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

Attitudes towards code-switching among Puerto Rican learners of English as a second language

Emmanuel Pantoja Morán
801-09-4929

Monografía final de grado
Fecha de entrega: 16 de junio de 2018

Comité de monografía final:

Rosa Guzzardo Tamargo (directora)
Robert Dupuy Heding (lector)
Alma Simounet (lector)
Abstract

The present study analyzes the attitudes towards code-switching among Puerto Rican learners of English as a second language, by means of a matched-guise test. The participants are undergraduate students in their first academic year at the University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras campus. The study compares the learners’ attitudes towards Spanish and English, and different varieties of code-switching, specifically inter-sentential switching, intra-sentential switching, and lexical or insertional switching. The participants provided their opinions of different recordings, regarding several attributes pertaining to personality, socioeconomic status, and ethnicity or identity. The study also examined the effect of gender variables on the results, that is, the gender of the bilinguals, who served as the readers in the recordings, and the gender of the participants, who served as the raters of the recordings. When compared to the Spanish guises, the participants exhibited different attitudes towards English and code-switching. They display awareness of the linguistic situation in Puerto Rico, as well as sensitivity towards the different types of code-switching. In addition, some minor differences arise based on participant gender and reader gender, although they merit further investigation. The findings are discussed in light of previous research on language attitudes.

Keywords: code-switching, language attitudes, matched-guise test, second language learners
Attitudes towards code-switching among Puerto Rican learners of English as a second language

1. Introduction

The contact between Spanish and English in Puerto Rico has generated a great deal of debate regarding language and culture, politics, identity, and education. The status of English in relation to Spanish has been an “incessant conflict” (Pousada 1999), characterized by ambivalence and uncertainty throughout the years due to the ideals of the different political parties in power. English was introduced as part of the United States colonization agenda and has been categorized as a symbol of Americanization on the Island. (Negrón De Montilla, 1995) Fernando Picó has discussed this matter, stating that “some consumer habits and some attitudes [were] identified with the Americanization process that preceded the American invasion” (2004, p. 118). As a matter of fact, English has interacted linguistically with Puerto Rican Spanish for over a century in Puerto Rico. This continuum of linguistic coexistence has been recognized as well as a positive change of attitudes towards English over the years. In Política Lingüística: Puerto Rico, González Rivera and Ortiz López (manuscript in progress) discuss the linguistic attitude poll sponsored by the Ateneo Puertorriqueño in 1990. The results were favorable for English: 86% of the Puerto Ricans accepted the co-officiality of two languages (see Ortiz López, 2000 and Ortiz López & González Rivera, 2017 for similar results regarding research on language coexistence).

The Spanish-English contact on the Island has characterized the language repertoire in innovative ways. The fact that there is an increased interaction between the two languages, in comparison to that in other Caribbean countries, distinguishing Puerto Rican Spanish from other Caribbean Spanish varieties. Previous researchers have documented the linguistic effects of this
language contact in Puerto Rico. Some of the phenomena mentioned, include anglicisms (Cortés, Ramirez, Rivera, Viada & Fayer 2005; Huyke Freiría, 1974, 1978; López Morales 1973, 1987; Morales, 2001), calques (Morales, 1998), loanwords (Rodríguez, 1996; Schorer, 1953) and code-switching (Guzzardo Tamargo & Vélez Avilés, 2017; Pérez-Casas, 2016; Pousada, 1994, 2002; Zentella, 1990). The present study focuses on code-switching (CS), one of the most remarkable contact phenomena that has been widely examined from different theoretical perspectives for more than three decades. The term originated in 1953 when Uriel Weinreich set the bases for CS in his renowned work, *Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems*. However, it was not until Hans Vogh published *Language Contacts* in 1954 that the term code-switching was first cited in his article, considered a pioneer in the field of linguistics (Chad Nilep, 2006). Bullock and Toribio (2012) define CS as the effortless alternating use of two languages in the same stretch of discourse by bilingual speakers. This ability to code-switch has been studied to determine how linguistic elements from both languages are combined (Poplack, 1980), to propose a ruled-governed grammar (D’Introno, Fiallo, Ram & Sicilia, 1991; Lipski, 1978; Sankoff & Poplack, 1981; Timm, 1975), and to discuss discursive motivations (Myers-Scotton, 1993), as well as its socio-pragmatic factors (Montes-Alcalá, 2016; Zentella, 1997).

Language varieties in a speech community, as Hymes defined it in 1972, may receive valuation or devaluations from the point of view of its members. These are represented in beliefs, behaviors, judgments, and prejudices towards the language variety or the speakers of those varieties. CS may constitute a language variety or phenomenon that is confronted by the linguistic attitudes of individuals. Puerto Rican code-switchers are not the exception: they generate certain attitudes towards this bilingual practice, as seen on the part of other monolingual or bilingual speakers in Puerto Rico. Although this phenomenon has been examined for half a
2.1. Perceptions towards English in the Puerto Rican college classroom

Garcés-Valencia (2004) studied the beliefs of a group of university students towards their English teaching-learning process. The researcher found that CS in the English classroom was one of the main problems for the students: “it was excessive or out of place” (p. 60). However, Sostre-Rodríguez (2006) investigated how first-generation college students in Puerto Rico approached English. The author noticed that different groups of students used both languages—English and Spanish—to understand and complete L2 academic tasks. Furthermore, Sostre-Rodríguez found no evidence of English language devaluations; on the contrary, she promptly highlighted a sense of language appropriation from the participants: “…they refer to the importance of learning and using English, thus seeing the valorization of English as an important cognitive tool, without demeaning the Spanish language” (2006, p. 14).

