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**¿DÓNDE ESTÁN LOS BILINGÜES?  
LA CARTOGRAFÍA DEL IDIOMA EN PUERTO RICO<sup>1</sup>**

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ABSTRACTO

En las páginas de turismo del Internet, se describe a Puerto Rico como un territorio “bilingüe;” sin embargo, el recién llegado a la Isla descubre muy pronto que el vernáculo es sin duda ninguna el español y que los espacios sociales y físicos concedidos al inglés son circunscritos. Esta ponencia tiene como propósito la descripción de las comunidades y las redes sociogeográficas dónde se utiliza el inglés (con o sin el español).

**1.0 Introducción**

Muy buenos días. Originalmente pensaba presentar esta ponencia totalmente en español, pero tomando en cuenta el tema, decidí ofrecerla en formato bilingüe. Espero que este ejercicio no le sea ofensivo a nadie.

Con frecuencia recibo cartas electrónicas de individuos angloparlantes quienes piensan mudarse a Puerto Rico. Tienen la impresión basada en los sitios web dedicados al turismo que todos los puertorriqueños son completamente bilingües y que no tendrán ningún problema en utilizar el inglés en la Isla. Una profesora universitaria norteamericana se me quejó recientemente que había venido a enseñar inglés en un pueblo en la costa oeste, pensando que su falta de español no sería obstáculo dado que la Isla era “bilingüe.” La realidad resultó ser otra, y se encontró bastante marginalizada en

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las reuniones que casi siempre se realizan en español. Su lamento--“¿dónde están los bilingües?”-- me estimuló a escribir esta ponencia.

La clave para comprender las complejidades sociolingüísticas de la Isla es la distinción entre el bilingüismo social y el bilingüismo individual. Aún cuando se tilde a Puerto Rico de sociedad “bilingüe,” en realidad no la es. Hay individuos altamente bilingües, por supuesto, pero un poco más de 50% del pueblo declara que no sabe inglés. La cantidad que dice que sabe inglés ha ido incrementando cada decenio desde el 3.9% registrado en 1910, según Roamé Torres González (2002), pero sería una exageración hablar de una nación compuesta de bilingües. Más apto sería la caracterización que hizo Amílcar Barreto de Puerto Rico como “a sea of functionally unilingual Spanish speakers.” (2001, p. 23)

Además tenemos que preocuparnos del nivel de competencia en inglés. En el Censo del 1990, solamente el 23.6% de la población total pretendía hablar inglés “fácilmente.” En el Censo del 2000, donde las preguntas se formulan de manera distinta, solamente el 17.6% de los adultos hispanoparlantes dice que habla el inglés “muy bien.” Por otro lado, la Puerto Rico Community Survey del 2006 estima que el 95.2% de los hispanoparlantes con más de 5 años de edad emplea el español en casa y que solamente un 15.1% de ellos considera que habla el inglés “muy bien.”<sup>2</sup>

Hay una fuerte correlación entre la clase social alta y la competencia superior en inglés (Gutiérrez 2004a); sin embargo, hasta los profesionales

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<sup>2</sup>Entre el 1 de octubre y el 8 de noviembre del 1992, el Ateneo Puertorriqueño llevó a cabo una encuesta sobre el uso del idioma en Puerto Rico, utilizando el mismo método de obtener muestras que se emplea en el censo federal. Solamente el 20.6% de los participantes se consideraron bilingües, y escasamente un 25% evaluó su inglés como “bueno” o “excelente.”

quienes utilizan el idioma con bastante rectitud tienden a subestimar sus capacidades lingüísticas. Parte del problema descansa en la inseguridad lingüística y parte surge de la falta de claridad respecto a lo que es “ser bilingüe.”

No obstante, existen numerosas personas en Puerto Rico que podrían catalogarse como bilingües bajo criterios bastante estrictos. ¿Quiénes son y dónde se encuentran? Intentaré contestar la pregunta de mi colega ubicando los angloparlantes en Puerto Rico geográfica y lingüísticamente.

## **2.0 Communities of English speakers in PR**

### **2.1 Who are they?**

In what follows, I will consider four different groups: 1.) Return migrants who lived for an extended period in the U.S.; 2.) North Americans and their children; 3.) Foreigners who utilize English as a lingua franca in PR; 4.) Puerto Ricans who learned English on the island.

