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Politics and its Impact on Code-switching in Puerto Rico

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Abstract

Puerto Rico is considered a bilingual community for having English imposed to it as a result of the Spanish-American war. However, a notable difference between the perception of code-switching (a natural phenomenon after language contact) in Puerto Rico, and other bilingual communities such as Miami seems to take place. Research states that a considerable amount of Puerto Ricans have a negative perception against code-switching, while the limited research on code-switching in Miami states that Miami Cubans have a more positive perception towards code-switching. The purpose of this study is to shed light on the ways in which listeners perceive and judge code-switching in Puerto Rico as compared to Miami. In addition, it seeks to understand how perceptions of CS correlate with political identification. 149 Puerto Ricans and 58 Miami Cubans were surveyed to prove whether this difference in code-switching between both communities exists. Results of the study shows that there is a difference in code-switching attitudes between Miami and Puerto Rico, however the data obtained did not show a correlation between perception of CS and political identification.

Politics and its Impact on Code-switching in Puerto Rico

An introduction to Code-switching

In this research, the framework behind the concept of code-switching shall be examined to further analyze the intent of this paper, which is to investigate attitudes towards code-switching in two bilingual communities.

In many bilingual communities, speakers alternate between the use of two or more languages, sometimes within a clause or sentence, sometimes at the boundaries of clauses or sentences. This behavior is called code switching (CS, henceforth), and has been systematically studied by linguists for well over a half century (Ferguson, 1959; Fishman, 1972). Researchers have shown that CS serves a number of functions, both linguistic and social. Generally speaking, CS offers a way to maintain fluency in both languages while maintaining your own group's identity, while also differentiating yourself from others. CS is especially common in situations in which two cultures with different languages come in to sustained contact (Torres, 2007). This is the case with Spanish/English CS both in the United States and Puerto Rico. In the case of the mainland United States, Spanish and English have been in contact with one another since the colonial era (Tetel Andresen & Carter, 2016), and in Puerto Rico, since the 15th century, even before the Spanish-American War, when US colonists attempted to take over the territory (Pousada, 1999).

There is confusion in terms of distinguishing between code-switching, borrowings, and Spanglish. Spanglish (since the two languages that will be studied here are Spanish and English) is defined as "the product of the convergence (or clash) of between two worlds, two sensibilities, two cultures, and two languages: the Hispanic language and the Anglo-Saxon language" (Betti, 2011, p. 41). However for simplicity, Spanglish will be an equivalent term for code-switching. Also for simplicity, in this study word borrowing will be distinct from code-switching. Word

borrowing will be referred to as a single word coming from the other language that has been adapted to the language with the language's characteristic pronunciation and writing. This approach was taken by Ana Celia Zentella, a linguist who studied code-switching in Puerto Rican children in New York in 1997.

Another reason for the confusion between CS and word-borrowing is the fact that bilinguals often use borrowings, however they adapt it to the phonological and morphosyntactic conventions of their main language. This is still considered borrowing, not code-switching due to code-switching requiring the other language's morphosyntactic and phonological conventions (Zentella, 1997). Code-switching will be referred to as single-word borrowings that have not been adapted to the language, phrasal-level utterances and sentence-level utterances which changes the original language to the other will also be regarded as code-switching.

There are various types of code switching. For the purposes of this study, I will only focus on intrasentential code-switching and intersentential code switching. Intrasentential code-switching takes place by introducing a word or a phrase in a different language than is being spoken. Intersentential code-switching is ending a sentence in one language and resuming the other sentence in another language (possibly going back to the other language in the next sentence) (Zentella, 1997).

For some, code-switching has been a controversial topic. Acosta-Belén (1975, p. 151), in describing language attitudes about CS writes that, "Speakers of the non-defined mixture of Spanish and/or English are judged as "different" or "sloppy" speakers of Spanish and/or English, and are often labelled verbally deprived, alingual, or deficient bilinguals because supposedly they do not have the ability to speak either English or Spanish well." Zentella calls this a "hate literature

campaign” that is being conducted against the New York Puerto Ricans, however, reactions like these can be found against other communities who perform code-switching (Zentella, 1997).

Sometimes, Latino/Hispanic Spanish speakers who regularly engage in Spanish/English CS think of themselves as speakers of Spanglish, a term that has been subject to debate in linguistics (Tetel Andresen & Carter, 2016). Sánchez Fajardo notes that the Oxford English Dictionary defined Spanglish as a “type of Spanish contaminated by English words and forms of expression, spoken in Latin America”(Antonio Sánchez Fajardo 2017, pp. 800-801). The definition is problematic for at least two reasons: 1) the term “contaminated” implies that languages are or should be kept separately from one another and 2) it suggests that Spanglish is only spoken in Latin America, whereas in reality the most common areas include South Florida, California and New York.

The negative attitudes expressed in the *Oxford* definition are sometimes expressed in the popular media. For example, journalist González Echeverría (1997) expressed the following anti-Spanglish attitude in his article: *Is Spanglish a Language?* for *The New York Times*:

Spanglish, the composite language of Spanish and English that has crossed over from the street to Hispanic talk shows and advertising campaigns, poses a grave danger to Hispanic culture and to the advancement of Hispanics in mainstream America. Those who condone and even promote it as a harmless commingling do not realize that this is hardly a relationship based on equality. Spanglish is an invasion of Spanish by English. The sad reality is that Spanglish is primarily the language of poor Hispanics, many barely literate in either language. They incorporate English words and constructions into their daily speech because they lack the vocabulary and education in Spanish to adapt to the changing culture around them. Educated Hispanics who do likewise have a different motivation: Some are embarrassed by their background and feel empowered by using English words and directly translated English idioms. Doing so, they think, is to claim membership in the mainstream. Politically, however, Spanglish is a capitulation; it indicates marginalization, not enfranchisement”.

Though the line between CS and Spanglish is hard to define, language mixing in general, whether it be called “Spanglish” or not, is often stigmatized. Many of the negative attitudes

towards code-switching are explained by expressing that there is no grammaticality in code-switching. However, this is not reflected in the linguistic study of CS. Zentella states as a result of her study: “Children in bilingual speech communities acquire two grammars and the rules for communicative competence which prescribe not only when and where each language may be used, but also whether and how the two languages may be woven together in a single utterance”(Zentella 1997, p. 80). Needless to say, ungrammaticality by code-switching may occur in speakers who lack language fluency in either or both languages, but the use of code-switching does not equate ungrammaticality due to the two languages’ grammar being different. On the other hand, being able to code-switch while following the inventory of grammar rules for both languages is actually a good indication of the speaker being quite fluent in both languages. Zentella considers this a “creative style of bilingual communication that accomplishes important cultural and conversational work. Code-switching is a conversational activity via which speakers negotiate meaning”. (Zentella, 1997, p. 113) In other words, though negative attitudes suggest that CS reflects deficiency, the linguistic study of CS suggests just the opposite.

Although there is a certain population that believes that code-switching is a product of not being proficient enough in either of the languages, in reality CS happens for a number of principled reasons. Zentella’s study of bilingual Puerto Ricans in NYC sheds light on some of them. She calls the first “Footing, an umbrella term for numerous types of code-switching. “Footing” refers to a change in the way the message is received by the speaker as well as how the speaker proceeds to produce it in conversation. In Zentella’s study, the children that she studied used changes in footing for two reasons: using the change to highlight the change in conversation, called “Realignment,” and “Appeal/Control,” in which the speaker takes control of the listener’s reaction or conduct within the conversation. As an example of Realignment, the children exhibited a change in

behavior to change their role in their conversation, such as changing from narrator to listener. A subcategory of realignment is a change in topic, for which the child would code-switch as a means to initiate or signal the topic change. Examples such as these make up the footing category of code-switching (Zentella, 1997).

A second category described by Zentella is: “Clarification and Emphasis,” which relate to types of translation . Zentella explained: “What monolinguals accomplish by repeating louder and/or slower, or with a change of wording, bilinguals can accomplish by switching languages.” This type of code-switching was actually the most prevalent in Zentella’s (1997, p. 96) study.

Lastly, “Crutch-like” code switching constitutes the third category for code-switching. Crutch-like code switches were performed because of various reasons such as “a momentary loss of words, by a previous’ speakers’ switch, by the desire to repair a poor syntactic break, by taboo words, and by cross linguistic homophones”. Although people often assume that CS is motivated exclusively to fill in lexical gaps – a type of “crutch-like” behavior, this was actually the least frequent category (Zentella, 1997 p. 97).

Puerto Rican Politics

In this section, I turn to a description of Puerto Rico and its politics. To shed light onto Puerto Rico’s situation with English, a brief history of the island and its politics is essential.

Puerto Rico is an island (and United States territory) located in the Caribbean. With 78 municipalities and measuring 100 x 35 miles in area, this island houses 3,193,694 American citizens. (US Census Bureau, 2019). Before it came to be a United States territory, it was once a Spanish colony, which influenced the island enough to leave its citizens speaking Spanish until today. Spain colonized Puerto Rico and its *Taino* indigenous population in 1493, as a part of the Spanish attempting to find India. Puerto Rico’s relationship with Spain was not ideal, converting

the *Taino* people into slaves, which included stripping them away from their cultural aspects that made them *Tainos*, including their *Taino* language (Scarano, 2009).

In Blanco's dissertation, he summarized Spain's intent in conquering Puerto Rico as:

"In 1508, Juan Ponce de León was sent to conquer Borinquen for the Spanish Crown. By royal decree, the Indians were to be considered free people and respected as such. However, as so often happened throughout history, passion proved stronger than righteousness and lust for wealth and the prejudiced belief in racial superiority led the settlers to judge the natives as pagan, irrational and barbarian" (Blanco, 1988, p. 15).

In 1898, the Spanish American war occurred, with the United States taking sovereignty over territories such as Guam, the Philippines and Puerto Rico. Puerto Rico then transitioned into being an unincorporated territory of the United States with a military government. The conditions of the Puerto Ricans seemed to improve over the years, with the Puerto Ricans being able to attain American citizenship and having the right to vote for their own governor, but this all came with a price (Scarano, 2009).

The English language came as one of the results of the United States taking over the territory. Puerto Ricans were forced to learn English to replace Spanish eventually, as a way of americanizing Puerto Ricans. The first one for the task of americanizing Puerto Rico was General John Eaton, former Commissioner of Education in the United States in 1899. His task was to begin the acculturation process by teaching all teachers the English language, making knowing the English language as part of the preferential criteria for hiring teachers, as well administering proficiency tests for potential teachers (Pousada, 1999).

The second Commissioner of Education, which came shortly after Commissioner of Education General John Eaton resigned, followed his footsteps as he considered Puerto Rican Spanish a form

of “patois”. Many others who had the task of implementing English as the official language of Puerto Rico, had various strategies to Americanize the island, such as imposing US holidays, naming schools after American heroes, positioning the American flag next to the Puerto Rican flag, as well as singing/listening to the national anthem in schools and important events (all of these which are performed today). Language regulations also came with these other regulations throughout the years such as the Official Language Act, which did not settle well with the Puerto Rican people. The Official Language Act, implemented in 1902, stated that for any government related issues such as courts, public offices and governmental departments, English would remain as a co-official language with Spanish, providing translations when needed. The intention of this act was to increase the popularity of English in more of an indirect way, rather than directly imposing regulations towards classrooms (Pousada, 1999).

As the teacher trainings attempted to continue, teachers refused to learn English as it meant having Spanish be suppressed. The government made English and Spanish into co-official languages, however, the underlying reason was to transition into English. An important movement of the Puerto Rican people arose, rejecting this transition which led to a new regulation in 1915, in which Spanish achieved the official language status in schools and judicial proceedings. This movement was also important due to the rise of the separation of different ideologies in politics. As Pousada states: “Pro-English advocates were labeled as assimilationists, and pro-Spanish advocates, were labeled as separatists. The teaching of English was viewed as a threat to Puerto Rican identity” (Pousada 1999, p. 39). These ideologies evolved into Puerto Rico’s three main political parties. A detailed explanation of these can be found later in the text.

However, this was not the end the of efforts to have English prevail. Other policies were still implemented in the next few years. Over the years different commissioners had different ideas

converted into regulations on how to americanize Puerto Rico. Without causing an uproar among the Puerto Ricans, ideas such as “mandating the teaching of reading in English in the first grade, leaving Spanish reading until the second or third grade in 1909, exempting rural schools from the teaching of English, English exams for teachers being abolished, (however then reinstated to have teachers resign if they did not pass it), oral English tests for soon to be high school graduates, English clubs, etc.” (Pousada 1999 p. 40).

