

# THE COMPLEXITIES OF BILINGUALISM

## Special Focus: Puerto Rico



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January 15, 2008

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## FOCUS ON PUERTO RICO<sup>1</sup>

### 1.0 Introduction

Good morning to you all. I hope you have been enjoying and profiting from the Harvard-UPR Winter Institute thus far. My thanks to Dr. Alice Flaherty for inviting me to participate with you in this very innovative cross-cultural educational effort.

Today I will be talking to you about the complex nature of bilingualism, in particular the sociocultural, political, and attitudinal aspects. I will not be addressing the neurological aspects, since I'm sure that some of that information will emerge or has emerged in Dr. Flaherty's contributions. I plan to give an overview of the most salient general issues and then provide you with some data regarding bilingualism in Puerto Rico to consider, analyze, and discuss. It is my hope that as you actively engage the data, you will come to a better understanding of the complexities of bilingualism in at least one society.

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<sup>1</sup> Lecture presented on January 15, 2008 at the Harvard-UPR Winter Institute, "Beyond Babel: The art and science of empathic translation," held at the Escuela de Artes Plásticas, San Juan, PR, Jan. 8-23, 2008.

## 2.0 Defining bilingualism

Bilingualism is one of those words like “love” which has a different meaning for everyone who uses it. If we take a look at some of the definitions proposed by different linguistic scholars, we immediately see the diversity of outlooks on the question:

“native like control of two languages” (Leonard Bloomfield 1935: 55-56)

“the practice of alternatively using two languages” (Uriel Weinreich 1953: 3)

“the point where the speaker of one language can produce complete meaningful utterances in the other language (Einar Haugen 1969: 6-7)

“possession of at least one of the four language skills, even to a minimal degree” (John Macnamara 1969:82)

[when a child is ] “able to understand and make himself understood within his limited linguistic and social environment (that is, as is consistent with his age and the situation in which he is expressing himself)” (Wilga Rivers 1969: 35-36)

“the alternate use of two or more languages by the same individual” ”  
(William Mackey 1970:555)

“complete mastery of two different languages without interference between the two linguistic processes” (J. P. Oestricher 1974:9)

“able to act in both language groups without any disturbing deviance being noticed” (Bertil Malmberg 1977: 133-136)

“A bilingual speaker is someone who is able to function in two (or more) languages, either in monolingual or bilingual communities, in accordance with the sociocultural demands made of an individual’s communicative and cognitive competence by these communities or by the individual herself, at the same level as native speakers, and who is able positively to identify with both (or all) language groups (and cultures), or parts of them.” (Tove Skutnabb-Kangas 1981: 90)

All of these definitions have certain things in common: a speaker with varying degrees of mastery of more than one language code; however, it is the specification of the relative proficiency in each language and each skill that causes the rub. We can divide the commentators into those who demand strict native ability in both languages to the same degree across tasks and those who are more flexible in permitting varying degrees of fluency in varying types of discourse. Interestingly enough, most monolinguals tend to favor the strict native speaker model of bilingualism, while most multilinguals

(who have more pragmatic experience with language variation) tend to be more lenient.

The reality is that bilingualism is a slippery thing. It is fluid, dynamic, and constantly changing. Speakers go through stages in their acquisition of additional languages, and depending on the exposure to the different codes at different moments of their lives, may see their proficiency in each language ebb and flow like the tide.

### 3.0 Types of bilinguals

Bilinguals fall into a continuum of language competence which changes constantly (Pousada 2000).

**Table 1: Bilingual continuum**

Incipient bilingualism → (Diebold 1964)	Receptive bilingualism → (Hockett 1958)	Functional bilingualism → (Baetens Beardsmore 1982)	Equilingualism (balanced) → (Baetens Beardsmore 1982)	Ambilingualism (perfect) (Halliday et. al. 1970)
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The **incipient bilingual** is beginning the process of sorting out stimuli received in the second language and creating mental schema for the comprehension and use of the new system. The first language

is the major point of reference. Poor learners often get stuck at this stage, and their errors become fossilized and resistant to correction.

The **receptive bilingual** can comprehend or read much of what is presented in the second language but finds it difficult to produce speech or writing. This is often a transitional stage, but bilinguals can remain at this level all their lives when the second language is restricted to “passive” activities of listening and reading (cf. Puerto Rico). Receptive bilingualism is also common in complex speech communities where many language varieties are in use and among children in immigrant communities.