Domínguez-Rosado (2012) also researched the beliefs and attitudes of two groups of college students enrolled in English courses. She noted that almost all the students enrolled in basic English college courses had studied in the public education system. In addition, she pointed out that this group obtained lower scores on the college entrance examination and reflected a lower percentage of acceptance towards English as a “language they speak”. The researcher observed that students who have attended private schools have different language experiences in which “English is given more importance” (p. 8). However, the researcher perceived a change in progress reflected by the participants’ attitudes toward English: “They appear to be open-minded about the changeability of the world and the permeability of boundaries related to language… and there is apparently room in their lives for more than one language” (p. 9).

English in Puerto Rico has undergone inordinate stages of both resistance and acceptance, as many Puerto Ricans have considered the ideology that learning English on the
Island, an imposed language, means to be an anti-patriotic citizen or a gesture of lacking Puerto Ricanness. In her ethnographic field notes, Mazak (2012) asserted this issue of language and identity with a conversation between two eighth-graders, Migdaly and Pedro. For one of the participants, her linguistic attitudes of discomfort and resistance resided on ethnicity: “For Migdaly, Pedro was betraying his ethnic identity as a Puerto Rican by speaking English, and deserved to be reprimanded for it” (p. 43). Nevertheless, language resistance over the years has less to do with these types of ideologies, such as pairing English to statehood (Guzzardo Tamargo, Loureiro-Rodríguez, Acar & Vélez Avilés, in press). Instead, there is an undeniable reality that the teaching of English in Puerto Rico’s public education system has been facing: “[b]ilingualism has long been a stated goal of the public-school system, yet for the most part; this goal has not been realized” (Pousada, 2000, p. 104).

On one hand, Pousada emphasized the lack of language policy that has led to a continuous crisis of the public school system in developing competent bilinguals. On the other hand, the author acknowledged the existence of English speakers in the University of Puerto Rico, and her study was focused on a qualitative research, interviewing 30 participants, among which 29 considered themselves bilinguals. Opinions regarding CS were generally favorable, as participants reported the daily use of CS and the majority described it as natural, comfortable, or even fun, but between bilinguals. However, they also referred to CS as inappropriate in certain social interactions, in which avoiding the bilingual practice was the only option.

Mazak & Herbas-Donoso (2014) investigated translanguaging (i.e., a set of practices that includes any activity that draws on an individual’s linguistic and semiotic repertoires, including but not limited to CS, Mazak & Carroll, 2016) and language ideologies by means of classroom observations and interviews at the Mayagüez Campus of the University of Puerto Rico (UPRM).
They described the practices of English teaching and the role of English and Spanish in an institution lacking an official language instruction policy. They observed instances of three types of classroom translinguaging practices which coexisted at UPRM. The first one was the use of key scientific or specialized terms in English, while delivering a course in Spanish. Second, they documented the use of both languages in presentations, slides or course materials. Finally, the researchers described a common and very popular practice that takes place in college science courses, that is, the texts in English, talk-around-text in Spanish.

Mazak & Herbas-Donoso interviewed science professors and inquired about their teaching methodologies, English ideologies as a language of science, and its importance in college. The researchers discussed the fact that, even though some professors considered English important for many reasons, they decided to deliver their courses in Spanish. The authors highlighted the socio-cultural context in which Puerto Rican students (with different English proficiencies) are admitted to college institutions. They found that classes were mostly offered in Spanish as the medium of instruction, while the course materials and textbooks used in these courses were mainly written in English.

2.2. Attitudinal studies on code-switching with an indirect method of data collection

Numerous studies have employed the matched-guise test to examine language attitudes, ever since the technique was first described by Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner & Fillenbaum in 1960. The matched-guise test was developed by Lambert et al. as an indirect method of eliciting language attitudes, and it was used by them to uncover attitudes towards English and French in Quebec, Montreal. (see De La Zerda Flores & Hopper, 1975 for a study of spoken English and Spanish varieties using this technique). The researchers recorded a series of guises with different linguistic speech varieties produced by the same speakers. The participants served as raters: they
listened to the recordings without knowing that the same speakers had recorded more than one of the guises. This technique allows researchers to indirectly reveal covert language attitudes on the part of the participants.

Since Lambert et al.’s pioneering study, many researchers have used this indirect method to examine language attitudes and behaviors towards CS. For instance, Pieras-Guasp (2002) studied attitudes among secondary bilingual students towards Catalan and Spanish in Mallorca, Spain. The participants displayed favorable attitudes towards Catalan, but only for instrumental purposes (e.g., skills, jobs opportunities). Nevertheless, students rated Spanish higher in terms of status, while Catalan speakers received higher values on solidarity attributes. Importantly, the participants’ attitudes provided with a direct measure of data collection were not the same as those attitudes provided with the matched-guise test. Therefore, this study promotes the need to use different methods of data collection to examine language attitudes in a diglossic context such as the Balearic Islands.

Anderson and Toribio (2007) studied the non-linguist awareness behind Spanish-English CS regarding the grammaticality of written short stories. They observed that CS in written form represented a limitation, in methodological terms (p. 95). Therefore, four short story texts were recorded, and two recordings were created for each text: a version with ungrammatical switches (based on different CS constraints proposed by previous researchers) and a version with grammatical switches. In addition to the matched-guise test, the participants were asked to provide language history information, including their level of English proficiency. This study presented three factors that affect the valorizations of CS: identity, familiarity with the text (short story), and the gender of the readers who code-switch (2016, p. 160).
Loureiro-Rodríguez (2008) studied adolescents’ attitudes towards Spanish and standard and dialectal Galician. Loureiro-Rodríguez discussed the traditional stigma attached to Galician, as it is linked to rural, lower class speakers, in contrast to Spanish, which is considered a higher variety spoken in urban areas. The researcher complemented the matched-guise test with quantitative data provided by questionnaires and surveys. The findings showed that, regardless of the location, Spanish occupies a position of prestige. On the contrary, while standard Galician is considered a language that provides opportunities, and a refined variety in the city, the Galician dialect is viewed as “authentic Galician” and receives a high value, but only as a local variety in the villages. In the context of Mexican Spanish heritage, Rangel, Loureiro-Rodríguez, and Moyna (2015) explored language attitudes towards English, Spanish, and CS in Laredo and Edinburg, two cities located between the Texas-Mexican border. The matched-guise test was used to contrast three attributes: solidarity, status, and personal appeal. The ratings attributed to CS were lower than those attributed to Spanish and English over all three attributes. The researchers pointed out that Spanish enjoys a position of prestige over the CS varieties and English in both bilingual cities.