A new policy came into place when José Padín came into power as the new Commissioner of Education, to have teachers teach in Spanish through eighth grade with English as a special subject, and throughout high school, English was the medium of instruction, and Spanish as a special subject. After this policy ceased to be in effect in 1937, the new Commissioner of Education, José M. Gallardo received instructions by President Roosevelt to make Puerto Ricans bilingual, while still maintaining the superiority of English. Roosevelt expressed: “It is an indispensable part of American policy that the coming generation of American citizens in Puerto Rico grow up with the complete facility in the English tongue...Only through the acquisition of this language will Puerto Rican Americans secure a better understanding of American ideals and principles.” Gallardo’s plan was to have elementary education to be in Spanish, and junior high and high schools in English. As a result, there was a significant uproar among the Puerto Rican citizens, but it was the United States Senate that reprimanded Gallardo, as 45 years have passed since the United States had sovereignty over Puerto Rico, and Puerto Ricans still could not speak English (Pousada, 1999)

President Truman assigned Mariano Villaronga as the new Commissioner of Education in 1948. His intentions were to have English be taught as the second language on the island, but due to him not valuing the English language enough, he was forced to resign. However, as a change of power was performed, the newly elected governor of Puerto Rico Luis Muñoz Marín, reinstated

Villaronga as the Commissioner of Education, assigning English as a special subject, while instituting Spanish as the medium of instruction. Currently, a similar policy is in place, stating that Spanish is Puerto Rico's official language, and English, Puerto Rico's second language (Bauzá, 2015).

When governor Ricardo Roselló was elected in 2016, he published what his plans would be for the island for the next 4 years. In his plans, there was an agenda to strengthen the teaching of English on the island, stating that “the academic progress of our students in the areas of Spanish, English, Science and Math reflects a low performance, not only at a local level, but also on a national and international level. This compromises us gravely in terms of the competitiveness of our island and limits the students towards accessing remunerated careers that create riches for Puerto Rico”. He also referred to English as a “basic course” when he wrote that: “We expect to implement the PROC (Puerto Rico Online Campus) for the 2018-2019 school year with at least the basic courses of Spanish, English and Math in the Sixth and Ninth grade” (Roselló, 2016, p. 102).

The governor planned to make Puerto Rico depend on bilingual education, stating that numerous countries such as Japan, Finland and Germany have achieved success implementing bilingual education. He goes on to explain the importance of English globally. He also planned to open language schools around Puerto Rico, explaining that plurilingual education has been a model pushed by UNESCO as well for the reason of promoting global conscience and respect for cultural diversity. In this document there is no mention of relating English to Statehood. However, as he explains the importance of English, he does point out that the federal government's language is English, therefore it is important to know the language (Roselló, 2016).

The governor planned to increase English language education throughout the island, not only in elementary, middle and high school, but also for adults. He also stated that as a start, public policies will be available in English for the small population of Puerto Ricans who do not speak Spanish, to equal access to resources amongst everyone (Roselló, 2016). Governor Ricardo Roselló seemed to have different arguments into implementing English on the island, as well as different methods than politicians of the previous century.

Morales states that 23.21% of the Puerto Rican population speak English fluently, but 19.1% are able to speak it confidently (Morales, 2013). The statistics over how many Puerto Ricans can speak English fluently can vary greatly, due to most of the assessments performed are mostly self-assessments to determine how comfortable or how fluent the person feels in the language.

There is a rather invisible struggle that still goes on the island, regardless of the policy not changing considerably. As Pousada points out: “In 1965, the Puerto Rico Supreme Court ruled that Puerto Rican courts must use Spanish in their local procedures. However, under the U.S. law, all federal courts and Grand Jury proceedings in Puerto Rico are carried out in English, with court interpreters provided for those individuals who are not able to represent themselves in English. This truly absurd situation sticks in the craw of many Puerto Ricans and is a constant linguistic reminder of just who calls the shots on the island”. (Pousada, 1999, p. 43)

In order to gain a better understanding of Puerto Rico’s current issues with the English language as well as its citizens attitudes, it is essential to examine Puerto Rico’s political party system. It is also important to examine due to the different system Puerto Rico has to divide its political ideologies. In Puerto Rico, it is not a matter of whether you lean right or left, the primary issue these political parties tackle is Puerto Rico’s territorial status, as well as the laws and regulations that come with each party. As Richard Blanco states in his doctoral thesis:

“Political party identification is one of the central phenomena of Puerto Rican life. It obviously affects voting behavior, but it is also closely related to the distribution of attitudes and expectations concerning the future political status of the island, which today is still unresolved. Political parties in Puerto Rico are defined in terms of the political status positions they support, not in terms of their social or economic programs. Therefore, political status preference determines politics in Puerto Rico.” (Blanco, 1988, p. 8)

In Puerto Rico, there are 3 main political parties: The *Partido Independentista Puertorriqueño* (Puerto Rican Independence Party), *Partido Nuevo Progresista* (Pro-Statehood Party), and the *Partido Popular Democrático* (Commonwealth Party). The *Partido Independentista Puertorriqueño* (Puerto Rican Independence Party) as the name entails seeks independence from the United States. This political party states that independence will give the people of Puerto Rico the capacity to communicate with the rest of the world as their own country, by making decisions by themselves, and not by or with the assistance of a foreign government. However, this political party has never had the opportunity to win an election, obtaining low percentages such as 2.13% of the votes in the last governor election, but still gets enough signatures to make it into the election as a candidate (Comité Estatal de Elecciones, 2016).

The Partido Popular Democrático (or the commonwealth party) seeks an autonomous relationship with the United States. The party was founded with the intention of a better future in the realm of social justice as well as seeking better salaries. Before this political party came about in 1938, many Puerto Ricans' lives were claimed due to them not having enough money and resources to combat many illnesses such as malaria and tuberculosis. The PPD arose in this context. Since 1952, the Puerto Rican government has governed with the Estado Libre Asociado (ELA). The Estado Libre Asociado states that the people in Puerto Rico will abide by the United States constitution and co-exist with the United States culture (Partido Popular Democrático, 2019).

The Partido Nuevo Progresista (Statehood party) aims for Puerto Rico to be a state of the United States. According to their Facebook page (at the moment of writing they do not have a website), the statehood party stands not only for statehood, but also for security, progress and equality. According to the PR51st website¹, a website created to promote statehood for Puerto Rico, believes that “Statehood is the only way to bring equal rights, opportunities, and responsibilities to Puerto Ricans, making the Island a full and permanent part of the Nation to which they already belong. And the fact that Puerto Ricans cannot vote for the president of the United States and do not have voting representation in Congress has deprived Puerto Rico economically and contradicted America’s democratic values.” It is important to point out that this website when accessed, is in English.

The Statehood party is the party currently in power in the Puerto Rican government. Ex-governor Ricardo Roselló was the governor elected in 2016. However, following a variety of scandals, he was encouraged by the protests by the Puerto Rican people to resign². At the moment of writing, former Secretary of Justice Wanda Vázquez holds the position of governor of Puerto Rico.

Whether Puerto Rico should be a state, a commonwealth or an independent country, has been a lingering question for years. To attempt to solve this issue, the government has performed plebiscites to let the people of Puerto Rico decide whether they prefer statehood, a commonwealth relationship, or independence. The first plebiscite took place in 1967 with the commonwealth

¹ This website is not associated to any political party in Puerto Rico.

² The governor of Puerto Rico at that time, Ricardo Roselló had been caught in a scandal, where a *Telegram* chat was leaked, revealing inappropriate expressions he and other politicians made against the people of Puerto Rico. However, this was not the only reason why Puerto Ricans were angry with the governor. Many Puerto Ricans had feelings of resentment due to the inefficiency of the government during Hurricane Maria’s relief efforts in 2017. Also, due to one of these scandals involving other politicians, the Secretary of State of Puerto Rico (Secretario a la Gobernación) was not the next in line for his place due to his involvement in the scandal, so Secretary of Justice Wanda Vázquez was adjudicated with the position.

status taking the lead with a 60.4% of the votes (Elecciones Puerto Rico Archive, 2020). The second, in 1993 with the ELA and Statehood having very close results: ELA with 48.6% and Statehood with 46.3% (Álvarez, 2019). However, the 1998 plebiscite had a surprising result of 50.3% of the none of the above option, as a way to protest the territorial status imposed in the ballot by the governor of Puerto Rico at the time, which “failed to recognize both the constitutional protections afforded to our U.S. citizenship and the fact that the relationship is based upon the mutual consent of Puerto Rico and the United States”(Young & Miller, 1999). The *ELA* had 0.1% of the votes, however statehood was not far behind with 46.5% of the votes. The reason for the none of the above win was because the government in power (Statehood Party lead by Pedro Roselló), provided an option in the referendum that did not support the true meaning of ELA, due to this government supporting statehood, which allowed them to infiltrate the ballot.

The first plebiscite in which Statehood won took place in 2012, where Statehood won the majority of the votes with 45% of the votes, while commonwealth status gained 24.5% of the votes, Independence took 4.1%, while 25.7% of the population left that field blank on the ballot, and 0.7% protested (Consulta sobre el Estatus Político de Puerto Rico, 2012). Expectations were set by the people of Puerto Rico for there to be a change, but so far nothing has occurred to push forward the process of Puerto Rico becoming a state.

The most recent plebiscite took place in 2017, when ex-governor Ricardo Roselló was in power. The plebiscite was rather controversial, however. Statehood got an impressive 97% of the votes. However, it only consisted of 22% of the Puerto Rican population eligible for voting, which consists of 2.2 million people. A majority of the population abstained from voting as a form of protest. Voters from the statehood party, expressed the need to have this plebiscite to “demand and claim to the United States the end of this unbecoming colonial relationship”. The governor

believed that this could be the solution to the economic problems Puerto Rico is facing, with a \$72 million dollars in debt (El País, 2017).

However, the plebiscite was non-binding, due to the low voting rate. It only served as a message to the United States of the intention of the Puerto Rican voters, to a government that does not seem to have the intention to integrate Puerto Rico as the 51st state, which was the intention of ex-governor Ricardo Roselló. For this to move forward, the Congress would have to approve it as a first step (Garret, 2011).

English and Politics in Puerto Rico

This section further explains Puerto Rican politics, while shedding light onto its connection with English on the island.

As the long history of English settling on the island has been tied with the americanization of Puerto Rico, one might wonder whether the political parties in Puerto Rico (especially the statehood party) have used English as a tool to pursue the public such as to win elections. During Rafael Hernández Colón's rule, the Commonwealth party founded a law in which Spanish would be the only official language on the island (however still recognizing the importance of English). However in 1993, the Governor who followed, statehood party candidate Roselló (Sr.), revoked the law back to the Official Language act of 1902 (Dilo, 2012).

Well into the 21st century, these modifications continued. After governor Luis Fortuño was elected in 2008, he and the secretary of Education Eduard Moreno Alonso had the intentions to have all classes except Spanish and History/Social studies classes be in English. According to Puerto Rican newspaper Primera Hora, 31 public schools at the beginning of the school year in August of 2012. They further explained that this will be implemented according to the teacher's

abilities. Moreno Alonso also pointed out that it is a matter of what the children's parents want for their kids, meaning that this is only because of the parent's request. The plan is to reach 860 public schools with this strategy in 10 years. The secretary of education further pointed out that it is the Puerto Rican student's right to "acquire mastery of the English language" (Primera Hora, 2012).

Interestingly, the president of the Puerto Rican Independent Party expressed that this measure is an "ideologic obsession corresponding to the statehood-driven governor". He further explained that this plan seems unrealistic due to the low percentage of teachers that are fluent enough in the language to teach in English. Senator Juan Eugenio Hernandez, also from the commonwealth party also expressed his opposition by saying that education that is exclusively in English can damage the fluency in Spanish, by reminding the public that only 30% of the Puerto Rican population speaks English fluently (Primera hora, 2012).

In September 2015, the Senate of Puerto Rico declared Spanish as the official language of Puerto Rico, and English as the second language of the island as project 1177 of the Senate, with 15 votes in favor, and 11 who were opposed. This project was presented by ex-president of the Commonwealth party, Antonio Fas Alzamora. He stated: "To establish Spanish as our official language, we are strengthening our cultural identity, and we validate that more than 80% of Puerto Ricans don't understand or speak English(...) It is imperative that that we give our vernacular language the place it deserves". (Puerto Rico declara, 2015)

This project's objective was to replace 1993's project to give both languages co-official status. (Puerto Rico declara, 2015). Reactions to this project were mixed. The president of the Independence party backed this project saying that "Spanish should be the only official language of Puerto Rico". However, the president of the Senate (at the time) Eduardo Bhatia, said that he believes in having language diversity on the island (Primera Hora, 2015).

In an article published by the Academia Puertorriqueña de la Lengua Española (Puerto Rican Spanish Academy) they consider that having the Puerto Rican public learn English is the intention of a first step into statehood, and plan to “officialize” English as the main language of Puerto Rico. They state that Puerto Rico “is not, and has never been a bilingual island”. They state that according to the US census, the percentage of the Puerto Rican population that speaks English is a 19.1%. This article expresses the problem of having the linguistic situation in Puerto Rico tied with the political situation, causing further conflicts (Dilo, 2012).