The **functional bilingual** has achieved sufficient ability in both languages so as to carry out most social and communicative functions without difficulty. There may be gaps in specific domains of usage, depending on the amount of practice or exposure to the languages in each. For example, the speaker may be able to translate utterances related to the home and hearth, but not be able to utilize or understand medical terminology adequately (thus the grave danger inherent in utilizing family members or untrained interpreters in hospital settings.) There is usually clear influence (sometimes termed “interference”) from the first language in the

second language, but divergences from native standard do not seriously affect intelligibility. It is usually possible to determine the individual's dominant language without difficulty.

The **equilingual or balanced bilingual's** mastery of the first and second languages may match that of native speakers. This type of bilingual can move smoothly between the two languages and has a balance between the skills developed in each language. There are minimal traces of the first language in the second language. The speaker is fluent and communicatively competent, in oral, written, and non-verbal expression.

The **ambilingual or perfect bilingual** is capable of functioning equally well in either language in all domains of activity without traces of one language in linguistic system of other. There is no hesitation in translating back and forth. Perfect bilingualism is extremely rare since such a person would have to be moving constantly between two speech communities to develop the same breadth of vocabulary in all semantic fields. It is important to note that many monolinguals restrict their notion of bilingualism to the category of the ambilingual or perfect bilingual, precisely the rarest beast of all. This makes the goal

of bilingualism even more daunting and indeed almost impossible to achieve, setting up the monolingual for almost certain failure.

#### **4.0 Growing up and living multilingually**

For much of the world, bilingualism (indeed multilingualism) is the norm; using two, three, or more languages routinely is just the way one carries out one's daily activities. For example, in Papua New Guinea, 820 languages are spoken; in Nigeria, 510; in India, 415; in Brazil, 188; in Russia, 105; and in Colombia, 80. While no one person in these societies speaks all of the languages available, many (if not all) utilize several regularly.

A child raised in India will typically learn his or her village language, then the official language of the particular region (there are 18), followed by Hindi (the official language of the central government) and English (the co-official language). Should this child grow up to be a scholar or religious figure, the classical languages Sanskrit and Tamil will probably be added to the repertoire.<sup>22</sup> A child brought up in Ghana where there are over 60 indigenous languages and where exogamy is the norm may have parents who each speak a

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<sup>22</sup> Article 346 of the Indian Constitution recognizes Hindi as the official federal governmental language. It also permits the continuation of English (the former colonial language) for official purposes. Article 345 recognizes the 18 state languages as official at the state level.

different tribal language, perhaps Fante Akan, Fante Twi, Nzema, Ga, Ga-Adangbe, Ewe, Gonja, Kasem, Dagbani, or Dagaare, the leading languages of the country. As a result, children often learn two languages in the home. Then in school, beginning with the first grade, English is the medium of education while a Ghanaian language is taught as a compulsory subject through high school.<sup>3</sup> Of course, the English will be West African English, a standard language rather distinct from the English of Cambridge. If the child continues pursuing a formal education, French is likely to be learned as well. If he or she grows up to have trade dealings in the northern areas of Ghana, Hausa, a Nigerian language, will be probably be added to the linguistic toolbox.

In highly multilingual societies, there is frequently little concern with speaking each language like a native. Being an incipient or receptive bilingual may be enough in a given situation, and mixed varieties (like Nigerian Pidgin English, Media Lengua in Ecuador, and Chabacano in the Philippines) may commonly be utilized. The

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<sup>3</sup> This has been the policy since September of 2002. Prior to that, Ghanaian children received the first three years of primary education in their African mother tongue and then transitioned to English. The change in policy which came in response to problems of low English achievement has been a bone of contention ever since. Recently, proposals to set up bilingual programs have been launched. In the rural Mamprusi district of Northern Ghana, PAMBE Ghana will start its first bilingual model school in September 2008 with at least 20 children in pre-K, adding a class each year until the sixth grade. Instruction will begin in More-Gurma, the local language, and English will be added progressively.

important thing is that one can carry out the functions associated with that language (e.g., buying food in the marketplace, selling goods, reading a street sign, complaining to a boss, flirting with someone, reading a newspaper, passing a university entrance exam, etc.).