#### **2.1.1 Return migrants**

Because of the circular migration between Puerto Rico and the U.S., many English-proficient islanders are return migrants and were raised or spent considerable time in the States.<sup>3</sup> Return migrants constitute a significant portion of the island population. Between 1990 y 1998, according to estimates made by the Junta de Planificación, Puerto Rico received 144,528 return migrants.<sup>4</sup> In a recent survey, Jorge Duany discovered that almost 20% of the sample he

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<sup>3</sup>According to Aranda (2007), during the 1990's, 8% of island residents moved to the U.S. Of all Puerto Ricans living on the island in 2000, 6.1% were born in the U.S.

<sup>4</sup>It should be noted that the Junta's figures tend to be somewhat inflated since they are based on airport surveys and do not distinguish well between pleasure travelers and true migrants.

interviewed had lived outside Puerto Rico and returned, while another 3% had left and returned at least twice (Duany 2001).

There is considerable variability in their migratory and linguistic experiences. Some were born in Puerto Rico, left at an early age, and returned before adulthood but continue to utilize English in their homes. Often their Spanish is less than standard, and they prefer English. Others left Puerto Rico in adolescence or adulthood, spent an extended period off island, and then returned. Their Spanish skills tend to be better than those of the first group, but their English may be less native-like. Still others experienced repeated migrations and may have strong skills or may feel insecure in both languages, depending on the quality of their educational backgrounds and their parents' ability to maintain language skills within the family. A final subgroup was born in the U.S. of migrant parents and moved to Puerto Rico at some point in their childhood. Their English and Spanish abilities are much like those of the true return migrants who were born in Puerto Rico but left at an early age, although individual families may make more or less effort to maintain Spanish.

According to Duany (2001, p. 46), Puerto Ricans who engage in repeated circular migration not unexpectedly employ English with greater frequency and in more situations than those who migrate only once. Duany concludes that this pattern: "podría contribuir a erosionar la convicción, de vieja data, de que ser puertorriqueño equivale a hablar español."

Of course, social class and the educational opportunities it affords may enhance or diminish the language proficiencies of all these return migrants,

regardless of age of arrival or number of years off island. College graduates who pursue advanced degrees in the U.S. have qualitatively different linguistic and economic experiences when they return to seek employment on the island as compared with less-privileged workers.<sup>5</sup>

According to the 2000 census, nine percent of all children in Puerto Rico were born off-island, the majority in the U.S. The 1987 student census carried out by the Bilingual Education Program of the then-Department of Public Instruction identified more than 13,000 students who had entered the Puerto Rican public schools from the U.S. during the previous three years alone. In 1984, Rivera Medina calculated that at least 10% of the public school enrollment had received instruction in the States. Statistics for 2008 are not available but are surely higher given the mounting economic problems in the U.S.

With little assistance from the school system, these youngsters are expected to develop the standard Spanish skills necessary to complete their formal education, while at the same time learning the myriad of cultural details required for comfortable adaptation to local school and peer norms. Many suffer reading problems in both English and Spanish (Prewitt-Díaz & Seilhammer, 1987) and utilize non-standard language varieties which are frowned upon in both U.S. and Puerto Rican schools.

Linguistically and socially-speaking, *los bilingües* are immediately branded as problematic (Lorenzo-Hernández, 1999). Beléndez Soltero (1994:306) reports that they are “characterized as rebellious, hostile, unable to communicate in Spanish, aggressive, daring in their dress and speech, Americanized...or

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<sup>5</sup> This is an example of “brain gain” from the perspective of the island’s economy.

unintelligent". They are labeled as "los de afuera" which leaves no doubt as to their marginalization and marking as the Other. Nevertheless, these return migrants have a considerable effect upon the language ecology of the island since they bring with them new words and styles of speaking and they use English in public places.

### **2.1.2 North Americans and their children**

According to the 2006 Puerto Rico Community Survey, there are 14, 727 individuals 5 years and over in Puerto Rico who were born in the U.S. and speak only English (about 4% of the total population). Many are presumably North Americans and their children, although the figure also includes third or fourth generation Puerto Rican return migrants or descendants of other minority groups in the U.S.