Attitudes towards English and code-switching

Certain media outlets have made it a mission to implore the public to not insert English words into their speech. Instead, their message is for Puerto Ricans on the island to say “the appropriate” Spanish word. There was a string of advertisements from the 90’s sponsored by the Universidad del Sagrado Corazón in Puerto Rico (a private University in Puerto Rico), in which popular reporters and television personalities told the audience: “You should not say: size, you should say: *talla*. The most shocking part of these advertisements was their slogan: “*Idioma defectuoso, pensamiento defectuoso*”, meaning “defective language, defective thinking.”

Similar advertisements were done in 2015 by the same campaign, renamed “*Eso no se dice así*”(You do not say it like that) with the same intention but in the rhythm of a song and different examples, once again using popular Puerto Rican television personalities and reporters. The video on *Youtube* was categorized under the activism category. The campaign was led by Dr. Gabriel Paizy, director of the School of Communications in the Universidad del Sagrado Corazón. Dr. Paizy has appeared on news segments such as the Univision Puerto Rican News and has a YouTube Channel in which he teaches the public the “correct” usage of Spanish. As an example of this, Dr. Paizy while in a Spanish supermarket noted the use of proper Spanish by pointing out that a jar of

raspberry jam was written as *mermelada de frambuesa* instead of raspberry, and another one as *mermelada de arándanos* instead of blueberries (Paizy, 2015). The English names of these fruits are commonly uttered by the Puerto Rican public. Then after, he expressed that these are the names that should be used.

In a regular segment done in the news program *Las Noticias de Univisión* (Univision Puerto Rican News) in December 28th of 2009, Paizy explained that “Spanglish is that tendency, terrible in my opinion, to combine Spanish and English when we speak”. As he spoke in this segment of the interview he jokingly code-switched. The rest of the interview consisted in Dr. Paizy giving examples of the erroneous usage of Spanish with examples presumably found on social media. He ended this segment with what he expressed was the error of the week: *te llamo para atrás* (a direct translation of “I will call you back”). He stated that this error is very common. The reporter and him ended the interview saying that in the next year (2010) the season of *Casa de Disparates* (House of errors) will continue (referring to the news segment), telling the viewers to send in the errors that they see, which is a good way to engage the public into this campaign. This Youtube video was categorized under the Education category.

In a magazine released by the Academia Puertorriqueña del Español (Puerto Rican Spanish Academy) they state how: “we love Spanish, but right there inside our subconscious there is a bit of guilt every time we say a word in English whether it’s raw or adapted to the language or however. We believe in an absurd dichotomy: English or Spanish, so black or white, as if there was a linguistic hell that is going to swallow us every time we say ‘field day’, ‘frosting’, or ‘four track’”. They further express that factors that influence whether we code switch or not depends on age, profession, and English level, whether it’s conscious or unconscious. The author states that code-switching will not go away, even with a change of territorial status in PR. “The new generations,

for bad or for good carry Spanglish as a part of their identity. If you want confirmation, talk to any pre-teen” (Dilo, 2012, p.12). (This magazine was interestingly sponsored by Universidad del Sagrado Corazón).

With the evidence presented of political parties making the language issue a political issue, the question that arises is whether this partisan outlook on the language issue in Puerto Rico is transmitted to the masses. Multiple expressions have been made via social media that suggest the rejection towards English in Puerto Rico.

Several comments found by the investigator on the social media platform *Facebook*. There were several comments that seemed to reflect negative attitudes towards the English language being spoken on the island. Some of these comments read:

- *“Odio tener que hablar inglés. Es el idioma que estos gringos le imponen al mundo; mientras que países tienen que aprenderlo ellos ni se molestan en aprender lo básico del español, francés o chino. Simplemente me niego a hablarlo y solo lo estudio por los cursos en la iupi. Yo hablo españoool no engrishh. Ese es el idioma de mi patria.”*(Anonymous, 2019).

“I hate having to speak English. It’s the language that those gringos impose to the world; while other countries have to learn it, they don’t bother learning the basics of Spanish, French or Chinese. Simply put, I refuse to speak it and I only study because of the iupi (University of Puerto Rico Río Piedras campus) courses. I speak Spaniiish not Engrishh. That is the language of my country. (researcher’s translation)

- *Que jodienda cuando mezclan los idiomas. Cabrones, o escriben español o escriben inglés. A veces entiendo mas que la mitad de la confesión por los disparates que ponen. JODER* (Anonymous, 2020).

“What a pain in the ass when people mix languages. Listen bastards, you either write in Spanish or write in English. I sometimes understand more than half of the confession because of the errors that you guys write. Fuck! (researcher’s translation)

- “*Sobre la confesión de mezclar los idiomas. Que tiene que ver que seas bilingüe con mezclar los idiomas al escribir. SÉ INGLÉS Y NO HAGO ESA RIDICULEZ. Haz un ensayito Spanglish a ver qué nota te van a dar. Te apoyo anon*”(Anonymous, 2020).

“About the confession about mixing languages. What does mixing languages in writing have to do with being bilingual? I SPEAK ENGLISH AND I DON’T DO THAT RIDICULOUS THING. Write an essay in Spanglish and see what grade you’re going to get. I support you anon.” (researcher’s translation)

Other expressions found on social media seem to connect the political party for statehood with the English language. In an interview conducted by a CBS reporter David Begnaud to interview the current governor of Puerto Rico, Wanda Vázquez, there were many comments addressing the fact that the governor was using a translator to communicate with Begnaud. Whether the governor can or cannot speak English remains unclear. The comments left on the *Facebook Live* video were of the sort: “She wants statehood but doesn’t know the language. Wow. Not even that.”, “Statehood advocate and can’t even do an interview in English?”, “I can’t believe that she doesn’t speak English... PR should selected Gobernador with a job description professional English speakers and writing...!”. It is important to point out that 2 of the 3 comments were written in English. (Begnaud, 2020). More of these comments can be found in Appendix A.

Several studies performed on the island about attitudes towards the English language have found the same attitude against English. In Pousada’s study she concluded that her participants thought of English as a very useful language in terms of job opportunities, expanding the

knowledge of cultures, traveling, among other advantages. However, her participants also pointed out as one of the disadvantages “the fact that island-raised Puerto Ricans often mocked the speech and cultural values of US-raised Puerto Ricans and viewed English-speaking Puerto Ricans on the island as snobs or colonialists” (Pousada, 2000, p.116)

Concerning the matter of code-switching, a study performed by Guzzardo et al., revealed that participants drew a connection between code-switching and statehood. This study was composed by judgement tests where participants heard recordings of people code-switching, speaking in Spanish, and in English in separate instances and were asked about the person in the recording concerning their socio-economic status, age political affiliation, etc. Many participants agreed that the people who code-switched and spoke English were “estadistas” (Pro- Statehood) (Guzzardo et al., 2018).

Other results from these judgement tests concluded that many participants agreed that the people in the recordings were from the city if they code-switched. However, when the participants in the recordings spoke completely in Spanish, this was not the case. Many participants agreed that the people in the recordings were also not from the countryside. As for age, most participants agreed that those code-switching in the recordings were young (Guzzardo et al., 2018).

Over the years, there has been an increase in English speakers (at least to some degree) over the years in younger generations. In Torres Gonzalez’s study, she reported on the US Bureau of the Census, which stated to have an increase in people aged 10 and up who speak English to some degree, from 1910 to 1990 (Torres Gonzalez, 2002, p. 152). Studies claim that despite English education not being the most efficient in Puerto Rico, media outlets such as the radio, television and the internet have been sources for acquisition of English. (Pousada, 2018) Carroll agrees that

the usage of MySpace and Facebook support the English language exposure, while also creating a space for code-switching (Carroll, 2008).

Spanglish in Miami

Now that Puerto Rico's political system, general history, and some examples of language attitudes have been examined, we will now examine the Spanglish phenomenon in Miami.

For those Miami or South Florida residents, it is no secret that code-switching between Spanish and English, or just plain Spanish is present in a majority of these areas. Miami and Key West were the main destinations for Cubans since the 1870's (Antonio Sánchez Fajardo, 2017). The growth of the cigar industry in Florida kept this migration in motion, which eventually led to the Cuban Refugee Program in 1961 and the Cuban adjusted act in 1966, which facilitated Cuban immigrants with access to medical services, university degree validations, pensions, among other services to make their lives more manageable in a new country (Arboleya Cervera 2013). Before all of this, Miami's population was Anglo White, African American, as well as Jewish. However, due to the difficult climate in Cuba after Fidel Castro gained power in 1959, Miami started to gain a new majority over the course of the rest of the century. In the 1960's data from the Census, it reported to have 4% of the Miami population as Cuban. This was a start of a rise in population, as the Census in 1970, the Hispanic population grew to 24%. Following this pattern, in 1980, that number rose to a 36%, however an influx of Nicaraguans was recorded in this decade as well, contributing to this percentage. By the 1990's the number of Hispanics/Latinos rose to 49% in Miami, then 57% by 2000, also attributed to an influx of Colombians. In more recent figures, by 2010, the population grew to a 64.5% (Carter & Lynch 2015). The Pew Research Center stated that by 2010, a total of 1,884,000 people of at least Cuban heritage were residing in the United States (Pew Research Center, 2012).

However, moving to a new country did not affect Cuban culture negatively. In the words of Antonio Sánchez Fajardo, “migration forged Cuban identity, and brought to light cultural traits and social standards”. García states that “Cuban-Americans undergo a process of bi-cultural identity”. “To maintain a sense of *cubanidad* meant to preserve those customs, values and traditions that they associated with being Cuban, and the emigrés created numerous cultural associations to promote and reinforce these values in exile”(García 1996, p. 83).

Antonio Sánchez Fajardo (2017) also points out that Cubans did the opposite of assimilating into American culture. Instead, they differentiated themselves in terms of their culture and language. The culture has stayed in South Florida in different ways, as far as the inclusion of the Spanish media channels such as Telemundo, Univisión and CNN en Español (Antonio Sánchez Fajardo, 2017).

Spanish is unprecedentedly far more common than English, which made it easier for those non-English speakers not to feel isolated from the community. (Antonio Sánchez Fajardo, 2017). According to Joan Didion: “In Miami Spanish was spoken by the people who owned the cars and the trees, which made, on the socioauditory scale, a considerable difference. Exiles who felt isolated or declassed by language in New York or Los Angeles thrived in Miami. An entrepreneur who spoke no English could still, in Miami, buy, sell, negotiate, leverage assets, float bonds, and if he were so inclined, attend galas twice a week, in black tie” (Joan Didion, 1987, p. 63).

On another note, an interesting struggle is happening within the languages of Spanish and English in Miami. While Spanish is very prevalent in Miami, research shows that there is also a process of language shift occurring in Miami, concerning the younger generations who come from Cuban immigrants. In a study conducted by Zurer-Pearson and McGee, they discovered that a majority of Cuban Americans had a preference for English in their everyday speech (Zurer-Pearson

& McGee, 1993). Portes and Schauffler also noticed a pattern of language shift, when they surveyed 8th and 9th grade students asking them which language they preferred using, which a majority responded English (Portes & Schauffler, 1996). However, research also suggests that Spanish continues to be maintained by the influx of other Hispanics/Latinos to Miami (Carter & Lynch, 2015).

Concerning the matter of code-switching, Watson's (2006), study of CS among Cuban Americans in Miami and Cubans residing in Cuba shows that there is a difference in code-switching attitudes among both of these communities. One of Watson's participants, a first generation 58-year old bilingual stated that code-switching is "just the way we speak, it's the natural way to say things. I am not all Spanish or all English". Watson also states that he found that code-switching was prevalent even in those instances when he asked his participants not to code-switch (Watson, 2006).

Even though code-switching in Miami is common, negative attitudes against CS are not rare. Watson's study also included having Cubans in Cuba taking a judgement test on Miami Cubans and the way they speak. Upon hearing CS in the speech of Cuban Americans, Cubans on the island remarked: "He/She is no longer Cuban", "He/She doesn't know what he/she is", "It's as if he/she is trying to deny his/her roots". The researcher even commented on the fact that some of these participants lost interest while hearing these recordings (Watson, 2006).

Some participants indicate that the presence of CS indicates a lack of proficiency in Spanish. Some of the participants expressed how they "had a certain difficulty expressing themselves or are "having a hard time speaking". These negative reactions made up a total of 85% of the comments. Some of these participants explained that those Cubans whom have migrated to Miami, have a

feeling of “being better” than those who remain in Cuba, because of how they “flaunt their English” (Watson, 2006).