A marvelous example of a society where people are routinely and cheerfully quadrilingual is Aruba (a former Dutch colony off the coast of Venezuela), where Papiamentu (a creole created from the merger of Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, and some African and Amerindian elements) is the national language utilized in everyday communication, the media, early education, religion, and now even the Aruban Parliament), Dutch is the language of higher education, English is the language of tourism and technology, and Spanish is the language of regional communication. The Arubans are very proud of the fact that they can utilize three European languages for communication with the outside world and still maintain a vernacular that is their own private treasure.

It is only in certain societies (like the U.S., Australia, Canada) which are made up of large geographic areas with relatively little linguistic variation (or at least little that “counts” in the majority’s view) that people consider using more than one language a problem or

even an impossibility. Such societies may even go to the trouble of legislating against the use of other languages in public domains. The English-only movement in the U.S. is a prime example and has resulted in the passing of legislation restricting the use of languages other than English in schools, government, and social services in a number of states, as can be seen in the 2003 map below.

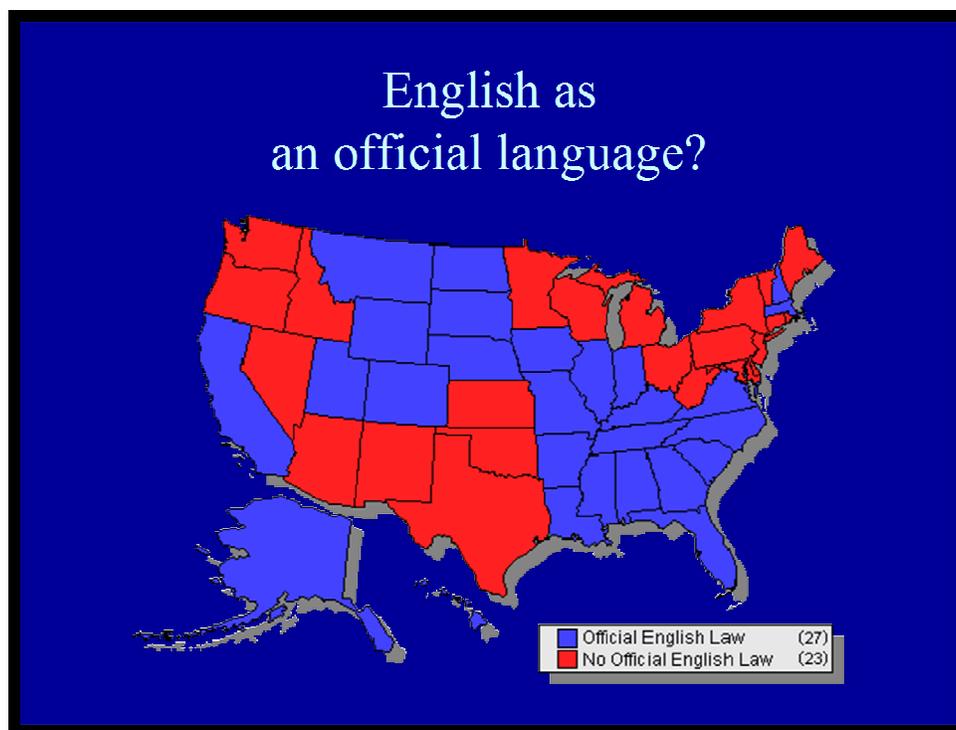


Figure 1: Distribution of state language laws in U.S. (2003)

[Source: <http://www.us-english.org/inc/images/map.gif> ]

It should be noted that despite considerable effort by groups like U.S. English and English First, no federal English-only legislation or constitutional amendment has been approved.

Attitudes against the use of foreign languages often stem from negative attitudes or fears regarding the speakers of those languages. Historically, whenever a nation's economic or political situation is weak, immigrants or marginalized indigenous groups are seen as a threat, and their languages and cultures are targeted for elimination (witness the recent cartoon below).



## **5.0 Societal vs. individual bilingualism**

Individual bilingualism refers to the personal speech repertoire of a speaker (e.g. how many codes are used and for what purposes and with what interlocutors). An individual can be multilingual within a monolingual society and exercise his or her abilities outside of the nation or in interactions with foreigners or with foreign texts. Societal bilingualism involves governmental or educational stipulations that require the use of certain languages in certain settings or protect the rights of minority languages in certain settings. Societal bilingualism that is territorially-based means that the stipulations address only residents of specific locales (e.g. regions, provinces, townships, etc.) and do not apply to all citizens of the nation. Societal bilingualism in Switzerland, for example, is territorially-based, since the languages one learns (French, German, Italian, or Romansch) depend greatly on the canton in which one lives, and the educational system is decentralized and controlled by the cantons. Thus language education policies can vary widely from canton to canton.