In Puerto Rico, Guzzardo Tamargo, Loureiro-Rodríguez, Acar, and Vélez Avilés (in press) have administered a matched-guise test to elicit bilinguals’ attitudes towards monolingual and CS varieties. One hundred and ten participants between the ages of 18 and 30 completed the experimental session at the Río Piedras Campus of the University of Puerto Rico (UPRRP). The text that was used for the guise recordings was piloted by a group of bilingual speakers and was adjusted accordingly based on their suggestions. The feedback provided by the Puerto Rican bilinguals in the pilot study also helped to elaborate a group of attributes pertaining to three types. Consequently, a questionnaire was carried out containing fifteen traits related to
personality, socioeconomic status, and ethnicity/identity. The authors of the study created 20 guise recordings for five different types of speech (Spanish, English, and three types of CS).

Regarding the results, the bilingual participants in this study displayed some recurrent attitudes, similar to those displayed in earlier studies conducted in Puerto Rico. For instance, they showed some negative opinions (association with being conceited and less cultured) towards English and CS, versus Spanish. The Puerto Rican bilinguals also exhibited an awareness of the linguistic situation in Puerto Rico. They tended to link English and CS with the metropolitan area, higher social classes, private schooling, and the pro-statehood movement. However, the inclusion of CS in this study allowed the researchers to observe that the bilinguals distinguish between this practice and English. When providing ratings for traits, such as belonging to rural areas, having attended private schooling, and being white, the participants ratings for CS always fell between their ratings for Spanish and English, therefore, indirectly displaying the possibility that CS is expanding to other sectors of society, in addition to those documented in previous work. Moreover, the results of this study evidence the participants’ awareness of the relationship between CS and bilingual proficiency: they were more likely to judge the readers as bilinguals when they used inter- and intra-sentential CS. Additionally, they displayed sensitivity towards the different types of CS: insertional and intra-sentential CS was more closely associated with youth, and intra-sentential CS with Nuyoricans. Finally, the findings in this study coincide with other recent studies in Puerto Rico, which document Puerto Ricans’ conception of their identity as being dynamic, fluid, and changing (Clachar, 2007; Domínguez-Rosado, 2015; Mazak, 2012). Once again, the ratings for CS fell between those for Spanish and English, when the participants were judging the readers as “true Puerto Ricans”, thus, hinting at the possibility of including CS as part of Puerto Ricans’ identity markers.
3. The present study: Research questions and predictions

Although language attitudes towards CS have been examined in Puerto Rico, there are still many important avenues of research that must be addressed. Up to the present, the participants included in studies that focus on CS have been very balanced bilinguals (i.e., individuals whose competence in both languages is well developed enough to use the languages for different purposes, contexts, and types of interlocutors, Baker, 2003), with high levels of proficiency in both Spanish and English. However, the attitudes of Puerto Ricans with different levels of English proficiency has yet to be examined. It is quite possible that the attitudes towards CS displayed by less balanced bilinguals will differ from those of more balanced bilinguals. With this idea in mind, the following questions are examined in this study:

1. When compared with Spanish and English, what language attitudes towards CS are elicited among Puerto Rican learners of English as a L2 by means of the matched-guise test? Are they positive or negative attitudes?

2. Do Puerto Rican learners of English as a L2 display different attitudes towards different types of CS?

3. Does the gender of the participants influence their attitudes towards CS?

4. Does the gender of the reader influence the participants’ attitudes towards CS?

Based on the research questions, the following predictions are formulated:

1. Younger generations tend to initiate linguistic innovations; however, CS varieties will elicit less favorable attitudes in comparison with the monolingual varieties.

2. Participants will display more favorable attitudes towards inter-sentential and intra-sentential varieties of CS than towards lexical or insertional switching.
3. Male participants will exhibit more favorable attitudes towards the monolingual varieties, while female participants will show more favorable attitudes towards the CS varieties.

4. The gender of the reader will not be a significant factor influencing attitudes towards CS.

4. Methodology

This study was evaluated and approved (approval #1718-074) by the Institutional Review Board at UPRRP, known as the Comité Institucional para la Protección de los Seres Humanos en la Investigación (CIPSHI).