Watson further explained that: “Linguistically, Cuban Americans live in a fossilized Cuban Spanish”. He then explains that Puerto Ricans and Mexicans, communities in which code-switching has proven to exist, can always go back to their home country; however, Cubans do not have the same option. Cubans tend to live a more disconnected lifestyle from their home country, unlike Puerto Rico and Mexico (Watson, 2006). This plays a role in the Miami Cuban’s usage of language, where they are unable maintain the latest language tendencies, but they can stay up to date with English’s evolution.

Antonio Sánchez Fajardo points out that a “US bred Cuban is obviously more prone to bilingualism, and their Spanish denotes the highest degree of English intrusiveness of all. Older generations of Cubans, especially non-English speakers, chiefly resort to adapted loanwords, or calques, to facilitate their social and parental communication: *deiquer* < Day Care, *biliar* < billing, *soda*, *la orden* < the (restaurant) order, etc.” “This multifaceted process is especially significant in Cuban family members. These cohorts are characterized by being multigenerational, and by conveying various levels of English” (Antonio Sánchez Fajardo, 2017, pp. 801-802).

Myers-Scotton (1998) studied language use among English teachers in the University of Panama. She did not find widespread use code-switching, and speculated that this may be due to the tense political issues between the United States and Panama at the time. In other words, a majority of the Panamanians studied did not engage in CS to English because English use signaled a relationship to the United States, which is politically charged (Myers-Scotton, 1988).

The politics of bilingualism in Miami and Puerto Rico

There is no doubt that Puerto Ricans and Miami Cubans have had a different history with the United States as well as with the English language. For Cubans in Miami, English was a tool to survive in a new country. For Puerto Ricans, while English is not necessary to survive, there seems to be prestige attached to knowing it, as well as an opportunistic view of it.

Another aspect to consider is Puerto Rico's identity. The Puerto Rican identity is a rather hard one to describe. Identity and language have a very close relationship, as was seen with the Cubans who remain in Cuba when making judgements about the way that the Miami Cubans code-switch. Puerto Rico has a very particular situation, in which its citizens may express to have even closer ties with language. Not many countries or territories around the world have the issue of being in a limbo for knowing what political status they should be in due to being a non-incorporated territory. Having the same status for decades does not necessarily reflect the Puerto Rican's will for what they want Puerto Rico to be, especially because Puerto Ricans have a tendency to vote for a party and then the next election year vote for the opposite. Also, language policies are determined by the political party in power. To this day, Puerto Rico's territorial status remains as a lingering question.

With the information that has been stated thus far, it can be hypothesized that Puerto Rican politics may have an influence over the language attitudes of the Puerto Rican citizens, based on how language regulations have changed depending on the political party in power. The first question this survey will attempt to answer is whether Puerto Ricans feel a restraint to code-switch. The purpose of this study is to determine if perceptions of Spanish/English CS are conditioned by political affiliation. This study focuses on whether there is a correlation between the political party affiliation and willingness to code-switch. However, since Puerto Rican voters might not vote for what each political party values, territorial status was the standard used as a proxy for political party (whether the candidate prefers Puerto Rico to be a state, commonwealth, or independent).

As linguist Alicia Pousada mentions in one of her many writings on the subject: “statehood supporters have been identified with English; independence advocates, with Spanish; and commonwealth backers, with bilingualism”, this study aims to prove whether this is the case for the usage of English, specifically code-switching.

The specific research questions of this paper are:

- Do Puerto Ricans feel uncomfortable code-switching? How does it compare to Miami Cubans?
- Does political party affiliation play a role in conditioning the perception of code-switching?

Other minor research questions for this study plan to find out whether age and socio-economic status would serve to potentially predict whether the participant will code-switch or not. Also, this study could potentially reveal whether there are other reasons might be factors in the issue of Puerto Ricans feeling guilt in code-switching, due to the final questions of the surveys being open-ended questions. Other potential questions that can be answered are whether the Puerto Rican group prefers a certain type of code-switching, in comparison to the Cuban population, and whether location of residence in Puerto Rico might influence the participant’s attitudes towards English and code-switching.

These same research questions will be tested and compared with a sample of the Cuban population in Miami, largely due to the comfort level that has been reported that Miami Cubans have with code-switching. It would also be interesting to see if it is the case that if Miami Cubans have a different CS outlook as it is hypothesized, if this research can reveal why this is the case, depending on their answers. Another aspect this research could potentially find out is if there is also a correlation between political party affiliation and code-switching with the Miami population.

Methods

The previous research questions were answered by conducting surveys. There are two surveys for both communities researched in this study (Miami and Puerto Rico). The Puerto Rican participants form the experimental group, whereas the Miami Cubans form the control group, as a means to compare the language attitudes in both communities. It is intended to find whether there is a difference in perceived appropriateness and perceived usage of code-switching among the Puerto Rican population and the Cuban population in Miami, and if it exists, how this difference varies.

The surveys consist of 3 portions: code-switched utterances, demographic information, and direct questions concerning code-switching. The objective of the first portion, the code-switched utterances, was to assess whether the participants would say those utterances and whether they thought it was appropriate, which means that each utterance was present in two questions. For the question regarding whether the participant would say the utterance or not, the code-switched utterance was presented, along with a Likert scale from 1-5 (where 5 = Very Likely - 1 = Never). Regarding the second question (with the same utterance), where they were asked about the appropriateness of the utterance, a Likert scale was also presented (where 5 = Appropriate – 1 = Inappropriate).

It is important to point out that rather than choosing the term “correct”, the researcher chose to use the term “appropriate”, due to the participants’ possibility of mistakenly looking for orthographic faults or grammatical mistakes if the word “correct” was used.

The code-switched utterances were written in both types of code-switching utterances previously mentioned (intrasentential and intersentential) to observe if there are tendencies with one or both types of code-switching among both groups. To test whether the participants are open

to code-switching or not, everyday intrasentential utterances are included in the survey, with words in the other language that have been replaced by the English word, properly: borrowings (in Puerto Rico), or the Spanish word (in Miami). Most of the code-switched utterances were different due to dialectal differences of Puerto Ricans and Miami Cubans, meaning that both populations were given different surveys.

For these utterances to sound natural to the speakers, the sentences for the Miami Cuban group were presented to a group of Miami Cubans and asked whether these sentences sounded common to them. The same procedure was adopted for the Puerto Rican group. The groups who approved the sentences were not part of the group of participants who answered the surveys. As a means to come up with the utterances for the surveys, social media posts and interactions, as well as conversations heard by the researcher, were among the utterances that took part in the surveys.

An example of the questions found in the survey can be found here:

Figure 1

Example of Code-switched utterance question

On a scale of 1-5, how likely are you to say the following?

(5 = Very likely - 1 = Never)

"Cogí un power nap antes de venir para acá."



Figure 2

Example of Code-switched utterance

On a scale of 1-5, select the level of appropriateness of this sentence.

(5 = Appropriate - 1 = Inappropriate)

"Cogí un power nap antes de venir para acá."



The section for the demographic information includes age, gender, proficiency in both languages, income bracket, whether there were born in PR or Miami respectively, years lived in Puerto Rico or Miami respectively, political party affiliation, territorial status preference (Puerto Rico only), and municipality they reside in (Puerto Rico only). This data was used to make correlations such as whether age was a factor in perceived usage/appropriateness to code-switch; territorial status(Puerto Rico) and perceived usage/appropriateness to code-switch; and municipality(Puerto Rico) and perceived usage/appropriateness to code-switch.

The last portion of the survey features more direct questions about code-switching, such as:

- Do you feel that combining Spanish and English in speech is improper?
- Have you been told not to combine Spanish and English in your speech?
- Have you told someone not to combine Spanish and English in their speech?

This section of the survey is aimed to measure in a more precise way, the participant's attitudes towards code-switching.

The survey had an approximate duration of 10-20 minutes to complete. The participants also had the possibility to choose the language of the survey (English or Spanish). The surveys were translated by the investigator. The distribution of the surveys was done electronically. These

surveys, were distributed through email, direct conversations, text message and social media and was administered via the online survey software *Qualtrics*.

Participants

All the participants were at least 18 years old. The participants from Miami were Cuban or of Cuban descent and fluent in Spanish. Conversely, the Puerto Rican participants were those born and raised in Puerto Rico, as well as fluent in Spanish, still living on the island. All age groups were welcome to participate in this study. From the ages of the participants that were obtained, the following age groups were formed: 18-30, 31-43, 44-56, 57+. The amount of Puerto Rican participants according to the age groups were as follows: 18-30 = 103 participants, 31-43 = 15 participants, 44-56 = 19 participants, 56+ = 12 participants. As for the Miami participants, 18-30 = 51 participants, 31-43 = 0 participants, 44-56 = 4 participants, 57+ = 3 participants. The total participants for the Puerto Rican group was of 149 participants, and for the Miami group 58 participants.

Politics and its Impact on Code-switching in Puerto Rico

Correlated Data

Due to the amount of questions that were asked to the participants in the surveys, great amounts of data may be pulled from this study, however, only data that refers to the research questions that were previously stated or data that draws reference to the Literature Review will be included in this section.

As stated in the Methods section, Puerto Rico is the experimental group of this research. The first section of the *Qualtrics* surveys asked the participants to pick a number between 1-5 in a Likert scale, where they would judge code-switched utterances on whether they would say these utterances and whether they thought they were appropriate or not. For simplicity, the question for whether the participants would say the code-switched utterances will be referred to as: “CS perceived usage”. For the latter question, whether the participants believe that the utterances are appropriate or not, they will be addressed as “CS perceived appropriateness”. If referring to both questions, they will be referred to as “code-switching questions” or “CS questions”.

Before correlating both code-switching answers towards age and territorial status (both for Puerto Rico), a comparison needed to be made between the answers of both of the before mentioned code-switching questions. The reason for this is due to the possibility of participants reporting to code-switch for a certain amount, does not imply the participants considering the utterances they say as appropriate, therefore both of these answers were compared.

A Pearson correlation coefficient was obtained by comparing both of the CS perceived usage and CS perceived appropriateness scores. The result obtained when comparing the answers of both questions for the Puerto Rican population was of a 0.45, meaning that these answers have a moderate to strong correlation. To rephrase, the participants’ CS perceived usage is positively

correlated to the participant's CS perceived appropriateness score. Even though the score expresses a fairly strong correlation, it is not the maximum number to obtain a highly strong correlation. Therefore, both code-switching questions will still be taken under consideration when establishing a relationship between these code-switching questions and factors such as age and territorial status. In other words, these correlations will be made separating the CS questions into different correlations.

The Pearson correlation coefficient was also obtained for the Miami Cuban population, to compare the answers of the two code-switching questions. Another Pearson correlation coefficient was obtained, this time of a 0.634, meaning that within the Miami Cuban group, there is a stronger correlation between perceived usage and perceived appropriateness than in the Puerto Rican group.

The next step in the process is to answer the first research question, which is meant to address whether there is a difference between CS perceived usage and CS perceived appropriateness between Puerto Rico and Miami participants. To test this, a t-test was performed for both CS questions. In terms of perceived appropriateness, observing the average from the Likert scale scores, Miami scored a 3.09, while Puerto Rico scored a 2.63. Given that the p-value is of 0.007, the difference is significant. However, concerning the perceived usage, there is no difference between the averages of the Miami group and the Puerto Rican group, given that the p-value is 0.1456.

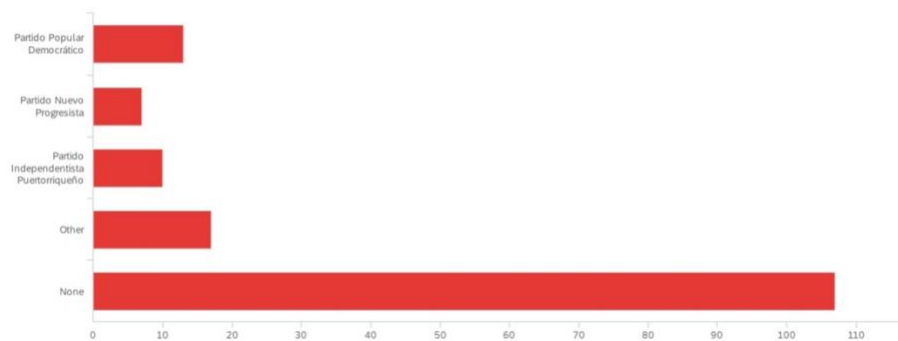
The next step in the process is to correlate the results of the code-switching perceived usage and appropriateness scores, to territorial status and age (only for Puerto Rican group). This was tested by performing an ANOVA. In order to perform an ANOVA, a Levene's test was performed

for each of the before mentioned factors to correlate with both code-switching questions, to ensure the homogeneity of variances.

It is important to point out that territorial status was chosen as a variable over political affiliation due to political affiliation not being an actual representation of the participants' beliefs and ideologies for Puerto Rico. As an example, the results for Puerto Ricans' political party preference for this survey is stated below.