In Canada, which is often touted as a “bilingual nation,” federal legislation protects minority languages<sup>4</sup>, and impeccable care is taken to comply with the minutiae of laws regulating the size of letters in bilingual signage and product labels and the listing of one language first in advertisements (see illustrations from Ottawa, the Canadian capital city below in Figure 2, a highway sign in Figure 3, and nationally-distributed product labels in Figure 4).



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<sup>4</sup> The federal basis for official bilingualism in Canada lies in the Constitution Act of 1867, the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms of 1982, and the Official Languages Act of 1988.



Figure 3: Highway sign in Canada

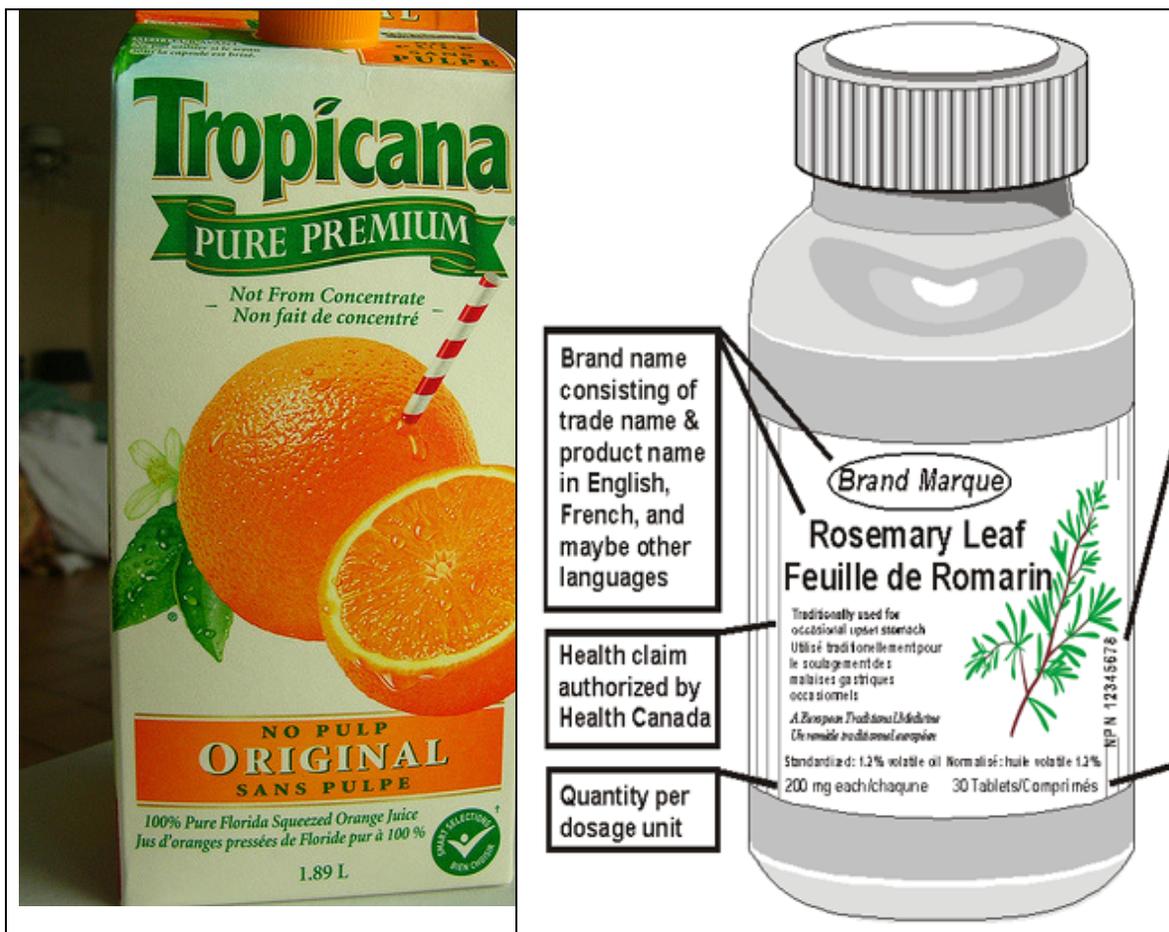


Figure 4: Product labels in Canada

However, the reality is that most Canadians who describe themselves as bilingual live in Quebec or in a narrow strip extending eastward from Quebec to New Brunswick and westward into Ottawa and Ontario. Only about 10% of non-Quebeckers consider themselves to be bilingual. This is a common pattern in large, primarily monolingual societies—it is usually the minority group that becomes bilingual, not the majority group, for clear reasons of politico-economic power, and when minority groups achieve power, it tends to be limited to certain regions or local bodies<sup>5</sup>. Another good example of the hegemony of the majority language can be seen in the former Soviet Union where the Russian-speaking minority speakers in the Asian republics of Kirgizstan, Kazakhstan, and Uzbekistan rarely learned Kirgiz, Kazakh, or Uzbek, while the local majority speakers were required to learn Russian.

In Puerto Rico, despite the long-time governmental designation of Spanish and English as co-official languages, bilingualism is a concept fraught with conflict. Because of the unique politico-economic construction known as the Commonwealth, the English language has

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<sup>5</sup> Interestingly enough, in the case of Quebec, once regional autonomy was secured, the local government implemented rather draconian measures to support French language dominance in the region (e.g., Bill 63 in 1969, Bill 22 in 1974, and Bill 101 in 1977), subjecting native English residents to the same discrimination the French speakers had received earlier.

