de formación académica completada

II. Historial lingüístico

1. ¿A qué edad empezó a aprender ESPAÑOL?
2. ¿A qué edad empezó a aprender INGLÉS?
3. ¿A qué edad empezó a sentirse cómodo usando ESPAÑOL?
4. ¿A qué edad empezó a sentirse cómodo usando INGLÉS?
5. ¿Cuántos años de clases (ciencia, historia, matemáticas, etc.) ha tenido en ESPAÑOL?
6. ¿Cuántos años de clases (ciencia, historia, matemáticas, etc.) ha tenido en INGLÉS?
7. ¿Cuántos años ha pasado en un país/región donde se habla ESPAÑOL?
8. ¿Cuántos años ha pasado en un país/región donde se habla INGLÉS?
9. ¿Cuántos años ha pasado en familia hablando ESPAÑOL?
10. ¿Cuántos años ha pasado en familia hablando INGLÉS?
11. ¿Cuántos años ha pasado en un ambiente de trabajo donde se habla ESPAÑOL?
12. ¿Cuántos años ha pasado en un ambiente de trabajo donde se habla INGLÉS?

13. ¿Habla alguna otra lengua? ¿Cuál? ¿Qué nivel de dominio tiene en ella?

III. Uso de lenguas

Escoja de 0-100%.

1. En una semana normal, ¿qué porcentaje del tiempo usa ESPAÑOL con sus amigos?
2. En una semana normal, ¿qué porcentaje del tiempo usa INGLÉS con sus amigos?
3. En una semana normal, ¿qué porcentaje del tiempo usa OTRAS LENGUAS con sus amigos?
4. En una semana normal, ¿qué porcentaje del tiempo usa ESPAÑOL con su familia?
5. En una semana normal, ¿qué porcentaje del tiempo usa INGLÉS con su familia?
6. En una semana normal, ¿qué porcentaje del tiempo usa OTRAS LENGUAS con su familia?
7. En una semana normal, ¿qué porcentaje del tiempo usa ESPAÑOL en la escuela/el trabajo?
8. En una semana normal, ¿qué porcentaje del tiempo usa INGLÉS en la escuela/el trabajo?
9. En una semana normal, ¿qué porcentaje del tiempo usa OTRAS LENGUAS en la escuela/el trabajo?
10. Cuando se habla a usted mismo, ¿con qué frecuencia se habla a sí mismo en ESPAÑOL?
11. Cuando se habla a usted mismo, ¿con qué frecuencia se habla a sí mismo en INGLÉS?
12. Cuando se habla a usted mismo, ¿con qué frecuencia se habla a sí mismo en OTRAS LENGUAS?
13. Cuando hace cálculos contando, ¿con qué frecuencia cuenta en ESPAÑOL?
14. Cuando hace cálculos contando, ¿con qué frecuencia cuenta en INGLÉS?
15. Cuando hace cálculos contando, ¿con qué frecuencia cuenta en OTRAS LENGUAS?

IV. Competencia lingüística

Evalúe en una escala de 0-6, en la que 0 es ‘no muy bien’ y 6 ‘es muy bien’.

1. ¿Cómo habla en ESPAÑOL?
2. ¿Cómo habla en INGLÉS?
3. ¿Cómo entiende en ESPAÑOL?
4. ¿Cómo entiende en INGLÉS?
5. ¿Cómo lee en ESPAÑOL?
6. ¿Cómo lee en INGLÉS?
7. ¿Cómo escribe en ESPAÑOL?
8. ¿Cómo escribe en INGLÉS?

V. Ideas y opiniones sobre las lenguas

Escoja en una escala del 0-6, en la que 0 es ‘no estoy de acuerdo’ y 6 es ‘estoy de acuerdo’.

1. Me siento “yo mismo” cuando hablo en ESPAÑOL.
2. Me siento “yo mismo” cuando hablo en INGLÉS.
3. Me identifico con una cultura HISPANOHABLANTE.
4. Me identifico con una cultura ANGLOHABLANTE.
5. Es importante para mí usar (o llegar a usar) ESPAÑOL como un hablante nativo.
6. Es importante para mí usar (o llegar a usar) INGLÉS como un hablante nativo.
7. Quiero que los demás piensen que soy un hablante nativo de ESPAÑOL.
8. Quiero que los demás piensen que soy un hablante nativo de INGLÉS.