4.1. Participants

Participant recruitment took place by means of flyers describing the study that were posted on bulletin boards in the College of General Studies. They were also distributed at the Domingo Marrero Navarro (DMN) building, where the students took their courses. The students who were interested in participating contacted the researcher through email or phone, and scheduled appointments for the experimental sessions. Participation in the study was voluntary. Twenty-nine undergraduate students, 16 females and 13 males, between the ages of 18 and 19 took part in this study. This group of participants belonged to low-income households and, upon starting college, they comprised first-generation college students. They were enrolled as freshmen in the second semester of their first undergraduate year at the University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras Campus (UPRRP). They were also members of the Student Support Services (SSS) at UPRRP. Eighty percent of them were students living in the metropolitan area; none of them had left Puerto Rico for more than one month. Most of the participants considered Spanish as the language that they used on a daily basis, but they were taking English courses in the College of General Studies at UPRRP at the time of the study. The main characteristics of the participants can be seen in Table 1.
Table 1. Participant characteristics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Females (n=16)</th>
<th>Males (n=13)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mean age</td>
<td>18.4 (18-19)</td>
<td>18.5 (18-19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-ratings for Spanish proficiency</td>
<td>8.9 (5-10)</td>
<td>8.8 (4.5-10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-ratings for English proficiency</td>
<td>6.9 (4.75-10)</td>
<td>6.6 (2.25-10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocabulary test score in Spanish</td>
<td>23 (18-28)</td>
<td>22 (17-29)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocabulary test score in English</td>
<td>11 (5-20)</td>
<td>11 (5-22)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grammar test score in Spanish</td>
<td>39 (34-45)</td>
<td>38 (24-44)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grammar test score in English</td>
<td>24 (9-36)</td>
<td>24 (13-36)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CS frequency in oral expression</td>
<td>1 always, 2 almost always, 8 sometimes, 5 very few times</td>
<td>1 always, 1 almost always, 3 sometimes, 8 very few times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CS frequency in written expression</td>
<td>2 almost always, 4 sometimes, 8 very few times, 2 never</td>
<td>4 sometimes, 5 very few times, 4 never</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As displayed in Table 1, there were no statistically significant differences between the female and male participants with respect to age ($t = 0.861$, $df = 27$, $p = 0.397$). Both the female and the male participants gave themselves higher self-ratings in Spanish than in English. They also obtained higher scores in a vocabulary naming test and a grammar test in Spanish versus the same tests in English (these tests are described below). Therefore, based on the self-ratings and the scores presented in Table 1, Spanish was the dominant language of these participants. After comparing the results for the Spanish and the English proficiency measures, the participants appear to have an intermediate proficiency of their L2-English.

Independent-samples $t$-tests were conducted in order to discover if there were statistically significant differences between the language proficiency of the female and male participants. The results exhibited non-significant differences for all language proficiency measures; thus, the female and the male participants in this study had similar language abilities in Spanish and English (Spanish vocabulary naming test: $t = 0.311$, $df = 27$, $p = 0.758$; English vocabulary naming test: $t = 0.550$, $df = 27$, $p = 0.587$; Spanish grammar test: $t = 1.973$, $df = 27$, $p = 0.059$; English grammar test: $t = 0.424$, $df = 27$, $p = 0.675$; Spanish self-ratings: $t = 0.674$, $df = 27$, $p =$
0.506; English self-ratings: \( t = 1.790, df = 27, p = 0.085 \). In addition, paired-samples \( t \)-tests were conducted to see if, within the female group and within the male group, there were statistically significant differences between their Spanish and their English proficiency. As expected for second language learners, the results for both the female and the male group displayed significant differences between their Spanish and their English proficiency (females - self-ratings: \( t = 9.876, df = 15, p < 0.001 \); vocabulary naming tests: \( t = 6.668, df = 15, p < 0.001 \); grammar tests: \( t = 2.861, df = 15, p = 0.012 \) / males - self-ratings: \( t = 8.713, df = 12, p < 0.001 \); vocabulary naming tests: \( t = 5.161, df = 12, p < 0.001 \); grammar tests: \( t = 3.425, df = 12, p = 0.005 \)). Table 1 also provides some information on the frequency with which the participants reported engaging in CS. In the cases of both participant groups, it is evident that most of them code-switched rather infrequently, and they tended to code-switch even less in writing than they did in speech. The measures of language proficiency mentioned in Table 1 are further described in section 4.2.1, as part of the materials used in this study.

4.1.1. Students belonging to the Student Support Services (SSS) at UPRRP

The SSS provides services for at least 400 low-income and first-generation students enrolled at UPRRP. Priority is given to students with low proficiency in Mathematics, Spanish, or English. The majority of these come from the Puerto Rican public school system. Their admission is determined by their achievement scores on the College Evaluation and Admission Exam (CEEB) administered by the College Board. In Puerto Rico, this test constitutes one of the admission requirements for study in any postsecondary institution, as well as the Grade Point Average (GPA). One of the primary goals of the SSS at UPRRP is to provide adequate academic counseling to approximately 400 students from disadvantaged backgrounds. The SSS keeps track of these students during each academic session in order to help them obtain a bachelor’s degree
in a period of no more than six academic years. Last year (2017), the students who took part in this study were enrolled in a Summer Bridge Program at UPRRP. This program offered them the opportunity to experience university life and each year the SSS invites pre-candidates to participate in the four-week program, to help them transition into college academic life at UPRRP. The program provides technology courses, an introduction to university life, and academic and cultural activities. The participants meet with professors, advisors, and other freshmen. They also benefit from having access to counselors and peer mentors, and they experience a preview of the general courses that they will take during their first years of college.

4.2. Materials

The materials used in this study are the same as those used in Guzzardo Tamargo et al.'s (in press) study. This was purposefully planned in order to facilitate a direct comparison of the results obtained in this study with those obtained in theirs.

4.2.1. Measures of language proficiency

Three measures of language proficiency were used in this study. The first consisted of a language history questionnaire, created with Google Forms. The questionnaire included closed- and open-ended questions regarding demographic characteristics, as well as information about the participants' language acquisition, use, and exposure. Additionally, the participants were asked to provide self-ratings of their English and Spanish language proficiency. Moreover, several questions required the participants to describe their CS practices. The second measure was a vocabulary test known as the Boston Naming Test (BNT, Kaplan, Goodglass, & Weintraub, 1983), which comprises 60 white and black line images individually displayed on a computer screen, 30 of which are to be named in Spanish and 30, in English. The third measure of language proficiency comprised grammar tests in Spanish and English. The Spanish test is
Nivel Superior C2 test created by Diplomas de Español como Lengua Extranjera (DELE, http://diplomas.cervantes.es/en), and the English test is the Michigan English Language Institute College Entrance Test (MELICET, http://www.michigan-proficiency-exams.com/melicet.html). Each test includes 50 multiple-choice questions that assess grammar, vocabulary, and reading comprehension of sentences and short paragraphs. Both tests were completed by the participants using Google Forms.