North Americans are generally excluded from discussions of language on the island, which is unfortunate, since they form part of the linguistic environment. Analysis of the linguistic development of their children, who have been raised on the island and know both languages despite having often been educated in English-medium schools, would make an excellent topic for future research. The limited linguistic analysis of the language of North Americans residing in Puerto Rico has been carried out by Rose Nash (1971, 1982), who developed the term "Pringlish" to describe the incorporation of Puerto Rican Spanish lexical items into the English of "expatriate" North Americans, Paul Stevens (1981), and Linda Holliday (1995) who used Nash's framework.

### **2.1.3 Foreigners who use English as a lingua franca in PR**

The 2006 Puerto Rico Community Survey estimates that there are about 114,022 foreign-born individuals residing in Puerto Rico (2.9% of the total population). These come from a wide variety of nations, including many Latin American and Caribbean countries (particularly the Dominican Republic, Cuba, Haiti, and Colombia), as well as from Spain, France, Lebanon, and China. The great majority (106,625 or 94%) speak Spanish; however, 5,253 speak only English, and 2,144 speak languages other than Spanish. Of those who speak Spanish, 13,478 speak English “very well.” Of those who speak languages other than Spanish, 655 speak English very well. Therefore, at least 19,386 (17%) of the foreign-born are highly-proficient in English, almost the same percentage as among native-born Puerto Ricans.

### **2.1.4 Puerto Ricans who learned English on the island**

For those Puerto Ricans who have never left the island yet speak English very well, credit must go to their school programs (which may be private or public), family members (who may be teaching them at home), or peer groups (which may be heavily into English-dominant musical genres or television programs). I have repeatedly encountered students who have never left the island and have no English-speaking relatives or friends, yet speak excellent English. Their usual explanation is: “We have cable TV.” I used to discount this explanation, but I’ve recently come to believe in the effectiveness of the medium in developing language skills, primarily because of the interactive way in which

Puerto Rican families watch television, with plenty of commentaries, discussion, repetition of key phrases, etc.

It should be noted that the local elite who go to English-only schools, travel extensively in the States, and work in U.S. enterprises are often criticized for being cultural assimilationists, *piti yanquis*, or even outright *gringos*. In Puerto Rico, being too good at English can land you in trouble.

Those Puerto Ricans who are in the armed forces also develop superior English skills. The areas around the bases are locii of bilingualism. Theresa Donovan's 2004 study of the Puerto Rican National Guard (known as "the unique bilingual force") demonstrates that English is the language of all official operations, although code switching into Spanish may be heard in private conversations. Some soldiers receive basic training in the States, and that intensive exposure to spoken and written English puts them head and shoulders above most islanders. I once asked an ROTC student why English training in the military worked so well, when university English classes tended to have much less impressive results. He replied: "When someone's holding a gun and yelling at you in English, you learn pretty damn quick!"<sup>6</sup>

Now that we've gotten an idea of who the bilinguals are, let's take a look at where they are on the island.

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<sup>6</sup>However, recent information obtained from one of the English teachers in the ROTC program indicates that all may not be roses even among these students, since it appears that their dedication to learning English is rather weak at the outset, and only the more advanced students on the verge of obtaining their contracts really begin to apply themselves to acquiring the language in earnest.



## 2.2 ¿Dónde están los bilingües?

Un análisis cuidadoso del Censo del 2000 nos facilita una ubicación geográfica de los hablantes competentes del inglés en Puerto Rico.

La Tabla 1 presenta los 11 (de 78) municipios con 20% ó más de adultos que creen que hablan el inglés “muy bien.”<sup>7</sup> Podemos observar que ninguno excede el 40.2% y todos se encuentran en el este de la Isla cerca de la zona metropolitana de San Juan.<sup>8</sup>

<b>Tabla 1: Municipios con por ciento más alto de adultos que hablan inglés “muy bien” (Extrapolado del Censo 2000)</b>	
<b>Culebra</b>	<b>40.2</b>
<b>Guaynabo</b>	<b>29.9</b>
<b>Ceiba</b>	<b>29.0</b>
<b>Fajardo</b>	<b>26.5</b>
<b>San Juan</b>	<b>26.2</b>
<b>Catano</b>	<b>21.7</b>
<b>Carolina</b>	<b>21.4</b>
<b>Vieques</b>	<b>21.4</b>
<b>Dorado</b>	<b>21.1</b>
<b>Luquillo</b>	<b>20.9</b>
<b>Bayamón</b>	<b>20.6</b>