Appendix II

Questionnaire on Bilingualism and CS

Cuestionario de bilingüismo y alternancia de códigos

I. Bilingüismo y Spanglish

1. ¿Se considera bilingüe?
 - a. Sí
 - b. No
 - c. Un poco
2. ¿Qué significa para usted ser bilingüe?
3. ¿Qué es para usted el Spanglish?
4. ¿Usa Spanglish en su diario vivir?
 - a. Sí
 - b. No
 - c. A veces

II. Uso de Spanglish

Escoja una opción entre ‘totalmente en desacuerdo’ y ‘totalmente de acuerdo’.

1. Frecuentemente uso palabras del inglés mientras hablo español o viceversa.
Además de los anglicismos comunes (parking, hotdog, lighter, etc.)
2. Frecuentemente cambio de lengua entre oraciones.
Por ejemplo: digo una oración en inglés y luego otra en español o vice versa.
3. Frecuentemente cambio de lengua dentro de una misma oración.
Por ejemplo: comienzo una oración en español y la termino en inglés o vice versa.
4. Uso Spanglish al hablar.

5. Uso Spanglish al escribir.
6. Uso Spanglish con mi familia.
7. Uso Spanglish con mis amigos/as.
8. Uso Spanglish en el trabajo.
9. Uso Spanglish en la escuela/universidad.
10. Puedo expresarme mejor en Spanglish que en español o inglés.
11. Es frustrante tener que hablar solo español.
12. Es frustrante tener que hablar solo inglés.
13. Tengo que esforzarme para no usar Spanglish.
14. A las personas a mi alrededor les parece bien que use Spanglish.
15. Siento que el uso frecuente Spanglish es algo que debo corregir.
16. Uso Spanglish porque me siento cómodo/a en ambas lenguas.
17. Uso Spanglish porque me da más formas de expresarme.
18. Uso Spanglish por falta de conocimiento del español o el inglés.
19. Me abstengo de usar Spanglish o inglés en el trabajo.
20. Uso Spanglish cuando no recuerdo cómo decir algo en español o en inglés.
21. Uso Spanglish porque siento que una palabra o frase de la otra lengua describe mejor lo que quiero decir.
22. Uso Spanglish porque manejo bien ambas lenguas.
23. Uso Spanglish porque al cambiar de lengua puedo enfatizar más lo que quiero decir.
24. El inglés es parte de mi identidad.
25. El inglés es parte de mi identidad tanto como el español.
26. El Spanglish es parte de mi identidad.

III. Percepciones y actitudes hacia el Spanglish en Puerto Rico

Escoja una opción entre totalmente en desacuerdo y totalmente de acuerdo.

1. Puerto Rico es un país bilingüe.
2. El uso de inglés es común en Puerto Rico.
3. El uso de Spanglish es común en Puerto Rico.
4. El Spanglish se usa en el área metro del país.
5. El Spanglish lo usan puertorriqueños con educación privada o nivel socioeconómico alto.
6. Los puertorriqueños usan Spanglish para presumir que saben inglés.
7. El inglés lo usan los puertorriqueños del área metro.
8. Los puertorriqueños que usan Spanglish tienen dificultad con una de las lenguas (español o inglés).
9. Los puertorriqueños que usan Spanglish han vivido mucho tiempo en Estados Unidos.
10. Me parece bien que las personas usen Spanglish en Puerto Rico.
11. El Spanglish es una forma aceptable de comunicación.
12. Me parece bien que las personas usen inglés en Puerto Rico.
13. El Spanglish lo usan más los jóvenes.
14. El Spanglish es común en todas partes de Puerto Rico.
15. El Spanglish es común entre estudiantes universitarios.
16. El Spanglish es común entre adolescentes.
17. El Spanglish es común entre adultos jóvenes (20-40 años)
18. El Spanglish es común entre adultos mayores (40+ años)
19. El Spanglish está bien entre familia y amigos, pero no en situaciones formales.
20. Me incomoda que las personas usen Spanglish a mi alrededor.