4.2.2. Matched-guise test

The matched-guise test included guise recordings based on a text. The text used to prepare the guise recordings was modified from an email message written by a Puerto Rican bilingual and addressed to a group of Puerto Ricans. The modified text was used to create five versions: (1) unilingual Spanish, (2) unilingual English, (3) Spanish with some English lexical insertions, (4) inter-sentential CS (i.e., switching between Spanish and English at sentence boundaries), and (5) intra-sentential CS (i.e., switching between Spanish and English within sentence boundaries). The five versions of the text were reviewed, in a pilot study, by ten bilingual Puerto Rican young adults, who provided their opinions on the language used and the way the switches were carried out. The final versions of the text used in the study incorporated the suggestions made by the ten pilot bilinguals. The five versions of the text are displayed in Table 2.

Table 2. Five versions of the text used for the guise recordings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language version</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>Muchos de ustedes me han preguntado sobre las prácticas de voleibol de esta temporada porque tienen que cuadrar sus horarios. Algunos ya me mandaron sugerencias. Los martes a las 6:30 pm suena bien. Si hay suficiente gente interesada en jugar, quizás podemos empezar mañana. ¿Qué piensan? Podríamos jugar en el complejo deportivo. Ese sitio tiene tres canchas de voleibol que están disponibles casi todo el tiempo. Como dirían los comentaristas de la Federación Puertorriqueña de Voleibol, este año en la Liga, el equipo de los Tiburones va a arrasar.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Many of you have asked me about the volleyball practices for this season because you need to set your schedules. Some of you already sent me suggestions. Tuesdays at 6:30 pm sounds good. If there are enough people interested in playing, maybe we can start tomorrow. ¿What do you think? We could play in the sports complex. That place has three volleyball courts that are available most of the time. As the commentators of the Puerto Rican Volleyball Federation would say, this year in the League, the Sharks team is going to kill.

Many of you have asked me about the volleyball practices for this season because you need to set your schedules. Some of you already sent me suggestions. Tuesdays at 6:30 pm sounds good. If there are enough people interested in playing, maybe we can start tomorrow. ¿What do you think? We could play in the sports complex. That place has three volleyball courts that are available most of the time. As the commentators of the Puerto Rican Volleyball Federation would say, this year in the League, the Sharks team is going to kill.

Muchos de ustedes me han preguntado sobre las prácticas de voleibol de este temporada porque tienen que ajustar sus horarios. Algunos ya me mandaron sugerencias. Tuesdays a las 6:30 pm suena bien. Si hay suficiente gente interesada en jugar, maybe podemos empezar mañana. ¿Qué piensan? Podríamos jugar en el complejo deportivo. Ese sitio tiene tres canchas de voleibol que están disponibles casi todo el tiempo. Como dirían los comentaristas de la Federación Puertorriqueña de Voleibol, este año en la Liga, el equipo de los Sharks va a arrasar.

Muchos de ustedes me han preguntado sobre las prácticas de voleibol de esta temporada porque tienen que ajustar sus horarios. Algunos ya me mandaron sugerencias. Tuesdays at 6:30 pm sounds good. If there are enough people interested in playing, maybe we can start tomorrow. ¿Qué piensan? We could play in the sports complex. That place has three volleyball courts that are available most of the time. As the commentators of the Puerto Rican Volleyball Federation would say, this year in the League, the Sharks team is going to kill.

Muchos de ustedes me han preguntado sobre las prácticas de voleibol de esta temporada porque tienen que ajustar sus horarios. Algunos ya me mandaron sugerencias. Tuesdays at 6:30 pm suena bien. If there are enough people interested in playing, maybe we can start tomorrow. ¿Qué piensan? We could play in the sports complex. That place has three volleyball courts that are available most of the time. As the commentators of the Puerto Rican Volleyball Federation would say, this year in the League, the Sharks team is going to kill.

*Spanish words are displayed in italics for ease of exposure.*

The matched-guise test comprised 20 guise recordings created by four readers, two male and two female Puerto Rican bilinguals (mean age 24.8 [22-28]) with native pronunciation of both Spanish and English. Each guise recording lasted approximately 25 seconds. A questionnaire was prepared in Spanish with Google Forms, and it was used for the participants to provide their opinions on the recordings that they listened to. The questionnaire allowed participants to give their opinions on four personality traits (young, geek, conceited, kind), six socio-economic status traits (high socio-economic class, low socio-economic class, from the countryside, from the city, cultured, educated in private school), and five ethnicity/identity traits: bilingual, white, true Puerto Rican, estadista (term used to refer to a person who endorses PR for admission as the 51st U.S. state), and Nuyorican (portmanteau term comprised of ‘New York’
and ‘Puerto Rican’ that refers to the members of the Puerto Rican diaspora in or around New York City. By means of a four-point Likert scale (a psychometric scale, frequently used in survey research, that allows individuals to express how much they agree or disagree with a particular statement), the participants stated how strongly they believed that each guise recording corresponded with each trait. The participants chose between four alternatives for each trait: (1) ‘strongly disagree,’ (2) ‘disagree,’ (3) ‘agree,’ and (4) ‘strongly agree’.