Figure 3

Q72 - Which political party do you affiliate yourself with?

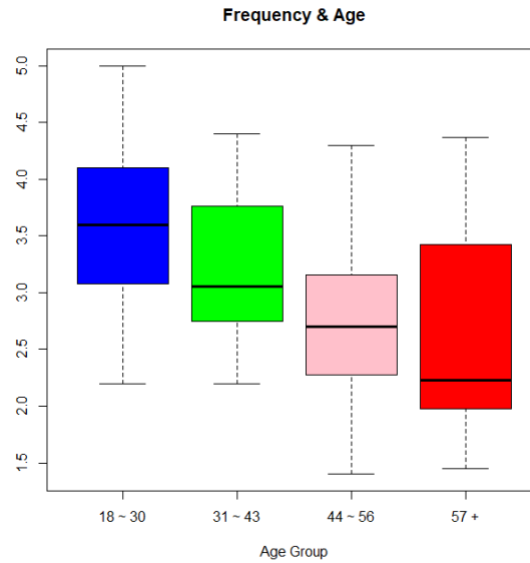
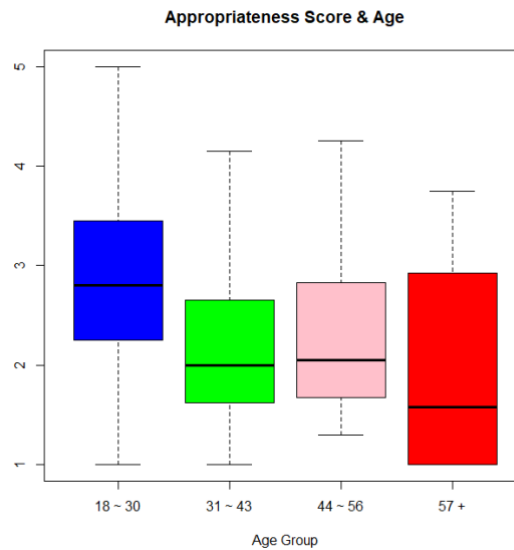


The results were rather surprising, as the majority of 69.48% sided with none of the political parties, therefore selecting the “none” option. After the “none” option, then came the “other” option with an 11.04%. Each of the 3 political parties received less than 10% of the score (PPD or Commonwealth Party 8.44%, PNP or Statehood Party 4.55%, PIP or Independence Party 6.49%).

As was demonstrated, political party affiliation is not a reliable source to obtain the answer for Puerto Rican's true political views. Territorial status substituted this component. When correlating territorial status to Puerto Rican's CS perceived usage and perceived appropriateness scores, no correlation was found to link the two, meaning that Puerto Ricans do not code-switch or have a different attitude towards CS, according to their territorial status preference. To ensure

that this is the case, age was added in the ANOVA that was performed to get these results, turning this analysis into a MANOVA by adding the variable of age. In other words, because of the possibility of age playing a role within Puerto Ricans' preference towards territorial status and their code-switching perceived usage and attitudes, this variable was added in this correlation. It is important to point out that the data added into both the ANOVA and the MANOVA passed the Levene's test for homogeneity of variances, as well as the test for normality. This analysis concluded that age does make a difference. However, there were no interaction effects between the territorial status and age group. This analysis serves to satisfy the component of the correlation for age and the CS questions.

Now that the MANOVA served to identify that age made a difference with both of the CS questions, the next step is to find which age group makes the biggest difference. (This analysis is only for the perceived usage of CS). In order to identify this difference, a Post-Hoc test, in this case a Tukey HSD test was performed, comparing the 4 age groups in pairs. For simplicity, the age groups will be referred to as group A (18-30), group B (31-43), group C (44-56), and group D (57+). According to this test, group A is the one with the highest perceived usage to code switch. This group also reflects a significant difference between the perceived usage of code-switching comparing to group C and Group D. Group B does not reflect a significant difference with any of the groups. And Group C and Group D also do not have a significant difference amongst each other.

Figure 4**Figure 5**

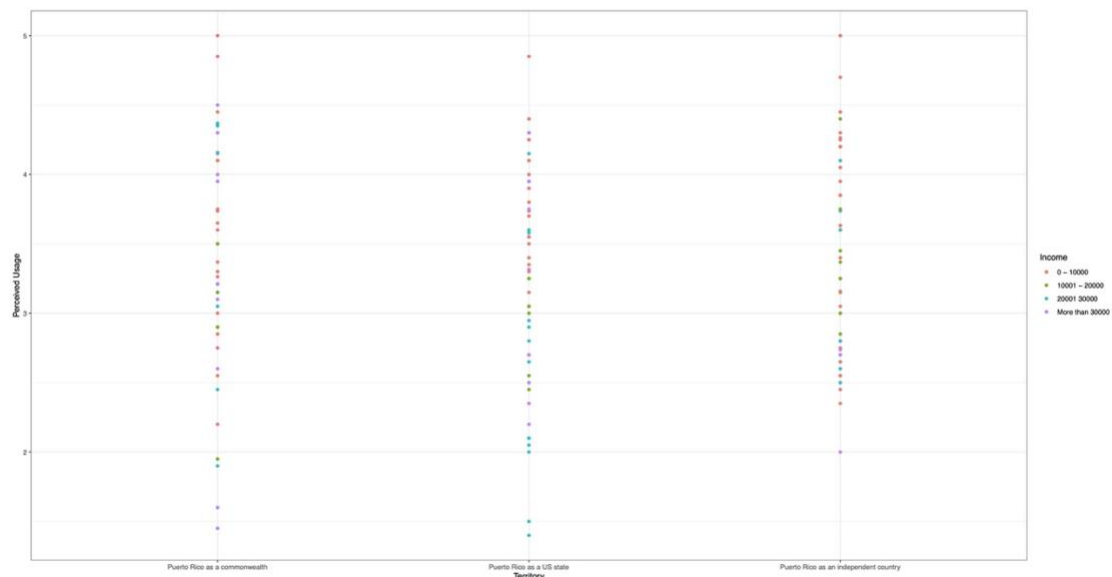
This same test was performed for the perceived appropriateness and age variable, and the only pair to show a difference was group A and group D. Other pairs did not show any significant difference amongst each other. When comparing the results from both code-switching questions, the pair of group A and group C marks the difference between both CS questions, meaning that group C does not code-switch as frequently, however they don't think it is inappropriate to code-switch.

As for the Miami population, an ANOVA was performed to test whether there is any correlation between the political parties Miami Cubans associate with, and perceived usage and perceived appropriateness. No correlation was found, due to the p-values being of 0.393 and 0.642 respectively.

In the case for socio-economic status for Puerto Rico, an ANOVA was performed to find a possible correlation between socio-economic status and both CS questions. The groups for socio-economic status in Puerto Rico, were \$0 - \$10,000, \$10,001 - \$20,000, \$20,001 - \$30,000, and more than \$30,000. These income brackets were formed due to Puerto Rico's median household income being \$20,296 (Data USA, 2020). We are able to see that perceived usage is significant, however not for perceived appropriateness. A Tukey HSD test was performed to seek the group that was different. The group of \$20,000-\$30,000 was the group that was significantly different among the groups for the Puerto Rican group, meaning that this group has a significantly higher perceived usage score than the other groups.

Figure 6

Income vs Territorial Status Preference for Puerto Rico



As for the Miami Cuban group, because the median household income is of \$44,937 in Miami-Dade, different income brackets were used (\$0 - \$25,000, \$25,001 - \$50,000, \$50,001 - \$75,000 , \$75,000 - \$100,000, more than \$100,000). (Miami Herald, 2017). Both CS questions proved to be slightly significant with the income brackets with numbers of 0.0402 and 0.0369 for perceived usage and perceived appropriateness respectively. However, when performing a Tukey test to further analyze the data, no group was found statistically significant than the other.

Another interesting comparison to make is which code-switching modality is more common for each community, and if this represents a difference among these groups. An ANOVA was performed to compare the scores of the CS perceived usage from both groups. Based on the data gathered from the ANOVA, there is no significant difference between Puerto Rican's preference among both types of code-switching. For Miami Cubans however, there was a significant difference among the two types of code-switching, given that the p-value was of 0.00131. To study this even further, a Tukey HSD test was performed, which found that intersentential code-switching ranked higher than intrasentential code-switching.

Another comparison worth analyzing is whether Puerto Ricans in the Metropolitan Area have a higher CS perceived usage and have different attitudes than the citizens from the rest of the island. For the purposes of this study, the metropolitan area of Puerto Rico will be comprised of the municipalities of San Juan, Guaynabo, Bayamón, Toa Baja, Toa Alta, and Cataño. This group was put together by combining 2 separate Senatorial Districts that Puerto Rico currently has (8 districts total) (Elecciones Puerto Rico, 2019). These 2 districts were put together due to both areas being a part of the metropolitan area in Puerto Rico.

Figure 7

Map of Puerto Rico



Note. The municipalities marked in red belong to the metropolitan area of Puerto Rico. The municipalities in gray represent the rest of the municipalities of the island.

Another ANOVA was performed for both CS questions. Results show that there is no significant difference where the participants live on the island and their CS perceived usage or perceived appropriateness score, given that the p-values were 0.716 and 0.937 respectively.

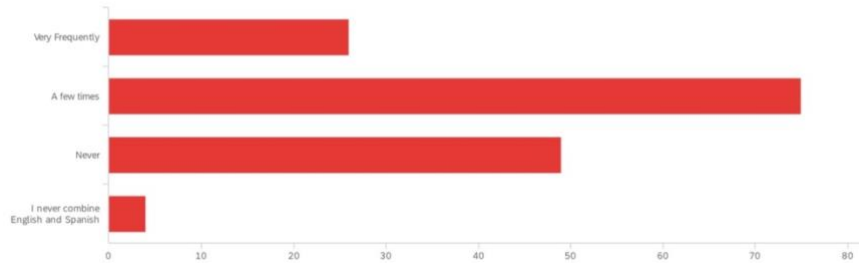
Individual data

Puerto Rico

The participants from both communities were asked more direct questions about code-switching. The first question the participants were asked after the demographic questions, was whether they were told by someone that they should not code switch. The following graph depicts the results of this question:

Figure 8

Q74 - Have you been told not to combine Spanish and English in your speech?

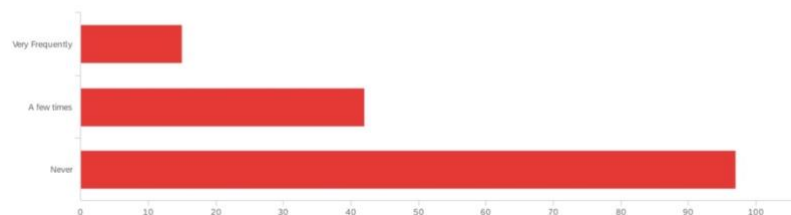


A majority of 48.70% answered “A few times”. 31.82% of the population reported to never have experienced this, 16.88% to have experienced this very frequently, and 2.60% expressed that they never combine English and Spanish.

The next question addressed whether the participants have been the ones to tell someone to not code-switch between the language. 62.99% of the respondents answered to never have told this to anyone, 27.27% of the population answered that they sometimes have told others to not code-switch, and 9.74%, to very frequently tell others to refrain from code-switch.

Figure 9

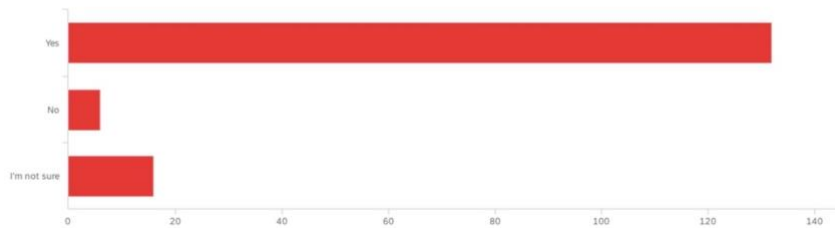
Q75 - Have you told someone not to combine Spanish and English in their speech?



The next question addressed if Puerto Ricans thought that English had a place in Puerto Rico, which 85.71% answered yes, 10.39% answered that “I’m not sure”, and 3.90% no.

Figure 10

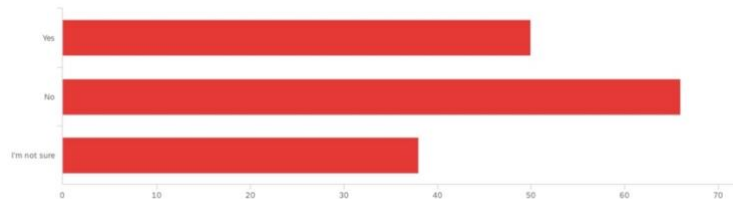
Q76 - Do you think English has a place in Puerto Rico?