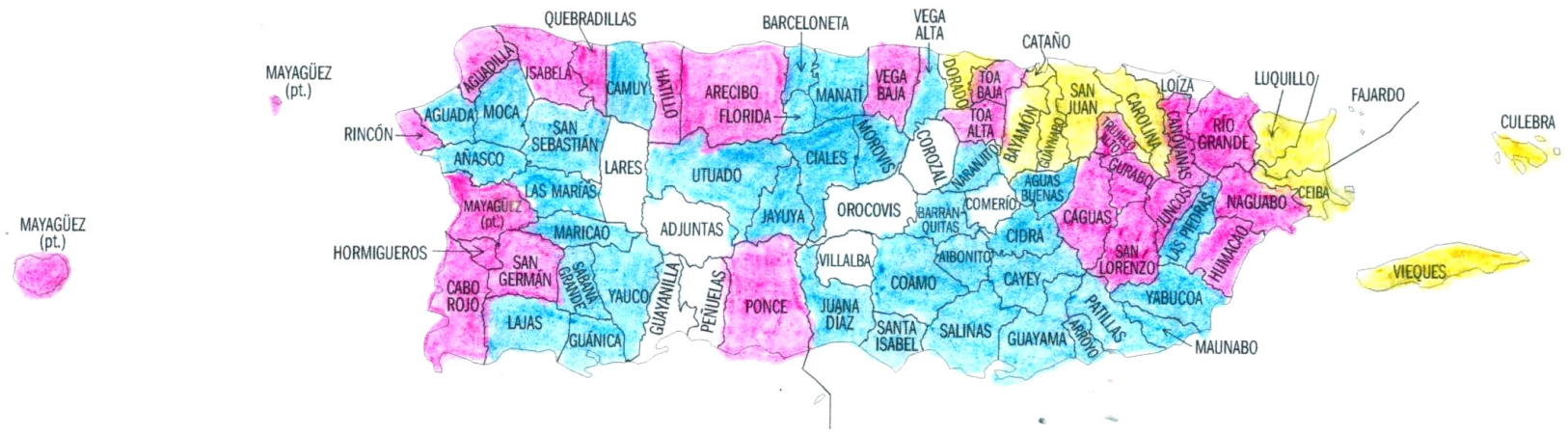
<sup>7</sup> Las cifras de esta tabla y las demás que siguen se extrapolaron de los datos del Censo que informan cuántas personas NO hablan muy bien.

<sup>8</sup> Las diferencias que se pueden observar entre esta tabla y las estadísticas que presenta Barreto en su libro surgen del hecho de que sus datos eran del Censo del 1990 y también de la diferente formulación de la pregunta respecto al idioma (i.e., hablar inglés “fácilmente” vs. hablar inglés “muy bien.”

El Mapa 1 presenta la distribución de adultos que creen que hablan el inglés “muy bien” en todos los municipios. Los municipios de color amarillo contienen los niveles más altos (20% ó más); los de violeta, entre 15% y 19.9%; los de azul, entre 10 y 14.9%; y los de blanco, menos de 10%.

Mapa 1: Municipios de Puerto Rico según el nivel de adultos que hablan inglés “muy bien”

(Extrapolado del Censo 2000)



20% ó más



10-14%



15-19%



menos de 10%



Sin embargo, el análisis por municipios no revela los muchos vecindarios diseminados por la Isla donde congregan los hablantes con competencia en inglés. La Tabla 2 demuestra los 20 barrios de Puerto Rico donde se encuentran los niveles más altos. Corren la gama desde el 81% en el barrio El Mangó en Juncos hasta el 40.2% en los barrios combinados de Culebra. Podemos observar que ahora tenemos una representación de las regiones del oeste y del sur de la Isla (por ej. Aguadilla, Añasco, Mayagüez, Sabana Grande, y Ponce).