4.3. Procedure

The data were collected in the Linguistic Laboratory of the College of Humanities at UPRRP between the dates of April 17, 2018 and June 1, 2018. The participants completed two experimental sessions at the Linguistic Lab, on two separate days. The first session lasted one hour and a half. During this session, the participants revised and signed the printed consent form, and they completed one task: the matched-guise test. Each participant was instructed to listen to the recordings of different people and to provide their opinions based on the way that each person spoke. Noise-isolating headphones (Audio-Technica BPHS1 Broadcast Stereo Headset) were used, and participants listened to each of the 20 recordings and filled out the questionnaire. Order effects were avoided by counterbalancing the presentation order of the recordings among participants and by ensuring that they not listen to two recordings by the same reader or of the same speech variety in a row. The second session lasted approximately one hour, but this varied depending on each student’s ability to complete the language proficiency measures. During this session, the participants were asked to complete the language history questionnaire, the BNT vocabulary naming test and the DELE and MELICET grammar tests. During the vocabulary naming test, the participants’ voices were recorded with a Marantz Professional PMD660 Solid State Recorder.
5. Results

The results for each of the three types of attributes examined in the study—personality, socio-economic status, and ethnicity/identity—are explained separately. In each case, the results pertaining to the male participants are discussed first, followed by those belonging to the female participants. A common finding that can be highlighted from the results is the tendency exhibited by the participants to provide low ratings. In general, the participants were inclined to disagree with the attributes used in the questionnaire. Tables 3-8 include mean ratings that approximate ratings of 2 or that are lower than 2 (from a 4-point scale in which 1 represented “strong disagreement” and 4 denoted “strong agreement”). In the following descriptions of the results, the Spanish guise recordings are always taken as a baseline against which the English and CS guise recordings are compared, given that Spanish is the dominant language of the participants, as well as that of the Puerto Rican speech community, in general.

5.1. Personality attributes

The mean ratings provided by the male participants for each of the personality attributes are displayed in Table 3. They are divided by reader gender and by speech type.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personality traits</th>
<th>Male readers</th>
<th>Female readers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Span</td>
<td>Eng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>young</td>
<td>1.88</td>
<td>1.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kind</td>
<td>1.42</td>
<td>1.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conceited</td>
<td>0.92</td>
<td>0.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geek</td>
<td>0.92</td>
<td>1.54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With respect to youth, the male participants considered the male readers younger when they used English or CS than when they used Spanish. However, they considered the female readers older when they used those speech types. Regarding kindness, the male readers were considered more kind when they used English and CS—particularly with intra-sentential CS—, but the female
readers were considered less kind when they used those speech types. Following the same pattern, the male readers were viewed as being less conceited with English and CS, but the female readers were viewed as being more conceited with these speech types. Both the male and the female readers were more likely to be considered geeks when they used English and CS. The only exception arose with the female readers, who were considered less geeky when they used lexical or insertional CS.

Table 4 exhibits the mean ratings that the female participants gave each of the personality traits, divided by reader gender and speech type.

Table 4. Female participants’ mean ratings of personality attributes by reader gender and by speech type

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personality traits</th>
<th>Male readers</th>
<th>Female readers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Span</td>
<td>Eng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>young</td>
<td>1.91</td>
<td>1.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kind</td>
<td>1.84</td>
<td>1.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conceited</td>
<td>0.44</td>
<td>0.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geek</td>
<td>0.94</td>
<td>1.47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When they listened to male voices, the female participants linked youth more with two types of CS: lexical or insertional CS and intra-sentential CS. With female voices, English and all three types of CS were associated with youth. Male readers were considered to be more kind when they used inter-sentential CS; this was also the case with female readers, but, in this case, intra-sentential CS was also more linked to kindness. Finally, both male and female readers were more likely to be considered conceited and geeky when they used English or CS.

5.2. Socio-economic attributes

The mean ratings that the male participants offered for the male and female readers, regarding with each of the five speech types, with respect to the socio-economic attributes, are shown in Table 5.
Table 5. Male participants’ mean ratings of socio-economic attributes by reader gender and by speech type

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personality traits</th>
<th>Male readers</th>
<th>Female readers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Span</td>
<td>Eng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low social class</td>
<td>1.15</td>
<td>0.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>high social class</td>
<td>1.12</td>
<td>1.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from metro area</td>
<td>1.50</td>
<td>2.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from countryside</td>
<td>0.85</td>
<td>0.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cultured</td>
<td>1.50</td>
<td>1.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>private schooling</td>
<td>0.77</td>
<td>1.92</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both male and female readers were less associated by the male participants with lower social classes when they used English and CS. They were, correspondingly, more closely associated with higher social classes when they used English and CS versus when they used Spanish. In a similar way, both male and female readers who used English and CS were more strongly associated with the metropolitan area of Puerto Rico, and less associated with the countryside of the Island. When male and female readers used English, they were more likely to be considered cultured versus when they used Spanish. There was also a tendency to consider the male and female readers as less cultured when they used CS, particularly lexical or insertional CS. For both male and female readers, the use of English and CS was strongly more associated with private schooling than Spanish.

Table 6 presents the female participants’ mean ratings for the six socio-economic attributes, divided by reader gender and speech type.

Table 6. Female participants’ mean ratings of socio-economic attributes by reader gender and by speech type

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personality traits</th>
<th>Male readers</th>
<th>Female readers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Span</td>
<td>Eng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low social class</td>
<td>0.78</td>
<td>0.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>high social class</td>
<td>0.78</td>
<td>1.50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The female participants associated English and CS less with low social classes, but only when they were used by the female readers. With male readers, the ratings provided by the female participants were not well defined: Spanish, English and intra-sentential CS were equally associated with low social classes; lexical or insertional CS were less associated with low social classes; and inter-sentential CS was more associated with low social classes. However, when examining the ratings pertaining to high social classes, it is evident that the female participants, like the male participants, more readily linked English and CS to the higher echelons of society. Both male and female readers were more associated to the metropolitan area, especially when they used lexical or insertional CS and intra-sentential CS. In turn, both male and female readers were less likely to be considered as originating from the countryside when they used these speech types. The female participants considered male and female readers who used lexical or insertional CS to be less cultured than those who used Spanish; nonetheless, if they used English or other types of CS, the readers were considered to be slightly more cultured. Finally, both male and female readers were more likely to be linked to private schooling when they used English and CS.