become a symbol of the curious and somewhat schizophrenic relationship between the United States and the island. While few would question its utility in the modern world and most would enthusiastically back the notion of individual bilingualism, at the same time many view English with caution as a potential usurper of the vernacular language and culture at the societal level. But more on this later.

## **6.0 Bilingualism in action**

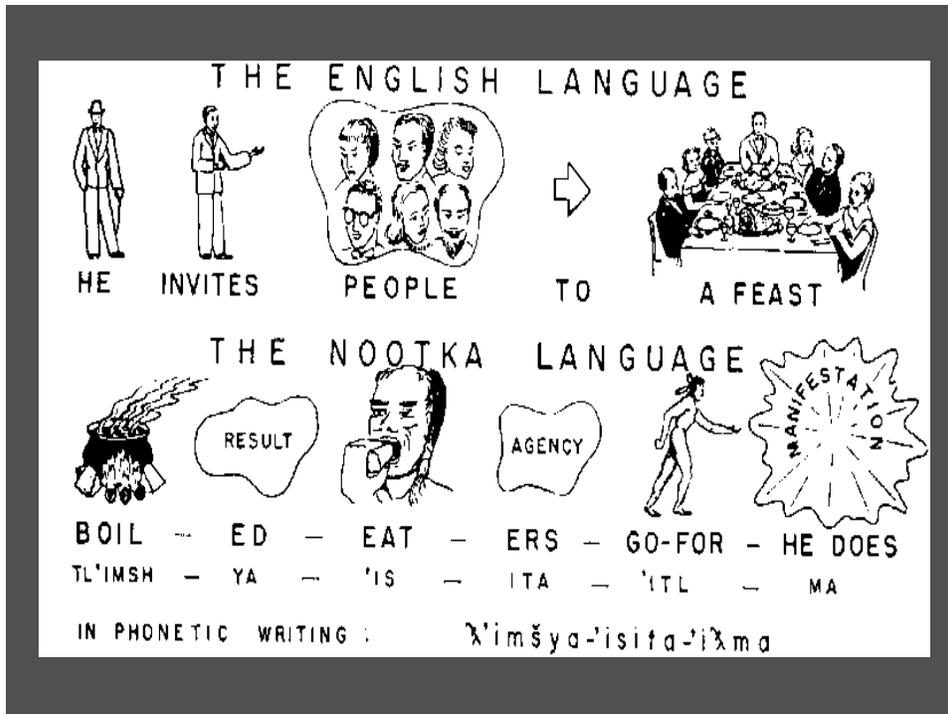
We are now going to utilize the data packets you have all received in order to understand the complexities of bilingualism in action. We will begin by looking briefly at a concept known as linguistic relativity which has to do with the way different languages encode reality. We will then utilize the situation in Puerto Rico to illustrate some of the ways in which the use of more than one language has been regulated via language policies. In most multilingual settings, there is considerable interaction among the different languages or dialects utilized. While it is possible to apportion different language varieties (as they are known to linguists) according to function or social domain, it is also very common to see mixed forms arise as a result of alternation among different language

alternatives. Mixed forms are known as borrowings (when they involve single vocabulary items integrated into the sound system and grammar of the borrowing language) or as code switches (when they involve larger, unintegrated chunks like phrases or entire sentences). Sometimes the results of these borrowings and code switches are comical, as we will see in one sample of a putative letter to the Puerto Rican Congress. However, in many cases, the use of elements from another language operates below the level of awareness and is taken as completely natural discourse. In this regard, we will examine the use of Anglicisms (or borrowed elements from English) in the Spanish of Madrid, Mexico City, and San Juan, PR. We will also look at street signs in various societies that illustrate the penchant for language mixing worldwide. In addition, we will consider the creative aspects of mixing languages as seen in bilingual poetry and rap songs.