The next premise addressed the very important question: whether Puerto Ricans thought combining Spanish and English was improper. 42.86% said that it is not improper, however 32.47% it is improper. 24.68% said they were not sure.

Figure 11

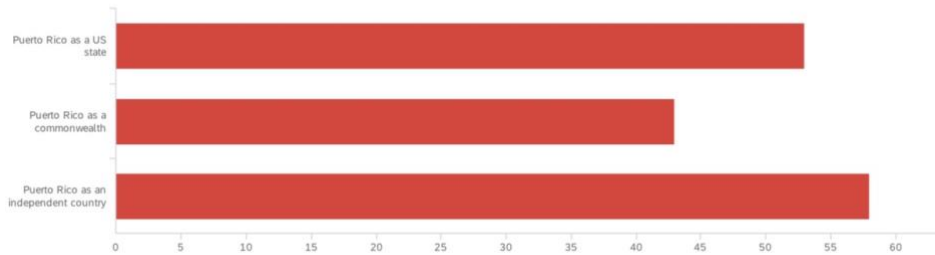
Q77 - Do you feel that combining Spanish and English in speech is improper?



Another pivotal question for the Puerto Rican participants was which status the Puerto Rican people want for Puerto Rico: commonwealth, independence or statehood. The results were also surprising. With the majority of 37.66% answered that they would want Puerto Rico to be independent. However statehood was not far behind, with 34.42% of the participants selecting it as their status of preference. Also, Puerto Rico as a commonwealth gained a 27.92% of the population tested.

Figure 12

Q73 - What is your preferred status for Puerto Rico?

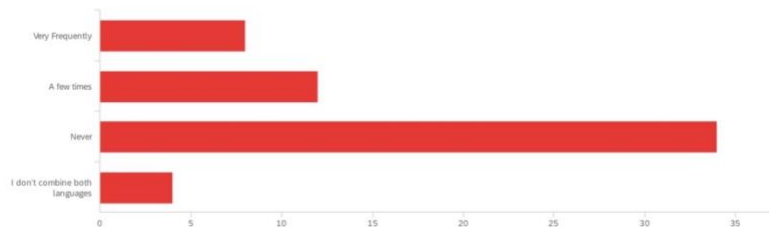


Miami

A majority of the questions that the Puerto Ricans answered in the previous section, were also asked to the Miami Cuban group. When asked whether they have been told to not code-switch, 58.62% answered “never”, 20.69% answered “a few times”, 13.79% answered “very frequently”, and 6.90% reported to not code-switch. Judging from how the answers in this question from this group and the Puerto Rican group were vastly different concerning the “a few times” and “never” questions, an ANOVA was performed to test whether these answers were significantly different from one another. Due to the p-value resulting in 0.000985, there is a significant difference, due to the Miami Cuban population scoring higher when answering “never” than the Puerto Rican population.

Figure 13

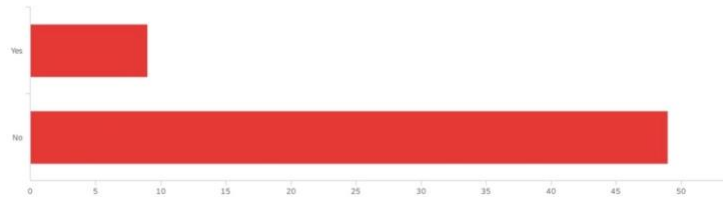
Q57 - Have you been told not to combine Spanish and English in your speech?



When asked whether they have been the ones to tell others not to code-switch, 84.48% responded “no” and 15.52% answered “yes”.

Figure 14

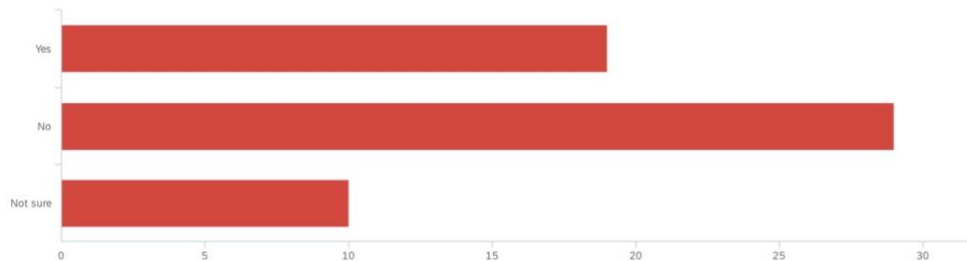
Q58 - Have you told someone not to combine Spanish and English in their speech?



When asked the pivotal question of whether the participants think whether code-switching is improper or not, a majority of 50.00% answered “no” while 32.76% answered “yes”, and 17.24% answered “not sure”.

Figure 15

Q63 - Do you feel that combining Spanish and English in speech is improper?



Qualitative Data

As a means to continue analyzing the perceptions of code-switching among both communities, one final question was asked. The previous question that the participants answered was whether they thought code-switching was inappropriate. This question was followed by a why or why not question. The answers for this question were analyzed by categorizing them by trends, meaning that answers which reflect a tendency in both groups will be highlighted in this

section. Some examples of these comments will be provided in this section. For a complete list of these comments, please refer to Appendix B.

The categories created to separate these comments are the following:

- Positive Perceptions on CS – contains comments in which the participants expressed they like or have no problem with code-switching, find code-switching useful, and that they consider code-switching a part of their culture.
- Negative Perceptions on CS – contains comments in which the participants expressed that the language should be intact, the languages have different grammars, or that the languages are just different (many times they did not provide a further explanation).
- CS in Formal Contexts – contains comments in which the participants expressed that code-switching can be performed in some cases. Most of these comments expressed that code-switching should not be done in a professional context, also expressing that it is fine to perform it in other contexts.

Due to some answers having many common trends, the categories were made to reflect broader categories. For example, some comments expressed how they believe that code-switching is a part of their culture, but also expressed that it's efficient for communication. These comments were then put into the positive comments section. That way they can be more easily grouped and distinguishable from other comments that for example, denote a more negative attitude towards CS. However, some comments still were counted twice, meaning that they were placed in more than one category. An example of a comment of the sort was a comment of a participant who explained that it is an established cultural aspect to code-switch, however this

person said to “find it annoying at times”. This comment was placed in both the positive comments category, as well as in the negative comments category.

Also, not all the comments were considered while calculating the percentages for each category, due to some comments not answering the questions appropriately, or not expressing an opinion on the topic. The total of the comments submitted for this question were 111, but 11 were taken out by the investigator for the reason stated in the previous sentence.

The majority of the comments (42%) within the Puerto Rican population lie in the Positive Perceptions category, in which as mentioned before, some Puerto Ricans expressed that code-switching is a useful tool to help get the message across, that they consider that code-switching as a part of Puerto Rican culture, and that they like or don't mind the usage of code-switching. Some examples of these comments are:

- “Porque la mezcla de idiomas puedes crear significado diferente en el mensaje que quieres llevar”
“Because the mixture of languages can create a different meaning in the message that you want to get across.” (translated by the investigator)
- “We are american citizens and it is our second language so why not integrate it?”
- “Combining Spanish and English is a cultural trait of Puerto Rico. It may be rude for some people, but here we don't judge and understand it very well. Our culture it's a combination and we refer at this as “spanglish”. We have always used it for example “hamburguers”. So the answer is no.”

35% of the comments gravitated towards the Negative comments towards CS category, where the participants expressed that there is no need for code-switching due to Spanish already

having the necessary vocabulary, the ungrammaticality that code-switching brings, or them stating that the languages are just different without an explanation. A few examples of these comments are:

- “Son idiomas diferentes...”
“They are different languages...” (translated by the investigator)
- “Los idiomas deben ser respetados.”
“Languages have to be respected.” (translated by the investigator)
- “Cada idioma tiene sus propias gramáticas y hacer una combinación de ambos idiomas denota no tener identidad propia o no ser culto en cuanto idioma se refiere”
“Every language has their own grammar and making a combination of both languages denotes not having your own identity as well as not being cultured in the language”

The next category, Code-switching in Formal Contexts, made up 22% of the answers. In this category, most of the participants expressed that code-switching should never be performed in a professional context. Some examples of these comments are:

- “As long as is not in formal writing its ok”
- “Pero todo depende de dónde y cómo se utilice...”
“But it depends where and how you use it”
- “Becase it depende on the situation”

The remaining percentages belong to 5 answers that expressed being conflicted, and 3 answers that explained that code-switching might not be a good form of expression, due to the population of Puerto Rico who does not speak English. It is also important to point out that 49% of these 100 comments were written in English.

For the Cuban population in Miami, the same trends were observed, meaning that the same categories will be used for these comments. With a total of 50 comments, 9 were not counted towards the categories presented in this section, due to the participants not responding accordingly. The category with the majority of the answers is once again the Positive Comments towards CS (43%), with answers such as:

- “Spoken language is fluid”
- “never really thought about it being improper”
- “Perfectly normal, especially because some expressions are very unique and not very easily translatable.”

The next category to receive the majority of answers is the CS in a professional setting category, with 30%. The participants wrote answers such as:

- “It is improper when writing a formal paper or email”.
- “Casually not improper but during a presentation one language should be consistent”.
- “It’s not professional...”

For the remaining 3 comments (8%), these expressed that not everyone will understand code-switching if it is performed. Interestingly, 100% of the answers were written in English.

Discussion

In this section, an analysis will be provided on the many results that were presented in the previous section. Before we begin, a disclaimer must be made about the data that was collected. The participants who were a part of this study do not represent an ideal random group of participants, due to the participants of this study being in some way connected to the investigator, or to the participants recruited by the investigator. Therefore, the data presented in this study is not a completely accurate representation of the general Puerto Rican population or the Cuban population in Miami.

Analysis of Research Question Results

The first research question that was posited was whether there is a difference between code-switching in Miami Cubans and Puerto Ricans, regarding perceived usage and perceived appropriateness. As the scores for both CS questions were compared within each group, it was concluded that both groups had a strong correlation between perceived usage and perceived appropriateness, meaning that in many occasions, the fact that the participants code-switch means that usually they regard appropriateness in the same manner.

Upon comparing the averages with the perceived usage and perceived appropriateness between Miami Cubans and Puerto Ricans, the results showed that Miami Cubans and Puerto Ricans have approximately the same perceived usage, but Miami Cubans think it is more appropriate to code-switch than Puerto Ricans. This confirms the hypothesis that Miami Cubans are more comfortable code-switching than Puerto Ricans. However this also proves that there is no significant difference in CS perceived usage between the two groups.

The next research question aimed to find a correlation between both CS questions and territorial status preference. With the data recollected in this study, we can conclude that despite

politics connecting English proficiency to statehood, bilingualism to commonwealth, and Spanish to independence, territorial status preference does not play a role in Puerto Ricans' perceived usage or perceived appropriateness towards code-switching.

Analysis of Minor Research Questions

A factor that was concluded to play a role in participants' code-switching perceived usage and perceived appropriateness score, was age. Upon establishing the correlation between age and both CS questions, we concluded that age does make a difference, especially among group A (18-30). The data shows that the younger group of people aged 18-30 have a higher tendency to code-switch, as well as a higher tendency to have a positive attitude towards code-switching. Some participants in the last question of the survey (which asked why or why not do they think CS is appropriate), commented on the perception that code-switching is more common among the younger generations, which further solidifies this result. Socio-economic status also played a role in CS, as the group of \$20,000 - \$30,000 had a higher score in perceived usage, meaning that this group is more comfortable code-switching than the rest of the groups. This was not the case for Miami Cubans. With the sample that was recollected, there is no interaction between socio-economic status and code-switching.

An interesting question to consider, is which type of code-switching was more prevalent for each group. What was interesting was that with Puerto Ricans, they make no difference between the type of code-switching they perform. However, Miami Cubans have a higher tendency to perform intersentential code-switching rather than intrasentential code-switching. A disclaimer for this result, is that the utterances selected for the surveys might have been utterances that may have been strange for some participants, but common for others, as code-switching is usually an

improvised phenomenon, where the speakers do not usually plan on code-switching, or many times don't memorize ways to code-switch.

When comparing code-switching perceived usage and appropriateness score between the metropolitan area of Puerto Rico and the rest of the municipalities of Puerto Rico, it was rather interesting to find that location in Puerto Rico, at least comparing the metropolitan area towards the rest of the island, does not make a difference in either CS perceived usage or CS perceived appropriateness score.

Analysis of other survey questions

When comparing Puerto Rico's answers and Miami's answers towards the question that asks the participants whether they have been told to not code-switch, Puerto Rican participants scored significantly higher in the "a few times" option, than the Miami participants. This could mean that there is in fact a culture of avoiding code-switching in Puerto Rico possibly due to a negative attitude towards code-switching in Puerto Rico from some people on the island.