5.3. Ethnicity/identity attributes

Table 7 displays the mean ratings that the male participants provided with respect to the ethnicity/identity attributes for male and female readers and for the five speech types.
Table 7. Male participants’ mean ratings of ethnicity/identity attributes by reader gender and by speech type

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personality traits</th>
<th>Male readers</th>
<th>Female readers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Span Eng LexCS InterCS IntraCS</td>
<td>Span Eng LexCS InterCS IntraCS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bilingual</td>
<td>0.27 0.88 1.69 2.23 2.19</td>
<td>0.62 0.96 1.88 2.19 2.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>white</td>
<td>1.54 1.92 1.23 1.38 1.31</td>
<td>1.73 2.04 1.85 1.69 1.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>estadista</td>
<td>0.23 1.54 0.69 0.85 0.96</td>
<td>0.35 0.92 0.77 0.73 0.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuyorican</td>
<td>0.04 0.77 1.08 0.96 1.46</td>
<td>0 0.77 0.77 0.73 1.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>true Puerto Rican</td>
<td>2.69 0.31 2.12 2.04 1.65</td>
<td>2.42 0.65 2.00 2.15 1.77</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The male participants were more likely to link the male and female readers to bilingualism when they used English and CS, particularly when they used inter- and intra-sentential CS. Although compared to Spanish, there was clearly a stronger association between speaking English and being white, the case was less evident when CS was used. Male readers were less linked to being white when they used CS, but female readers were only less linked to being white when they used inter-sentential CS. For both male and female readers, being estadista, that is, supporting the pro-statehood political party, was more strongly associated with speaking English and using diverse types of CS. For both male and female readers, Spanish was not at all associated with being Nuyorican by the male participants. Using English and CS increased the odds of being considered Nuyorican; this was especially true when intra-sentential CS was used. With respect to being a true Puerto Rican or a puertorriqueño de pura cepa, for both male and female readers, Spanish was undoubtedly the speech type that was most strongly associated with this attribute, while English was the speech type that was least associated with Puerto Rican identity. The three types of CS, although less associated than Spanish with being a true Puerto Rican, received mean ratings that were not very distant from this speech type.

The female participants’ mean ratings pertaining to the ethnicity/identity attributes, divided by reader gender and by speech type are found in Table 8.
Table 8. Female participants’ mean ratings of ethnicity/identity attributes by reader gender and by speech type

| Personality traits | Male readers | | | | Female readers | | | |
|-------------------|--------------|---|---|---|--------------|---|---|---|---|
|                   | Span | Eng | LexCS | InterCS | IntraCS | Span | Eng | LexCS | InterCS | IntraCS |
| bilingual         | 0.84 | 2.19 | 2.44 | 2.53 | 2.50 | 0.84 | 1.81 | 2.50 | 2.62 | 2.63 |
| white             | 1.56 | 1.75 | 1.66 | 1.66 | 1.66 | 1.78 | 1.91 | 1.97 | 1.88 | 2.00 |
| estadista         | 0.41 | 1.09 | 0.81 | 0.66 | 0.63 | 0.34 | 0.66 | 0.81 | 0.66 | 0.97 |
| Nuyorican         | 0.25 | 1.03 | 0.91 | 0.75 | 1.06 | 0.28 | 0.84 | 0.84 | 0.53 | 1.13 |
| true Puerto Rican | 2.56 | 1.38 | 2.22 | 2.22 | 2.03 | 2.56 | 1.47 | 2.16 | 2.09 | 1.94 |

The female participants associated bilingualism more strongly with English and CS for both the male and the female readers. The use of English and CS was also more strongly linked with being white, in the case of male and female readers, when compared to Spanish. In addition, English and CS were more associated than Spanish with being estadista for male and female readers. As with the male participants, the female participants linked Spanish the least with being Nuyorican and they linked intra-sentential CS the most with this attribute. The female participants’ results regarding true Puerto Rican identity were also similar to the male participants’ results. Once again, although Spanish was the most strongly linked speech type to Puerto Rican identity, the three types of CS were not as distant from Spanish as English was, with respect to the mean ratings provided by the female participants.

6. Discussion

The results presented in this study display the complex and multifaceted attitudes that Puerto Rican L2 learners of English have towards the language varieties in their surrounding environment. With respect to the personality traits, on one hand, male participants tended to have more negative opinions towards female readers than they had towards the male readers, with respect to youth, kindness, conceitedness, and geekiness. Female participants, on the other hand, had similar opinions towards male and female readers: they associated youth, kindness, conceitedness, and geekiness more strongly with English and CS than with Spanish. Therefore,
with respect to the personality attributes, male and female participants display different opinions. While female participants exhibit similar attitudes towards male and female readers, male participants show different attitudes depending on reader gender. These differing results between male and female participants, and between male and female readers, were the exception. As of this moment, they remain difficult to explain. It is important to collect additional data with a larger sample in order to see if this pattern of results persists.