21. Me parece bien que se use el Spanglish en los salones de clases si todos los estudiantes entienden.
22. El Spanglish es apropiado para la universidad.
23. El Spanglish es apropiado en el ámbito profesional.
24. Español o inglés: deberían escoger uno en vez de hablar ambos a la vez.
25. El Spanglish es más común ahora que antes.
26. El Spanglish se acepta más ahora que antes.
27. Las personas en Puerto Rico deberían hablar español.
28. Los puertorriqueños que usan inglés son igual de puertorriqueños que los que usan español.
29. Los puertorriqueños que usan Spanglish son igual de puertorriqueños que los que usan español.
30. Los puertorriqueños que usan inglés son igual de puertorriqueños que los que usan Spanglish.
31. Las personas que usan Spanglish están más apegadas a la cultura "americana" que la puertorriqueña.
32. Las personas que usan inglés están más apegadas a la cultura "americana" que la puertorriqueña.
33. Hay situaciones en las que no está bien visto el uso de Spanglish.
34. El uso de Spanglish es más común en las redes que durante interacciones físicas.
35. El uso de inglés es más común en las redes que durante interacciones físicas.
36. El uso de Spanglish es más aceptado en las redes que durante interacciones físicas.
37. El uso de inglés es más aceptado en las redes que durante interacciones físicas.

38. El español es importante para la identidad puertorriqueña.

39. Cada vez hay más puertorriqueños bilingües en Puerto Rico.

Appendix III

Guide Questions for Interviews

Preguntas guías para entrevistas

1. ¿Sientes que ser bilingüe afecta la forma en que te comunicas? ¿De qué manera?
2. ¿Has oído hablar del Espanglish? ¿Qué es para ti el Espanglish?
3. ¿Usas Espanglish? ¿Cómo describirías tu uso de Espanglish?
 - a) ¿Por qué?
 - b) ¿En dónde y con quién?
 - c) ¿Usas Espanglish solo al hablar o también por escrito?
 1. Si lo usas por escrito, ¿qué tipos de escritos? (e.g. mensajes de textos, emails, publicaciones en las redes sociales, etc.)
 - d) ¿Qué piensas sobre el uso del Espanglish al escribir?
4. ¿Cómo reaccionan otras personas ante tu uso del Espanglish?
5. ¿Es común el uso de Espanglish en Puerto Rico?
 - a) ¿En qué lugares o contextos es más común?
 - b) ¿Cuán reciente crees que es el uso de Espanglish en Puerto Rico?
6. ¿Qué piensas sobre el uso de Espanglish en Puerto Rico?
7. ¿Qué piensas cuando escuchas a personas hablar Espanglish en la calle?
8. ¿Qué piensas cuando escuchas a personas hablar inglés en la calle?
9. ¿Conoces de algunas creencias (estereotipos) acerca del Espanglish? ¿Estás de acuerdo?
 - a) Conocimiento deficiente
 - b) Quieren alardear
 - c) No saben comunicarse bien
10. ¿Hay situaciones en las que no es aceptado el Espanglish? ¿Por qué?
 - a) Uso de espanglish en situaciones formales
 - b) Uso de espanglish en los salones de clase
 - c) Uso de espanglish en el trabajo
11. ¿Crees que ser bilingüe afecte tu identidad puertorriqueña?
 - a) ¿Cuánta importancia tiene hablar español para la identidad puertorriqueña?

- b) ¿Se ha vuelto el inglés (y el espanglish) parte de tu identidad?
12. ¿Qué piensan otras personas a tu alrededor acerca del Espanglish?