The next question addressed whether the participants have been the ones to tell other people to not code-switch. In spite of an error made by the investigator of having a different set of options (the Miami survey had only "yes" or "no" options, the Puerto Rican survey had "never", "a few times", and "very frequently") the difference is still significant with the assumption of categorizing "a few times" and "very frequently" as a "yes", and "never" as a "no". The combination of the "a few times" option and the "very frequently" option equals to a 37.01%, which is the percentage scored by the Puerto Rican participants. Comparing this percentage to the 15.52% of the Miami group, there seems to be more people in the Puerto Rican community that tell others to refrain from code-switching.

Analysis of Puerto Rican politics questions

One of the vital questions asked to the participants was which political party they associate with. The result was surprising due to Puerto Ricans always voting for one of the two main political parties to govern the island (PPD and PNP) since Puerto Ricans having the right to vote for their own governor. At the same time, this result is to be expected, due to the before mentioned situations that have occurred in Puerto Rico in the recent years, which may have motivated Puerto Ricans to break free from the bipartisan mindset. However, a more definite answer will be given in the next elections on November 2020.

Another surprising result was given by the question given to the Puerto Rican group asking them what they would want Puerto Rico's territorial status to be. It is rather surprising to have the independence status with such a high percentage, considering that the Independence party has never won an election, and always finish every election with less than 10% of the votes. However, two factors that might have influenced this result, is the before mentioned circumstances Puerto Rico has faced in the last few years, in which Puerto Rican citizens may have lost their trust in the political parties that have been governing the island for decades. The other factor might be the people chosen for this study. Even though the investigator does not identify as Pro-Independence, it might be the case that many independence advocates happen to be in the group of the Puerto Rican participants.

However when examining the results of this question, the percentages for each option are rather close. The closeness these results have can represent the continuation of the lingering question of what status Puerto Rico should acquire.

Limitations

Participants

Among the limitations this study faced, a higher participant count would have been of a great advantage to this study, especially among the different age groups, income brackets, as well as the different Puerto Rican municipalities.

A more specific range of results can be obtained in a repetition of an experiment of the sort, if the speaker's fluency was measured, due to the Cuban population having varying levels of Spanish proficiency across generations. This would also be useful for the Puerto Rican group, due to the willingness to code-switch being a possible result for less proficiency in English. However, not enough participants were recruited to apply this.

As mentioned in a previous sub-section, a more improved participant selection could also be an improvement to a study of the sort, to ensure that the group of participants represents a more accurate version of the general population.

Surveys

In the beginning stages of the data collection, a specific formatting of the questions in Qualtrics, made the slider in the CS questions disappear for the participants, resulting in inaccurate results. The researcher fixed the problem, but had to delete the data obtained at the time, and ask the participants to complete the survey a second time, which lead to a lower amount of participants.

In the both surveys, as part of the demographic information, the participants were asked to select their annual income bracket. In the survey for Puerto Rican participants, an annual income bracket of \$30,000 - \$40,000 was skipped as a mistake of the investigator. As a solution, the investigator combined the brackets for \$40,000 - \$50,000, and more than \$50,000 for the data analysis.

Conclusion

While this study found no correlation between territorial status and code-switching, this does not imply that there is no connection between code-switching and politics, especially when it comes to a connection with English and politics. With the previous studies that were examined in the introduction, examples were given which provide a connection between language and politics. Politics does not just encompass political parties and territorial status, it also houses reminders of the history a country experiences. In the case of Puerto Rico, it might be the case that the clash between two cultures and two languages harbors resentment for the Puerto Rican people against the United States, which can result in the rejection of English that some people in Puerto Rico exhibit.

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Appendix A

Comments on David Begnaud's interview with the governor of Puerto Rico Wanda Vázquez

CBS reporter David Begnaud interviewed governor of Puerto Rico Wanda Vázquez as Puerto Rico was experiencing many earthquakes, but the government's actions towards helping the Puerto Rican citizens were questioned by the people of Puerto Rico. During this interview the governor was accompanied by a translator, causing the viewers to question why the governor needs a translator, when she represents the Statehood party. The translator was translating to David Begnaud the governor's answer, which was in Spanish. The governor did not need a translation for Begnaud's questions. A list of the comments found in the Facebook Live broadcast can be found below.

- “No sabe inglish”
“She doesn't know English.”
- “She wants statehood but doesn't even know the language. Wow. Not even that.”
- No habla ingles?
She doesn't speak English?
- Estadista y no puede hacer una entrevista en ingles?
“Statehood advocate and she can't do an interview in English?”
- Qué no sabe Inglés?
“She doesn't speak English?”
- OMG She does not speak English
- Para los que se burlan del ingles, Les RECUERDO que los POPULETES.. Le han negado ese idioma al pais... Cabrones

For those who make fun of English, may I REMIND you that the “POPULETES (nickname for Commonwealth politicians)” have negated that language to our country... Dumbasses

- This are the people that want puerto rico to be a state.. CANT EVEN SPEAK ENGLISH
- Wanda speaks english. She understands everything he is saying and prefers to answer in spanish. Shame
- I thought she spoke English as well. I'm confused 15min will go so fast this way
- I can't believe she doesn't speak English... PR should be selected Gobernador with a job description professional English speakers and writing...!

- Estadista sin inglés

Statehood advocate without English

- PNP wants statehood but she can't even speak English? Wow
- El inglés????? Donde esta???

English????? Where is it???

- Si no habla Inglés fluido, NO puede ser gobernadora simple y sencillo. No es nada personal, ni partidista, pero el mensaje que se traduce jamás llega igual.

If she doesn't speak fluent English, she CANNOT be governor, plain and simple. It's nothing personal, nor partisan, but the message that is translated is never the same.

- Why she needs a translator she is suppose to speak English
- She needs a translator????!?
- como podenos tener una buena relación con US si no saben inglés. no tan solo saberlo conocer frases y dichos...

How can we have a good relationship with the US if they don't know English. Not only know it, know phrases and expressions...

- How can you be the governor and can't even conduct an interview in English. Pathetic
- Is a shame that our own leader doesn't speak English, how can she create relationships in the US?
- I can not believe how a Governor doesn't speak English. She was a Secretary of Justice.
- Ask her to speak English, please.
- What?!?! She doesn't know English?!?! She's not even trying to speak English?!?! How come she want to run for governor 2020?!? We need a person who can express herself well in both languages.
- The statehood governor doesn't speak English (laughing emojis)
- Being Bilingual and fluent in English should be a mandatory requirement for anyone wanting to run for Governor
- Wanda we puertorricans we speak English! We was educated in our schools to speak 2 languages!
- She doesn't know English, doesn't know what's up, doesn't know anything.
- I'll never understand how you can go through 12 years of English class in school, university courses in English and go through Law School in a territory of the USA and still not be able to express yourself in English.
- Why she didn't speak English? She wants the "Estadidad for PR", she must be fully bilingual.
- How the hell she can't speak english! and she wants state 51! Burra
- You want statehood you need to bs in English!
- Que está tampoco sabe inglés? Wow mano que poca cosa eres
This one doesn't know English either? Wow, how insignificant are you?

- A lot of Puerto Ricans talk English, The governor of Puerto Rico needs a translator...TSS!!!

The comments recorded for this section were recollected from 10-minutes of the interview.

The interview lasted approximately 40 minutes.

Appendix B

This section will have a complete list of all the comments that were recollected after asking the participants whether they think that combining languages is appropriate.

Puerto Rico

Because is a way of people expressing them self's how they can.
As long as is not in formal writing its ok
No es correcto, sin embargo, tampoco impropio.
Depends on the context in which you're using spanglish. If it's in an oral presentation or somewhere work related it's best to use one or the other rather than both.
Son idiomas diferentes...
Cada idioma tiene sus propias gramáticas y hacer una combinación de ambos idiomas denota no tener identidad propia o no ser culto en cuanto idioma se refiere
Because some people may not know the language and it does not seem to be professional if you are giving a speech.
Los idiomas deben ser respetados.
Pero todo depende de dónde y cómo se utilice...
Entiendo que depende al entorno en el que se encuentre la persona al momento de hablar. En un ambiente profesional se debe hablar con propiedad en todo momento. Mas tanto en Puerto Rico se utilizan muchos anglicismos que hasta son adaptados culturalmente para comunicarse de manera mas rapida y sencilla.
En Puerto Rico se enseña el inglés desde la elemental. Esperar que personas bilingües no mezclen ambos idiomas es estar enagenado a la realidad. Lo importante es que nos entendamos. Si la otra persona no te entiende pues se busca otra manera de expresar el mensaje. Nadie es quién para decir como uno debe hablar. Mejor demostrar que sé varios idiomas a ser un equivalente de los gringitos en EEUU que se ofenden porque solo entienden inglés y quieren que todo el mundo hable inglés. Por favor! *rolls eyes*
Se supone que cada lengua sea única sin combinaciones pero lamentablemente tendemos a combinarlas.
It's common in PR and is a type of Spanish we talk and in other hispanic countries do so, but it is not something we should be proud of doing.
Because there is a lot of vocabulary that we use in English and we don't even know the correct way to say it in Spanish.
No se escucha bien. Los latinoamericanas debemos habkar un perfecto español
Poque de hecho muchas palabras del idioma inglés han sido aceptadas como parte de nuestro idioma como si fuera español, por ejemplo parking la palabra correcta es estacionamiento. Pero encuentro que si hay palabras que no deben decirse como printeame, horrible.
Because is part of our culture now, we always look for the easiest way to make others understand us.

Es parte ya de la cultura Puertorriqueña.
Cada idioma debe utilizarse como unico
Pq no es profesional el mesclar los idoma
Mixing both languages has lead us to damage our Spanish but at the same time we have made it unique in the process.
You can combine it unless you need to be as proper as possible. Spanglish is in my personal opinion should only be spoken in a casual manner ex: Friends / Family / Streets Language.
Es bueno tener una mezcla de ambos idiomas, entiendo que en Puerto Rico se puede mezclar y las personas lo hacen y se entiente.
Algunos conceptos y palabras se manejan mejor en inglés.
I think that if you're at work, it would be improper, however, if you're outside it would be fine. Most Puertorican combines Spanish and English without even realize it.
Because it is unquestionably part of the duality that puertoricans especially young people face being very subjected into American "culture" through movies and the media in general. I don't find it Inappropriate more so, annoying at times But inevitable.
No se práctica el hablar el idioma ingles y la Escuela no lo enseña
The integrity of the language should be keep.
Porque no se deben mezclar idiomas al momento de espresarse
After studying linguistics my approach and perspective towards how people make us of language has changed significantly. I used to avoid anglicisms at all cost, after studying linguistics I take advantage and appreciate the diverse ways in which people make use of language.
Es algo cultural ya
Tengo sentimientos encontrados con esto. Por un lado creo que no es un problema cuando se mezcla para conversaciones casuales, en ocasiones ayuda a trasmitir el mensaje mejor. Incluso en contexto formal lo veo aceptable si todas las partes envueltas estan de acuerdo con la mezcla. Pero el tomar verbos del ingles conjugarlo como si fueran del español, o usar palabras en inglés con un artículo en español me parece fatal.
They shouldn't be mixed
I believe people tend to mix two languages while speaking because they can explain what they are trying to express better wether or not it is proper to do so.
There's no such thing as proper or improper in casual speech, it's just what people do.
Combining both languages is something that young people in Puerto Rico are used to. For us, young people, it doesn't really affect our communication while talking with people of our same age or near to it, but it's different when talking about older people.
Opinión personal, hay palabras en ingles que los puertorriqueño si hemos adaptado del ingles pero, en una oracion añadir una frase completa en ingles y luego continuar el español si lo emcuentro inapropiado he inclusive hasta incomodo.
Porque no se deben mezclar los idiomas, y si se hace se deben usar las comillas.
In a personal manner is not big of a deal but, the problem with that is when you go to a working enviroment it could be a little bit bad. I used to work with Caribbean Cruise and interacting with Spanish speaking people from other countries was a little bit challenging because, even though english is not our first language there are words we simply don't know and the other way around. It