## **6.1 Linguistic relativity**

Back in the hey-day of linguistic structuralism in the 1920's and 1930's, Edward Sapir and his student Benjamin Lee Whorf began putting forward ideas about the relationship between language and culture (or thought) based upon their anthropological observations

among Native American groups. They noticed that Amerindian languages were systematically different from European languages and had their own unique way of encoding meaning and of communicating the worldview of the speaker. Each language had evolved in such a way as to be an eminently efficient instrument for transmitting the particularities of the cultural and physical environment in which its speakers existed; as a result, distinctions made in these indigenous languages were not made in European languages and did not translate easily. For example, in Nootka, a Native American language spoken in British Columbia, Canada and northern Washington State, the English sentence: *He invites people to a feast.* would be rendered as seen in the diagram below:



In addition, the very structure of the languages seemed to predispose their speakers to think about the world in certain ways and to behave accordingly. Sapir (1929) wrote:

...the 'real world' is to a large extent unconsciously built up on the language habits of the group...We see and hear and otherwise experience very largely as we do because the language habits of our community predispose certain choices of interpretation.

While Sapir and Whorf are often misquoted and misinterpreted as having said that language determines worldview, the strong or deterministic view of their thinking has come to be known as the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis. Today most sociolinguists and

anthropological linguists would advocate a more moderate view that sees language as filtering and influencing our view of the world. In reality, there is a dialectical relationship between language and culture (or thought) in which they contribute reciprocally to one another.

Let's look at some examples of distinctions that one language might make that reflect and shape the perceptions and behaviors of its speakers. Please turn to the second page of your data booklet. Let's take a look at some vocabulary in the Pintupi language of Australia and in Japanese.

A. Vocabulary for holes in Pintupi language of Australia

yarla--a hole in an object

pirti--a hole in the ground

pirnki--a hole formed by a rock shelf

kartalpa--a small hole in the ground

yulpilpa--a shallow hole in which ants live

mutara--a special hole in a spear

nyarrkalpa--a burrow for small animals

pulpa--a rabbit burrow

makarnpa--a goanna burrow

katarta--the hole left by a goanna when it has broken the surface after hibernation

[David Crystal. 1987. *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language*. Cambridge University Press, p. 15.)

B. Vocabulary for aesthetics in Japanese

wabi--a flawed detail that creates an elegant whole

sabi--beautiful patina acquired through years

aware--feelings engendered by ephemeral beauty

shibui--beauty that only time can reveal--reflects experience, memories, personality

yugen--awareness of the unutterable depth and profundity of the universe that evokes deep and mysterious feelings

yoin--a moving experience that causes profound emotion and nostalgia as one re-experiences it mentally.

[Howard Rheingold. 1988. *They Have a Word for It*. Los Angeles: Jeremy P. Tarcher, pp. 72-79, 111-112.]

What can you tell me about the concept of “hole” for the Australian aborigines? Do you notice anything structural markers for distinctions in the type of hole? What can you observe regarding the concept of “beauty” in Japanese? How difficult do you think it would be to describe Japanese art in English? [audience participation]

Clearly, each individual language seems to represent the concerns or ideologies of the culture it encodes. This is what gives a language a symbolic function and its role as repository of the world-view of its speakers. The native language of a people contains and expresses the indigenous belief systems, and any new belief systems

are conceived of in relation to these existing systems. While it is theoretically possible for any language to express any idea, it may take considerable circumlocution and paraphrasing in order to convey the nuanced meaning and connotations of a particular term in a given language. Many times, language groups don't even try and simply borrow the term wholesale from the host language. Witness the use in English of the following foreign terms which encapsulate complex cultural meanings: *mensch* (Yiddish), *weltanschauung* (German), *machismo* (Spanish), *taboo* (Tongan), or *joie de vivre* (French).