Moving on to the socio-economic attributes, it is evident that, for the participants in this study, English enjoys a position of prestige when compared to the others language varieties. The male and female participants coincided on most of the results pertaining to the socio-economic traits. For both groups, English and CS were more linked to the higher social classes, to the metropolitan area, and to private schooling than Spanish. For male participants, while English was more closely associated with being cultured, CS was linked to being less cultured. For female participants, English and CS were less associated with low social classes, but only with the female readers. However, the male readers received mixed results that were again difficult to explain; this aspect should be further inspected. Moreover, the female participants only associated lexical or insertional CS with being less cultured than Spanish. English, inter- and intra-sentential CS were more strongly linked to being cultured. Interestingly, these results show that the CS with the least degree of complexity elicited the most unfavorable attitudes.

Finally, with the ethnicity/identity attributes, the male and female participants provided similar results overall. In this case, all the participants’ judgments followed a similar pattern. Being bilingual, white, and estadista were generally more associated with English and CS than with Spanish. Although many of the supporters of the estadista political movement are not necessarily proficient English speakers, there continues to be a tendency to correlate the desire to
become a state with the English language. The male participants differed slightly in their opinions towards the male and female readers with respect to being white, but further research is needed to see if this result remains consistent. Being Nuyorican was strongly associated with intra-sentential CS, while being Puerto Rican was more associated with Spanish and with CS than with English. These L2 learners seem to be aware the fact that the Nuyorican population is known for using intra-sentential CS.

The participants display both some positive and some negative attitudes towards CS. For instance, CS was associated with being conceited and with being geeky, but it was also associated with being kind, with bilingualism, and with higher social classes. The first prediction is partially confirmed since the participants viewed the CS varieties as a practice related to youth, but the attitudes towards the CS varieties were both favorable and unfavorable.

The participants occasionally displayed different attitudes towards different types of CS. For instance, intra-sentential CS was more strongly associated with being Nuyorican. Lexical or insertional CS and intra-sentential CS were more associated with youth. There were other minor differences that have been discussed above, showing that these participants are sensitive to different types of CS. The second prediction regarding CS is confirmed, given that the lexical or insertional switches generated less favorable attitudes than the other language varieties.

The gender of the participants sometimes influences their attitudes towards CS, but, in most cases, the male and the female participants exhibit similar attitudes towards the different speech types. The third prediction is not confirmed because there were no significant differences between male and female participants. It was not the case that the male participants displayed more favorable attitudes towards the monolingual varieties and that female participants displayed more favorable attitudes towards the CS varieties. Rather, both the monolingual and the CS
varieties received both favorable and unfavorable attitudes, depending on the particular attribute examined.

The fourth prediction is also partially confirmed. The gender of the readers sometimes influences the participants’ attitudes towards CS, but, in most cases, the male and the female participants provide similar opinions towards the male and the female readers. The cases in which these opinions differ are hard to explain and merit further investigation. Statistical analyses should also be performed in order to see if the differences based on reader gender reach statistical significance.

7. Conclusion

This study has explored the language attitudes of Puerto Rican learners of English as a second language (L2) towards Spanish, English, and three types of Spanish-English CS: lexical or insertional, inter-sentential CS and intra-sentential CS. Indeed, CS varieties elicited both favorable and unfavorable attitudes on the part of those participants who took part in this study. In general terms, young participants elicit different attitudes towards CS. Among the 29 participants of this study, there were some diverse opinions—both favorable and unfavorable—towards the different readers. In some cases, the differences between the participants and between the readers were ambiguous, making it difficult to reach conclusive interpretations.

The final remarks that can be drawn from these results are limited to a small sample of young learners of English. The research regarding attitudes towards CS must include a larger participant sample. Consequently, further examination of diverse variables must be completed in order to enrich the statistical analysis on the results. Following the same line, no direct measures (i.e., interviews, detailed questionnaires) of language attitudes were used in this study: only the indirect measure of the matched-guise test was used. It is important to acknowledge that there
were cases in which participants provided spontaneous responses as reactions to the tasks throughout the experimental sessions, especially pertaining to the English guise recordings. For example, when some of the participants listened to the English recordings, they would give some opinions aloud. Reactions like these were not documented nor considered as part of this study’s methodology. Nonetheless, this research could definitely be enhanced by collecting data on these participant impressions.

In addition to the limitations mentioned above, there are some differences among the participants, which were not considered in this study, but should be for future studies regarding CS, given that they may influence language attitudes. For instance, some of the participants in this study tend to code-switch more than others. If participants code-switch, it is likely that their attitudes towards CS will be more positive than those of participants who do not code-switch or who code-switch less. In addition, some participants attended public schools before starting college, while others went to private schools. There were others who went to both types of school systems, who may have moved between several different types of schools—the way in which the language history questionnaire was designed did not provide the participants the opportunity to explain this. Furthermore, it is possible that those who attended private schools belong to higher social classes and may have received a more integral education in English. These facts may also have an effect on the results pertaining to the participants’ language attitudes.

In this study, due to lack of time, statistical analyses were not conducted on the results. Although some differences between the participants’ ratings seem large, statistical analyses must be conducted in order to discover if the differences are statistically significant. Time is an important factor that must be taken into consideration if a larger participant sample and more
variables are to be included in a matched-guise test of this nature. During the experimental sessions, this task was the one that took the participants the longest time to finish.

As previously mentioned, future studies should include a larger sample of participants. It would be interesting to divide the participants by their level of English proficiency and by their CS practices, that is those who code-switch more and those who code-switch less. We cannot discard the effect that other participant characteristics, such as CS practices and schooling background, may have on the participants' language attitudes. This study could also be expanded with the incorporation or adaptation of new attributes within the three types of attributes (personality, socio-economic, ethnicity/identity), by taking into account the additional information that participants provided about the readers in their questionnaire responses. Another recommendation for future studies comprises some type of control during the time that the participants listen to the guise recordings, to help eliminate any effect related to memory or distractors. Finally, a broader study that compares the results of direct and indirect methodologies of data collection regarding of language attitudes would be ideal.
References