can be challenging too if you are consistantly talking with customer and you need a more formal dialect it can be challenging.
Debido a que por eso cada palabra existe en español y en inglés
No está mal que combinemos ambos idiomas siempre y cuando se digan las palabras correctamente.
El vocabulario de Puerto Rico tiende a usar anglicismos en nuestro vocabulario en un sentido diario. Debemos mantener un solo lenguaje en una conversación, pero otras influencias lo harán muy difícil.
Combining Spanish and English is a cultural trait of Puerto Rico. It may be rude for some people, but here we don't judge and understand it very well. Our culture it's a combination and we refer at this as "spanglish". We have always used it for example "hamburguers". So the answer is no.
Con tanta tecnología, estamos expuestos a diferentes idiomas y los idiomas se combinan. La dependencia creada a la tecnologia hace que combinemos idiomas. Pasa mucho con los niño nacidos del 2000 para acá, al tener tanto contacto con la tecnologia y la enseñanza bilingue pues provoca esta combinación.
Becase it depende on the situation
Limita y corrompe el idioma principal que a su vez va perdiendo uso.
Los jóvenes tienen mucha influencia con el idioma inglés; películas, celulares, internet, etc. Es su modo de vida mezclar ambos idiomas. En ocasiones, académicamente salen mucho mejor en la materia de inglés q en la de español.
Only sometimes.
Porque la mezcla de idiomas puedes crear significado diferente en el mensaje que quieres llevar
Is normal code switch
Porque el español es una lengua muy rica. Con mucho poder y significado. Entiendo que eventualmente irá tomando más auge a nivel mundial.
Although when being formal, it would definitely be improper to combine two languages, spanglish during regular conversation isn't bad as long as everyone understands each other. I simply see it as another way in which language evolves
We are american citizens and it is our second language so why not integrate it?
Demuestra en muchas ocasiones falta de vocabulario o algún tipo de hueco en el lenguaje.
No es la manera correcta de hablar el lenguaje pero tampoco es un error hacerlo
Ese error ya es tan común en Puerto Rico, que no lo siento impropio entre amigos, gente de tu misma edad o familia. Eso sí, para ocasiones formales deberías usar un sólo idioma. No se ve muy bien que mezcles los términos en inglés y español.
Gramaticalmente es impropio. Pero estamos acostumbrados a hablar así y es pegajoso cuando tu grupo de amistades o familiares se expresa de ese modo.
Por qué se debe degradar el idioma.
Cada lengua tiene su particularidad, si se mezclan una o ambas perderían su esencia.
The important thing is that we understand.
The question of properness is difficult. On the one hand, I am bilingual and I feel that as long as you get the point across, that is all that matters. But on the other, workspace and academia require

you to fix yourself on one language to properly convey ideas and knowledge. I agree because not everyone is bilingual and it would be rude to exclude them from a proper, broad conversation.
Spanglish
Maybe because i'm used to it and some of my friends do the same.
Tou have to choose one language.
Puertorican culture has adopted the use of mixing both languages and it has become the norm. Outside of PR it could be considered improper
Because I fee like it's already part of Puerto Rican culture, at least it plays a big part with the newer generations.
Por quecsooo usaria el ingles para comunicarme si con personas no hsblam español
It is fine when speaking to your friends. However, when it comes to a formal speech, then it is best to stick to one language.
No por que aqui en Puerto Rico se hablan los dos idiomas
Es parte de nuestra lengua
Cada lenguaje tiene sus reglas...
Para ámbitos profesionales necesitan ambos idiomas y los combinan.
Son dos idiomas diferentes.
Cada idioma debe ser completo, único y hablarse correctamente.
Creo que los anglicismos existen en todos los idiomas, no solo en el Español y también existen fenómenos como el "code-switching" en las personas bilingües que es completamente normal.
It's becoming a norm in certain places now.
Language is constantly changing and evolving, whenever its not yet seen in most professional/government areas, a lot of local are mixing English and Spanish together due to how are we raised and exposed to our environment. If we are able to communicate successfully, disregarding the proper use of the languages, I do not see it being improper.
At times the combination can be improper. Typically it's improper when in a formal setting or exchange.
Puede confundir a la otra persona.
The main reason why many resist to learn English at times or feel bad when mixing up Spanish and English, stems up from our historical and political background with the US. Spanish is the bridge to connect to the history and Latin family, yet English is seen as the bridge to opportunity and prosperity.
Actually is just depends if you are in middle on an interview isn't look professional but otherwise I don't see the problem. I mean podemos combinar meanwhile we are speaking si la otra persona understand lo que decimos. :)
Languages are an ever-evolving form of communication. Although we learn early on and are taught that it follows a set of rules (grammar), languages can, depending on the cultural environment, develop into a mix of two languages like Spanglish (Spanish and English).
Many words were introduced to P.R. in English. Many businesses originate from the U.S. main land and are thus represented in both Spanish and English. Words like "Email" and "ping" are

commonplace, even in formal messages. Should you use spanglish in a journal? No. Can you use it converse both clearly and formally? Yes.
No considero que deba ser catalogado como propio de manera oficial o profesional. Sin embargo, pienso que es una consecuencia casi inevitable de nuestra crianza, educación, costumbres, personas que nos rodean, influencia de los medios de comunicación, entre otros. Al crecer y desarrollarse en un país en donde se encuentran y chocan más de una cultura e idioma, terminamos mezclándolos.
It dosent sound professional when combining both languages
Everyone knows some words better in english than in spanish.
Because our culture allow it.
More like sometimes, because we have learned words just in English and the meaning of them in Spanish is foreign to us like zipper (cremallera 😊)
It can be confusing for other people
Por que así nos han enseñado algunas palabras en ingles
It is part of our who we are. Part of our culture is speaking in Spanglish. It is a reflexion of who we are: a combination of Spain USA.
No tiene nada de malo combinarlos
Los anglicismos son palabras por lo que técnicamente estaría bien utilizarlos
Our spanish has “evolved” to include english words without people realizing it. A lot of puertoricans feel uncomfortable with english because either they didn’t receive good english education or they have a heavy accent and feel ashamed to speak it. Nevertheless most people understand english and even in work environments english and spanish are used interchangeably. The important thing is to communicate with efficiency and get the message across. When it’s considered improper is using “slang”.
Porque no
Pq no
En momentos de conversación profesional no se deberían combinar los idiomas porque encuentro que no se escucha, valga la redundancia, profesional. En una conversación común con cualquier amistad o familiar entiendo que no hay problema.
We are a bilingüal country and for such reason there is a high possibility to combine terms to express a certain thought.
Because is not formal or profesional.
Tenemos derecho a usar el idioma como nos parezca cómodo y al ser ciudadana americana pienso podría usarlo combinado.
Si nos entendemos, puede ser
It might come as informal or unprofessional
While it is understandable that both languages can easily be mixed, it is important to try not to mix them often, so that one can maintain fluidity in one or the other.
Because its our natural language now. Both English and Spanish
Si la palabra existe en mi lenguaje, ¿Por qué tengo que decirla en inglés? Aún así no quiero juzgar a quienes lo hacen, siendo yo una de ellos también.

Opino que es impropio, pero no limitable.
It's not improper, you can communicate effectively anyways.
because if you dont know the word on English you can say it in spanish the same goes for spanish if you dont know the word on spanish say it in English
It's not. One compliments the other for us. It can make a conversation flow easier and as long as one doesn't overwhelm the other I think combining both languages is fantastic.
It goes against the grammar rules of both languages.
Los idiomas no se deben mezclar. O es ingles o es sspañol no espanglishl.

Miami

Because it's two different languages

Spoken language is fluid

People who are learning need some form of language. Translation isn't so simple languages ate spoken differently. Thus, there needs to be some grace in English learners.

Not correct. Separate Languages

I think it's fine and not good or bad

I was raised in a Colombian household and we rarely combine both languages. I don't believe it's wrong to combine both languages, however, I rarely do especially if I am in a more formal setting

The purpose of language is to communicate. While you may have to follow some grammatical rules in order to create a coherent sentence, as long as your audience understands both languages, I don't see the problem. If anything, I think it's a gift to be fluent in both languages because your vocabulary is vast and colorful. Some things are better said in English, and others in Spanish-- words have an essence that can't always be captured in translation. Spanglish combines the two languages that most Miamians speak, therefore, it plays a large role in our culture and society. It's use is not at all improper- if anything, it is an innovative and creative form of cultural expression.

I don't personally combine them because I speak Spanish at home and my family doesn't speak English. With friends, some are not very fluent in Spanish. However, I don't see anything incorrect in using Spanglish.

It depends where you are from

It's another way to express what you are trying to say and they are both languages.

It depends on the words you are mixing, as well as the place, occasion and whoever you are talking with. Everyone understands words like 'e-mail' and most understand 'copyright' so those get more acceptance even when you are speaking Spanish. If you are speaking with someone that speaks both languages fluently then mixing phrases is not a problem either. And if you are in a formal setting then it is improper.

I think you should learn each language in its totality, and learn to write/speak it correctly before learning a second language. However, I don't think it's wrong or right to combine the two languages. Since this is something that is trending, and as long as it is not disrespectful, I don't mind speaking spanglish, or having someone speak to me in spanglish.

Spanglish is ok around friends, but not to be used professionally

Because everyone comes from different backgrounds and it's no one's place to define what is improper or proper.

Because people come from all types of different backgrounds and it's no one's place to judge others in their manner of speech.

I've lived my entire life in Miami and combining English and Spanish has become a language of its own; I've never seen anything wrong with it. Whether I forgot a word in Spanish so I say one word in English or have entire conversations with someone while switching between languages. Especially in Miami, with such a Latino presence down here, it's normal to me, it's comfortable, it's who I am.

Spanish is Spanish, English is English.

Because the other person may not understand you. It also can be confusing for some people. Keep it simple. Figure out what language the person you want to talk to prefers to speak and decide whether or not to speak the same language as said person. If both speakers can speak both languages, I suppose it is harmless but I feel like from personal experience it can be confusing if someone constantly speaks from English to Spanish. It only makes sense when you or the other speaker do not know how to say a certain word in the other language you are less familiar with, so you say the word or phrase in your native language and hope they can understand it.

Depending on the circumstances it could be deemed inappropriate, but sometimes switching back and forth is easier for expression.

Because you are combining two different languages

never really thought about it being improper

I do not think it is improper because many people grow up learning Spanish and English at the same time.

It's Spanglish, and a common "language" in Miami. I feel that it is created, accepted and understood in Miami allowing it to be so common. An adjustment to our current language pertaining to our area and demographics that live here

Speaking two languages can cause confusion

I'll speak for the majority of the Latin community in Miami when I say that for us, combining Spanish and English is something we learn since we're born. It's the way we communicate and express ourselves that adds character to our voice and honestly sometimes we just forget certain words in either language.

It is improper when writing a formal paper or email. In everyday language, especially in a culture where everyone around you understands, it can help you explain yourself better than in speaking just one language.

It depends on the circumstances of the conversation if it's just casual I don't mind combination but if it's something professional pick one language

Because it's basically slang, and people usually use slang even if they're just speaking English. However, if we'd be talking about a professional situation, I might think differently.

In some cases it is improper. It can be improper to combine English and Spanish in some professional settings. In social settings though it doesn't matter how we speak as long as the other party understands us.

Perfectly normal, especially because some expressions are very unique and not very easily translatable

it could basically be considered slang, or a different form of dialect

I grew up with family and friends who did this. It's normal for me, even I do it.

The purpose of language is to communicate effectively. If both people understand both languages, they can understand what is being communicated without issue, so the language(s) is doing its job. Also, some words in Spanish/English better represent an idea, so using the correct word is better than using a word that doesn't quite fit just to remain within the constraint of a single language, especially if both people are bilingual and can understand the nuances and subtext of a given word or phrase.

N/A

I think that combining both languages is more of an informal way of speaking to someone. In other words, I would not expect these two languages to be combined in a social setting.

I believe this really only occurs in Miami

Casually not improper but during a presentation one language should be consistent

Not grammatically correct. Outside of Miami, probably not as normal to speak like that

Language is meant to be understood

It shows that you're willing to represent your culture and I believe the more languages someone speaks the more people they become

It sounds uneducated and lazy.

While codeswitching is a valid form of communication, it contributes to the pidgin-style characteristics of a hybrid language. Learners of either English or Spanish need to hear and process complete sentences in these languages to help refine their lexicon.

As long as all the parties speak both languages, I don't see the problem. If the person you're speaking to only knows one, then yes because they'd struggle to understand.

Depends where. Combining the two is common in Miami.

I think that there is room for the fusion of languages and code-switching in all levels of society. I think it is certainly more tolerated in day-to-day communication, but I welcome a multilingual approach to things like academic writing and other professional settings.

Just like Ebonics arose from the mixing of cultures, Spanglish is the mixing of English culture and Hispanic culture.

Because Spanish and English are separate and different languages. If you're speaking one of the two languages, you should stick to either one and not combine them. To me, even though I find myself combining the two sometimes, it's still improper grammar and speech.

Speech is about communication and if you can speak both languages, particularly in a bilingual city like Miami, then you are able to communicate your ideas/message effectively.

I don't believe that combining the two languages is improper in a place like Miami. Since many people here speak both English and Spanish, it seems natural to combine the two in conversation. Sometimes, when you forget how to say a certain word in Spanish, but know the English equivalent, and know that the person you're speaking to will understand that word as well, it makes it easier to have a conversation with someone. I think that combining the two languages actually is beneficial in a lot of ways because it allows us to really enhance the way we use the two languages.

It's not professional and not everyone will understand it