For this reason, people often fight to retain their languages. Their languages are their cultural property, identity, and ancestral heritage. They are their own special contributions to the fund of human knowledge and invention. When languages die (as they are doing at an alarming rate nowadays), those unique perspectives are lost.

## **6.2 PR language policies**

In the light of what we've seen, let's take a look at a very different sort of data on p. 3 of your booklets. Here we have a listing of language policies imposed by the U.S. government and its

appointed Commissioners of Education from 1898 when the island was taken over by the U.S. until 1948 when the Puerto Rican people first voted for their own governor and decided their own educational policies and the continuation of the debate over language until 1992.

Language education policies in Puerto Rico (1898-1992)	
1898	Puerto Rico ceded to U.S. under Treaty of Paris
1898-1900	military government and English as medium of instruction at all levels
1900	Foraker Act installs civil administration with governor and commissioner of education appointed by U.S.
1900-1903	Spanish as medium of instruction at elementary and intermediate levels; English as subject inverse at high school level.
1902	Official Languages Act declares Spanish and English as co official languages of Puerto Rico
1903-1917	English as medium of instruction at all levels with Spanish as subject
1917	Jones Act declares Puerto Ricans to be U.S. citizens (although unable to vote for own governor or for U.S. president)
1917-1934	Spanish as medium of instruction in grades 1-8; English as medium of instruction in grades 9-12.
1934-1942	Spanish as medium of instruction in grades 1-2 with English as subject in grades 3-8, Spanish and English with increasing emphasis on English in high school, English as medium of instruction with Spanish as subject.
1942-1945	Spanish as medium of instruction in elementary and intermediate schools and English in high schools
1945-46	bills proposing Spanish as sole medium of instruction passed by Puerto Rican legislature but vetoed by President Truman.
1947	Puerto Ricans given right to elect own governor
1948	Luis Muñoz Marín elected as governor and appoints Villaronga as Commissioner of Education

1949-pres.	Spanish as medium of instruction at all levels with English as mandatory subject
1991	Official Languages Act revoked and Spanish declared sole official language of Puerto Rico
1992	Official Languages Act reinstated--Spanish and English returned as co-official languages of Puerto Rico

Any comments about the policy changes, their probable causes, their relation to other world events? How does this chronology strike you?

### 6.3 Letter of a jíbaro

Because of the highly political nature of the debate over bilingualism in Puerto Rico, in 2001, Ernesto Ruiz Ortiz wrote a comical book titled: *Oh, blessed* (a literal translation of *Ay, bendito*, a typical Puerto Rican exclamation of pity). The subtitle is: *Carta in jíbaro English*. The *jíbaro* is the hard-working and long-suffering archetypical peasant, who is seen as more “legitimately” Puerto Rican due to rural isolation. Since the rural areas were (and still are) the zones with the least amount of English penetration, the *jíbaro* is also associated with poor English skills, thus the comedy of the letter on p. 4 of your booklet written in an English which is a literal translation from Spanish, complete with idiomatic expressions and proverbs which do not fare well in the “translinguistic” crossing.

### Letter of a Jibaro to the Congressman of United States

(Source: *Oh blessed -- Cartas em Jibaro English* by Ernesto Ruiz Ortiz (2001).

Estimated senators Johnston and McClure:

Maybe you don't remind of me, but I decided to write to you of new. I am Sunday Fountains. Makes a little time I commanded you one card signaling that one of you, Senator Johnston, recommended to Mr. Romero to fetch away the Spanish like official idiom of the statehood proposal for the plesbicite. You don't know it, but you put them to sweat the fat drop. This affair is a fried plantain. The know that if they not support the Spanish, they will go to be eaten by a one horse! When the plesbicite comes, they will fall in the page of Cheo. Like they say here, they will be taken away by Pateco.

Said to be of pass, to these heights, I don't know in what has that stopped. Goes or not goes the Spanish like part of the statehood proposal? If these things don't stay clear, later they can introduce cat for hare. Some politicians try to take the town of very low mango, you know, they want to eat their brain.

Like in informed war people don't die, I want to warn you (for if the flies), that if they try to push the English at the female cannon, the eggs are going to be put at a quarter! Is more, things are going to be put of color of brave ant! I am not a fire-eater, but let me tell you that I myself, this little priest here, the same that dresses and put on shoes, will be between those that protest energetically to stop in dry this relaxation of the obligated English! So don't recline on that side. Those who think we are going to swallow happy the English are dreaming with little pregnant birds. We are not going to eat that story. They think that they have the fry pan grabbed by the handle. But we have an old proverb here that says "he who introduces himself to monkey, loses his tail".