<b>Tabla 2: Barrios de PR con niveles más alto de adultos que hablan inglés “muy bien” (Extrapolado del Censo 2000)</b>	
<b>El Mangó (Juncos)</b>	<b>81.0</b>
<b>Roosevelt Roads 1 (Ceiba)</b>	<b>78.5</b>
<b>Ponce zona urbana</b>	<b>69.3</b>
<b>Añasco zona urbana</b>	<b>68.7</b>
<b>Guayacán barrio (Ceiba)</b>	<b>66.8</b>
<b>Roosevelt Roads 2 (Ceiba)</b>	<b>66.8</b>
<b>Demajagua barrio (Fajardo)</b>	<b>54.5</b>
<b>Sabana Grande zona urbana</b>	<b>51.6</b>
<b>Juan Alonso barrio (Mayagüez)</b>	<b>47.3</b>
<b>Maleza Baja barrio (Aguadilla)</b>	<b>45.1</b>
<b>Isla de Mona barrio (Mayagüez)</b>	<b>44.1</b>
<b>Flamenco barrio (Culebra)</b>	<b>43.1</b>
<b>Cangrejo Arriba barrio (Carolina)</b>	<b>43.0</b>
<b>Carolina zona urbana</b>	<b>43.0</b>
<b>Trujillo Alto zona urbana</b>	<b>42.0</b>
<b>Culebra zona urbana</b>	<b>41.8</b>
<b>Benavente barrio (Hormigueros)</b>	<b>41.6</b>
<b>Monacillo barrio (San Juan)</b>	<b>41.0</b>
<b>San Juan zona urbana</b>	<b>41.0</b>
<b>Culebra barrios juntos</b>	<b>40.2</b>

Como se quedaron fuera ciertas áreas históricamente identificadas con hablantes competentes en inglés, expandí el análisis para incluir los barrios con niveles moderadamente altos de adultos que hablan inglés “muy bien” (entre el 38.5% y el 30.2%). En la Tabla 3, vemos que los siguientes municipios también contienen grupitos significativos de hablantes competentes en inglés: Aibonito, Canóvanas, Dorado, Guayama, Guaynabo, Humacao, Isabela, Las Marías, Luquillo, Naguabo, Rincón, San Germán, Utuado, Yauco y Vieques. Los barrios indicados en las últimas dos tablas tienden a estar ubicados en zonas turísticas, bases militares, o en áreas poblados por migrantes de retorno. El próximo paso en el análisis (que tendrá que esperar a otra conferencia) sería de preparar otro mapa indicando las comunidades de niveles altos y moderados como puntos dentro de cada municipio.

<b>Tabla 3: Barrios de PR con niveles moderados de adultos que hablan inglés “muy bien” (Extrapolado del Censo 2000)</b>	
<b>Freile barrio (Culebra)</b>	<b>38.5</b>
<b>Santiago y Lima barrio (Naguabo)</b>	<b>37.3</b>
<b>Guaynabo zona urbana 3</b>	<b>37.3</b>
<b>Hato Rey Sur (San Juan)</b>	<b>36.9</b>
<b>Pueblo Viejo barrio (Guaynabo)</b>	<b>36.5</b>
<b>Frailes barrio (Guaynabo)</b>	<b>36.0</b>
<b>Cupey barrio (San Juan)</b>	<b>35.6</b>
<b>San Juan zona urbana 1</b>	<b>35.5</b>
<b>Las Marías barrio</b>	<b>35.5</b>
<b>Quebradillas zona urbana</b>	<b>35.4</b>
<b>Yauco zona urbana</b>	<b>35.2</b>
<b>Peña Pobre comunidad (Naguabo)</b>	<b>35.0</b>
<b>Aguacate barrio (Aguadilla)</b>	<b>34.4</b>
<b>Quinto barrio (Ponce)</b>	<b>34.2</b>
<b>Rincón zona urbana</b>	<b>34.0</b>
<b>Luquillo zona urbana 1</b>	<b>34.0</b>
<b>Rafael Hernández com.(Aguadilla)</b>	<b>33.8</b>
<b>Las Marías zona urbana 2</b>	<b>33.3</b>
<b>Playa Sardinas 1 barrio (Culebra)</b>	<b>33.3</b>
<b>Limón barrio (Utado)</b>	<b>33.1</b>
<b>Ceiba barrio</b>	<b>33.0</b>
<b>Hato Rey North (San Juan)</b>	<b>32.9</b>
<b>Monacillo barrio (San Juan)</b>	<b>32.8</b>
<b>El Cinco barrio (San Juan)</b>	<b>32.4</b>
<b>Sardinera barrio (Fajardo)</b>	<b>31.7</b>
<b>Caimito barrio (San Juan)</b>	<b>31.6</b>
<b>Candelerero Abajo (Humacao)</b>	<b>31.6</b>
<b>Las Marías zona urbana 1</b>	<b>31.4</b>
<b>Mayagüez zona urbana</b>	<b>31.0</b>
<b>Rincón zona urbana 2</b>	<b>31.0</b>