Appendix IV

Crosstabs and Chi-Square Tests

Crosstab

Count

		Puerto Rico is a bilingual country.		Total
		Agree	Disagree	
Do you use Spanglish in your daily life?	No CS	0	6	6
	Yes CS	9	7	16
Total		9	13	22

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	5.712 ^a	1	.017		
Continuity Correction ^b	3.622	1	.057		
Likelihood Ratio	7.837	1	.005		
Fisher's Exact Test				.046	.023
N of Valid Cases	22				

a. 2 cells (50.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.45.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Crosstab

Count

		Spanglish is common among older adults (40+)		Total
		Agree	Disagree	
Age	20-29	1	9	10
	30+	6	6	12
Total		7	15	22

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2- sided)	Exact Sig. (1- sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4.023 ^a	1	.045		
Continuity Correction ^b	2.390	1	.122		
Likelihood Ratio	4.384	1	.036		
Fisher's Exact Test				.074	.059
N of Valid Cases	22				

a. 2 cells (50.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3.18.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Crosstab

Count

		Spanglish in an acceptable way to communicate.		
		Agree	Disagree	Total
Age	20-29	10	0	10
	30+	8	4	12
Total		18	4	22

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2- sided)	Exact Sig. (1- sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4.074 ^a	1	.044		
Continuity Correction ^b	2.141	1	.143		
Likelihood Ratio	5.586	1	.018		
Fisher's Exact Test				.096	.068
N of Valid Cases	22				

- a. 2 cells (50.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.82.
- b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Crosstab

Count

		I think it is okay for people to use Spanglish in Puerto Rico.		
		Agree	Disagree	Total
Do you use Spanglish in your daily life?	No CS	1	5	6
	Yes CS	16	0	16
Total		17	5	22

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	17.255 ^a	1	<.001		
Continuity Correction ^b	12.836	1	<.001		
Likelihood Ratio	18.176	1	<.001		
Fisher's Exact Test				<.001	<.001
N of Valid Cases	22				

- a. 3 cells (75.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.36.
- b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Crosstab

Count

		Spanglish in an acceptable way to communicate.		
		Agree	Disagree	Total
Do you use Spanglish in your daily life?	No CS	3	3	6
	Yes CS	15	1	16
Total		18	4	22

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	5.615 ^a	1	.018		
Continuity Correction ^b	3.059	1	.080		
Likelihood Ratio	5.063	1	.024		
Fisher's Exact Test				.046	.046
N of Valid Cases	22				

Crosstab

Count

		I think it is okay for people to use English in Puerto Rico.		Total
		Agree	Disagree	
Do you use Spanglish in your daily life?	No CS	1	5	6
	Yes CS	13	3	16
Total		14	8	22

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	7.865 ^a	1	.005		
Continuity Correction ^b	5.322	1	.021		
Likelihood Ratio	7.992	1	.005		
Fisher's Exact Test				.011	.011
N of Valid Cases	22				

a. 2 cells (50.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.18.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Crosstab

Count

		Puerto Ricans who use Spanglish struggle with one of the languages.		Total
		Agree	Disagree	
Do you use Spanglish in your daily life?	No CS	2	4	6
	Yes CS	0	16	16
Total		2	20	22

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2- sided)	Exact Sig. (1- sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	5.867 ^a	1	.015		
Continuity Correction ^b	2.527	1	.112		
Likelihood Ratio	5.766	1	.016		
Fisher's Exact Test				.065	.065
N of Valid Cases	22				

a. 2 cells (50.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .55.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Crosstab

Count

		Spanish or English: people should speak one at a time.		
		Agree	Disagree	Total
Do you use Spanglish in your daily life?	No CS	5	1	6
	Yes CS	4	12	16
Total		9	13	22

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2- sided)	Exact Sig. (1- sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	6.142 ^a	1	.013		
Continuity Correction ^b	3.966	1	.046		
Likelihood Ratio	6.366	1	.012		
Fisher's Exact Test				.023	.023
N of Valid Cases	22				

- a. 2 cells (50.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.45.
- b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Crosstab

Count

		People who use English are more attached to "American" culture than Puerto Rican culture.		Total
		Agree	Disagree	
Do you use Spanglish in your daily life?	No CS	4	2	6
	Yes CS	3	13	16
Total		7	15	22

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4.618 ^a	1	.032		
Continuity Correction ^b	2.674	1	.102		
Likelihood Ratio	4.441	1	.035		
Fisher's Exact Test				.054	.054
N of Valid Cases	22				

- a. 2 cells (50.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.91.
- b. Computed only for a 2x2 table