Frankly, when I heard that the federal judges of here are in favor of the English in the federal court, I was so intesticled (forgive the word) that I said to myself, I marry in nothing! I defecate on the bicycle! What English nor what eight fourths! Why do those of here have to be more popish than the Pope. It saddens me that affair slip to me some people. They say to me "to me matters one whistle". You know...one angolan cucumber. This people are giving the things for seated and don't know what would be to lose the Spanish. They forget that it is not the same to talk of the devil than to see him come and if by moment it touched them to talk English for obligation, they are not going to know even the hour that it is. Then will be too late and the English will come out to them even in the soup! That of losing the natal tongue is not bark of coconut. It's no pinch of one handed man! The fault of the maternal tongue can provoke a get-to-the-outside here... a total cultural dismother, in this town.

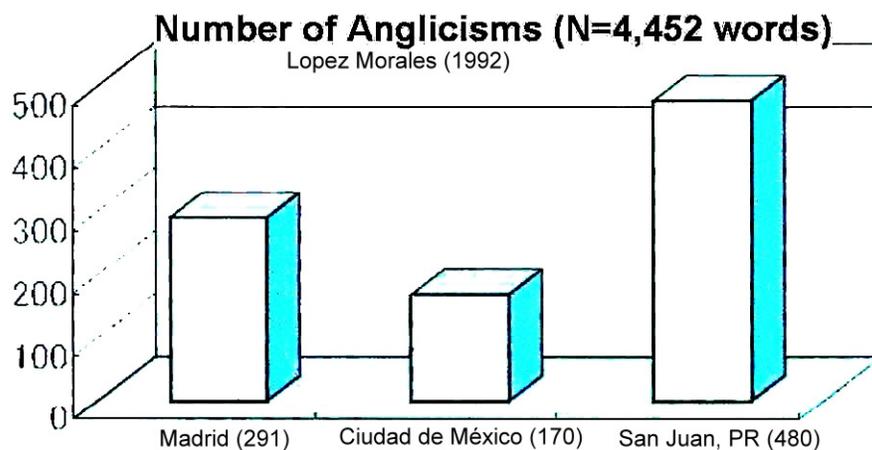
Those of you who know Spanish can check this bowdlerized English against the underlying Spanish which I've recreated via back-translation. (see p. 5 of your booklet)

## 6.4 Mixing language elements

As mentioned earlier, bilinguals often mix elements of one language into another, creating new and innovative forms, some of which catch on and become part of the two host languages, some of which suffer the fate of most slang. Puerto Ricans are known among Hispanics for their tendency to incorporate English into their Spanish. However, the reality is that this is a global trend and seen in virtually all Spanish-speaking countries.

#### 6.4.1 Loanwords

Cuban linguist Humberto López Morales (long-time resident and scholar in Puerto Rico and Spain) carried out a comparative study of the use of Anglicisms in Madrid, Mexico City, and San Juan, PR. (see p. 6 of your booklet)



Take a careful look at López Morales' graph and tell me what you notice. What do you think would happen if we looked at the Spanish of Chicanos in the U.S. Southwest? How about the Spanish of Panamanians living near the canal?

### **6.4.2 Code switching**

When larger elements of two languages alternate in the same stretch of discourse, we call this code switching. It is very common among speakers that are socially mobile and in contact with other language users either directly or through media.

## Bilingual signs (Barcelona, Canada, Switzerland, Puerto Rico)

Figure 2: Geneva, Switzerland



Figure 3: Barcelona, Spain.



## English for naming Japanese products

Try matching the product names in the left-hand column with the goods they represent in the right-hand column.

- |                       |                    |
|-----------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Clean Life, Please | A. soft drink      |
| 2. I've               | B. chocolate candy |
| 3. Love-love          | C. coffee creamer  |
| 4. Volume Up Water    | D. cigarettes      |
| 5. Hope               | E. cleaning gloves |

- |                 |                   |
|-----------------|-------------------|
| 6. Mouth Jazz   | F. electric razor |
| 7. Pocari Sweat | G. condoms        |
| 8. Creap        | H. mouthwash      |
| 9. Meltykiss    | I. hairspray      |
| 10. Super Winky | J. shampoo        |

Pelos en la lengua (bilingual poem about bilingualism)

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