Claro está, estas estadísticas surgen de autoevaluaciones y están sujetas a toda la incertidumbre que acompaña ese tipo de análisis demográfico. Sin embargo, nos indican los vecindarios donde debemos llevar a cabo futuras investigaciones lingüísticas y sociológicas.

### **3.0 Sociogeographic settings for English use**

Now that we've seen who and where the bilinguals are, let's take a look at the sociogeographic settings for English use on the island.

#### **3.1 Educational settings**

English is a mandatory subject at all grade levels in Puerto Rico; however, many public schools have difficulty imparting effective English instruction due to lack of certified teachers, adequate materials, and student motivation. Private schools (which educate around 20% of the Island's students)<sup>9</sup> have a somewhat better track record, since parents often select schools based on the amount and quality of English instruction. There are, nevertheless, exceptions. I have had students from public schools with excellent English skills, as well as students from private schools with mediocre English preparation. One low-level student commented to me: "Mis papás gastaron un montón de chavos para educarme en escuelas bilingües, y mi hermana salió perfectamente bilingüe, pero no sé qué pasó conmigo. Cada año sé menos inglés."

In 1990, Rosa Torruellas investigated three different private schools and found that English mastery depended upon students' social class. Only students

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<sup>9</sup>In 1940, less than 4% of Puerto Rican students went to private school; in 1960, it rose to 10%, and between 1975 and 1990, it reached 15% (López Yustos, 1992).

in elite schools were actively striving to succeed in oral and written English, while students in middle class private schools had developed a "counterculture" of resistance toward the language and its teachers.

The schools most renowned for English instruction tend to be in areas where English is commonly utilized. They include private schools like Baldwin School and Wesleyan Academy (in Guaynabo), Robinson School and St. John's School<sup>10</sup> (in the Condado), Colegio San Antonio de Padua in Rio Piedras, Cupeyville School in Cupey, and TASIS and the Dorado Academy (in Dorado). Other lesser known bilingual private schools in areas not commonly associated with strong English skills are: John B Watson and Colegio Mocano in Moca, San Sebastian Bilingual School in San Sebastian, Arecibo Christian Academy in Arecibo, Carid High School in Aguadilla, and Southwestern Educational Society (SESO) in Mayaguez.

There are only a dozen bilingual public schools currently operating in Puerto Rico. In 1996, while the statehood party was in power, the Proyecto para Crear el Ciudadano Bilingüe established 55 English immersion programs on the island. Only eight are still in operation and include the Escuela Elemental Bilingüe de Cidra, the Antonio González Suárez Regional Bilingual Elementary School in Añasco, and the Lab Inmersión en Inglés y Redacción en Español on Ramey Air Force base in Mayagüez. There are a few other bilingual public schools left over from the hey-day of bilingual education in the 1980's. Perhaps

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<sup>10</sup>According to St. John's website, of the approximately 750 students from pre-K-high school enrolled in the school, 84% are Hispanic, 8% from the continental United States, and another 8% from other ethnic backgrounds. [http://www.sjspr.org/site\\_res\\_view\\_folder.aspx?id= c306eb6c-82b0-4c30-946f-63005be20309](http://www.sjspr.org/site_res_view_folder.aspx?id= c306eb6c-82b0-4c30-946f-63005be20309) .



the most famous is the Escuela Bilingüe Padre Rufo in Santurce (grades 7-12). In addition, the School of San Juan is a public bilingual school that functions independently of the Department of Education in both its operations and curriculum.

Although university instruction is generally given in Spanish, many textbooks are in English, particularly in the natural sciences. Many foreign-born professors (from the U.S., Russia, China, India, etc.) give their lectures in English. However, the Interamerican University is the only one on the Island that provides a complete program of study in English. At the Metro campus, Nursing, Business Administration/ Economics, and Psychology are taught through the English Trimester program. The San German campus offers a bilingually-taught degree in Optometry.<sup>11</sup>

The University of Puerto Rico does not provide degrees taught entirely in English<sup>12</sup>. Nevertheless, it has many students and professors who are competent bilinguals. In 2000, I published a survey of 30 such bilinguals at the UPR, Rio Piedras campus. My goal was to isolate the social and demographic elements that played critical roles in their linguistic development. The competent bilinguals considered that schooling, personal talent, travel, parents, and occupational demands were the most important factors. All reported watching cable TV and bilingual local television. The great majority read newspapers in English.

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<sup>11</sup>Interestingly enough, there are only two universities that prepare students to be certified as bilingual teachers: the Pontificia Universidad Católica in Arecibo and the Universidad del Turabo in Gurabo.

<sup>12</sup>There is a small project called the Iniciativa Bilingüe, but it only affects a small population (approximately 30 students) who graduated from U.S. high schools.

### 3.2 Professional and legal settings

Cuadrado-Rodríguez (1993) found that in every profession on the island, the greater the percentage of English speakers, the higher the salary. In health, 100% of the doctors spoke English while only 53% of the nurses did; in social services, 80% of the federal employees spoke English as opposed to only 37% of the local employees; and in education, 87% of the administrators spoke English, in contrast to only 53% of the teachers.<sup>13</sup>

The pharmaceutical industry constantly advertises jobs for “bilinguals” and promotes Puerto Rico as being bilingual. On the Bnet website, the following assessment of the island appeared: “While the U.S. minimum wage applies in Puerto Rico, the hourly wage in the manufacturing sector is \$8.40, 38 percent less than the mainland average. The mostly bilingual citizens (my emphasis) maintain U.S. citizenship and products bear the “Made in the U.S.A.” label.” (Schantz-Feld, 2000).

The one setting in which English is absolutely mandatory is the U.S. District Court. As I explained in a recent article in the *Centro* journal (Pousada 2008), while most District Court personnel and jurors in Puerto Rico are native Spanish speakers, they are legally required to be competent in English because proceedings are in English. The language requirement is implemented through special tests for attorneys and a jury selection process which disqualifies non-English-proficient candidates. The policy has clear constitutional implications

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<sup>13</sup>These findings are borne out by earlier research. Mellado de Hunter (1961) found that engineers, lawyers, and doctors used the most English loanwords, and teachers, the least, while Huyke (1973) determined that the field of communications was the most vulnerable to English influence.

since it restricts jury participation to a generally upper-class minority and calls into question the guarantee of “a jury of one’s own peers.” Efforts to change the practice have been ongoing but unsuccessful.

### **3.3 Social settings**

There are numerous social settings in Puerto Rico where English can be heard, independent of geographic location. Pubs, bilingual theaters, certain social clubs, some Protestant churches, and all Jewish temples are places where English is commonplace. The large malls (particularly Plaza Las Américas) are prime spots to observe code switching in action, especially among the young. Pop music concerts often present English-speaking performers, and fans sing along in English. Movies are generally from Hollywood and thus in English, with Spanish subtitles, the only exception being Disney movies and other animated flicks intended for small children which tend to be dubbed into Spanish.

## **6.0 Conclusión**

En esta ponencia hemos estado cazando el elusivo “bilingüe puertorricensis.” Aún cuando resulta ser un ave bastante rara, se puede localizar geográfica y socialmente. Reside en distintos barrios esparramados por la Isla, y no es adecuado limitar el análisis de su distribución al nivel del municipio. El bilingüe a veces proviene del exterior pero más comúnmente es o nativo de la Isla o un migrante de retorno. Existen numerosos ambientes educativos, profesionales y sociales donde puede utilizar el inglés, con o sin el español.

Con esta evidencia, se pueden formular propuestas para investigar más a fondo los factores responsables por el desarrollo del bilingüismo entre unos grupos y no otros. También se puede ir borrando el mito, descrito por Kerkhof (2001), de la acción nociva del inglés sobre el vernáculo, tal y como lo cantó José Noguera en “El Nietecito”: “Ay Abuelo, el inglés no me entra y ya se me está olvidando el español....Nieto, no seas testarudo, avanza y echa pa’cá, mi’jo, antes que te quedes mudo.” Obviamente los bilingües en Puerto Rico no se quedaron mudos y no es necesario descartar un idioma para aprender otro.

Gracias.

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